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HISTORY OF EUROPE

FROM THE

FALL OF NAPOLEON

IN MDCCCXV

TO THE

ACCESSION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON

IN MDCCCLII

BY

SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON, BART., D.C.L.

Author of the 'History of Europe from the Commencement of the French
Revolution in 1789, to the Battle of Waterloo,' &c. &c.

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HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER XXIII.

DOMESTIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND, FROM THE FALL OF THE WELLINGTON ADMINISTRATION IN 1830 TO THE PASSING OF THE REFORM BILL IN 1832.

1. Thus fell the Wellington Administration, the most important event in the domestic history of England since the Revolution, in the general annals of Europe since the battle of Waterloo. In the decisive and lasting transference of the political power in the State by which it was followed to another party, it bears a very close resemblance to the overthrow of the Coalition Ministry by Mr Pitt in 1784, which terminated a dominion of nearly a century by the Whigs, and introduced one of half the time by the Tories. But in its political and social results it was far more important than Mr Pitt's triumph. It induced a transference not merely of the reins of government from one party to another, but of political power from one class in society to another. It terminated the long-established dominion of the landed and commercial aristocracy, and vested it in the class of capitalists, shopkeepers, and small householders. It closed the sway of the interests of production, whether in land or manufactures, and created that of buying and selling. Thence has ensued an entire change in our whole domestic policy, both in relation to agriculture and manufactures, and the adoption of a series of measures calculated, by cheapening everything, to benefit consumers and

the holders of realised capital, without any regard to their influence on those engaged in the work of production. Thence also have arisen changes in our foreign policy equally startling and unexpected. It has displaced Great Britain from the head of Conservative alliances, and placed her in the front rank of the coalitions founded upon movement; and, stifling the ancient animosity of France and England, has brought the legions of both nations in cordial amity and generous rivalry to combat the forces of the Czar, in defence of Turkey, on the shores of the Crimea.

2. Superficial observers, and those whose attention is exclusively fixed on the influence of individual agency in human affairs, see in these vast events and this entire change of system, both foreign and domestic, the effect only of the capacity of the leaders and their dexterity in the management of parties; and they declaim against the mistakes which, as they conceive, have ruined ancient interests, and the tergiversations which have broken up old alliances. But without disputing the important effect of individual men in moulding the fate of nations, it may with safety be asserted that, in this instance, the great change which took place was owing to general causes.

The Wellington Administration, and with it the old system of government in Great Britain, fell, because it had become unsuited to the altered circumstances of the people; it neither met their wishes, nor provided for their necessities.

3. The very errors, as they were deemed by many at the time, were themselves forced upon their authors by general and irresistible causes. It is easy to see now, on the retrospect, that it was the monetary measures of 1819 and 1826, coupled with the emancipation of the Catholics, which brought about the change, because it was these which spread discontent and division among the rural and industrious classes, who had heretofore been the firmest supporters of the throne, the steadiest friends of the constitution. But that only removes the difficulty a step farther back. The question remains, What caused these measures to be adopted by successive governments, in opposition alike to the interests of the whole industrious classes of the people and their religious feelings, and in direct antagonism to the policy pursued for a century and a half by the Government, and under which the country had risen to an unexampled height of prosperity and glory? It is evident to any one who attentively considers the progress of these changes that they were not forced upon the Legislature by individual men, but forced upon individual men by the Legislature; and that a fixed majority had got into the House of Commons, which rendered it impossible to carry on the government in any other way. Each successive administration since the peace had been compelled to relinquish, as the price of retaining office, a part of the old system, until none remained, and an entire change of government and of the constitution had become unavoidable.

4. It is not difficult to perceive, at this distance of time, what was the cause which rendered this change of system necessary; and what is very remarkable, and perhaps unprecedented in human affairs, that cause is to be found in the natural consequences

of the entire success of the opposite system. So amazingly had the whole industrial interests of the community — landed, manufacturing, commercial, and colonial — grown and prospered under the old protective system, under which they had all found shelter during a hundred and fifty years, that a new interest had arisen in society, the fruit of their prosperity, but which was destined to limit and restrain it. This was the interest of REALISED CAPITAL, the produce of long-protected and thriving industry, but which had at length, from the unexampled impulse and successes of the war, acquired an influence which enabled it to set all other interests at defiance. This interest, by the command of ready money and the acquisition of the close boroughs, had succeeded in acquiring a majority in the House of Commons, and with it the entire government of the state. Its interests were no longer identical with those of the industry from which it had sprung; on the contrary, they were adverse to it. To sell dear is the interest of the creators of wealth; to buy cheap is the interest of its inheritors. It was in the nature of things that Sir R. Peel the father, who made the fortune, should be the supporter of the protective; Sir R. Peel the son, who succeeded to it, the advocate of the cheapening system. Thence the change of policy in the Legislature when the inheritors became the more powerful body; and thence the creation of a general discontent in the industrious classes, which at length overwhelmed at once the Ministry and the previous system of government. When once capital, for its own advantage, had rendered the currency of the country entirely dependent on the retention of gold, and introduced free trade into the principal branches of manufacture, a revolution in the whole frame and system of government had become inevitable, and it was merely a question of time when it was to take place.

5. It was this circumstance which rendered the Duke of Wellington's famous declaration against reform so very influential in inducing the im-

mediate downfall of his administration. It announced the determination of Government at all hazards to maintain the existing system in the House of Commons. But that was the precise thing which the country desired to have altered, because it had been the cause of all the suffering which had been experienced. It was against the "borough-mongers," as they were called, that the outcry was directed, because they brought in the men who had pursued the system which had been attended with such disastrous results. There was no hostility against the Crown; little, comparatively speaking, against the House of Lords, except in so far as it influenced the House of Commons. It was the venal and nomination boroughs which were the object of the general indignation, and they were so because the persons who got into Parliament through their seats had first, by the measures they pursued for the advantage of capital, created the distress, and then shown themselves insensible to all petitions for its relief. When the Duke of Wellington, therefore, declared himself decidedly opposed to every species of reform, he not only thwarted a vehement national passion, but expressed his determination to uphold what was the source of all the suffering which was experienced, and continue the close boroughs, which had become a great national grievance. It is no wonder that it accelerated his fall.

6. Earl Grey, as a matter of course, was sent for by the King to form the new Ministry, which it was easy to foresee would be composed chiefly, if not entirely, of the leaders of the Liberal party in the two Houses of Parliament. No small embarrassment, however, was experienced in forming the Administration, chiefly in consequence of the difficulty of finding a suitable situation for Mr Brougham, whose great abilities, and position as the real if not the avowed leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons, gave him claims to a higher situation than the aristocratic Whigs were willing to allow to any man who had raised himself by the unaided force of his own

abilities, without patrician connections or support. On the other hand, it was very material to take the question of reform, which had only been postponed to the 25th November, out of the hands of a man at once so powerful, and so little inclined to follow the dictates or counsel of any other person. So strongly was Mr Brougham himself impressed with these difficulties, that in postponing his motion for reform, which he stated he did with great reluctance, he said, "No change that can take place in the Administration can by possibility affect me." Earl Grey first proposed for him the situation of Master of the Rolls, which is permanent, and is consistent with a seat in the House of Commons; but to this the King peremptorily objected. The Attorney-General's gown was next offered to him, but at once rejected. At length, on the King's suggestion, it was agreed to offer him the Great Seals, which were immediately accepted. No further difficulty was experienced in making up the Administration, which was composed almost entirely of *noblemen* of the Whig party. The Duke of Richmond, as representing the ultra-Tories, was made Postmaster-General, with a seat in the Cabinet; a negotiation was opened with Sir Edward Knatchbull, the leader of the same party in the House of Commons, but it failed of success. The new Ministry was officially announced on the 21st November, and gave very general satisfaction to the country.* It is remarkable that

* The new Ministry stood as follows:—

In the Cabinet.—First Lord of the Treasury, Earl Grey; Lord Chancellor, Lord Brougham; Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the Commons, Lord Althorpe; President of the Council, Marquess of Lansdowne; Lord Privy Seal, Earl of Durham; Home Secretary, Lord Melbourne; Foreign Affairs, Lord Palmerston; Secretary of Colonies, Lord Goderich; First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir James Graham; President of the Board of Control, Mr Chas. Grant; Postmaster-General, Duke of Richmond; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Lord Holland; without office, Lord Carlisle.

Not in the Cabinet.—President of the Board of Trade, Lord Auckland; Secretary-at-War, Mr C. W. W. Wynn; Master-General of Ordnance, Sir James Kempt; Lord Chamberlain, Duke of Devonshire; Lord Steward, Marquess Wellesley; Master of the Horse, Lord Albe-

in a Liberal Cabinet of fifteen members thirteen were peers or sons of peers, one a baronet, and *only one* commoner.

7. EARL GREY, who at this eventful crisis succeeded to the government of the country, has left a name which never will be forgotten in English history, for he introduced that change in the constitution which has been attended with such great and lasting effects. He was beyond all doubt a most remarkable man. Gifted by nature with talents of a very high order, he possessed, at the same time, that quality of still rarer occurrence, but which, when it does exist, seldom fails to lead to early shipwreck or ultimate greatness—moral courage and invincible determination. His political life was consistency itself. He shared with his party their early hostility to the French war, and must bear with them the obloquy, in the eyes of posterity, of having defended the French Revolution long after its atrocities had discredited it in the eyes of all impartial men, and resisted the contest with it when it had become apparent that it was waged by this country for the liberty and independence of mankind. But this was the result of the firmness and consistency of his character, which, having once embraced an opinion, adhered to it for good or for evil through all the mutations of fortune. On the subject of reform he was the same throughout. Unlike the greater part of the Whig aristocracy, who supported it in public, and in secret deprecated it as the most dangerous innovation alike to the country and themselves, he was its advocate from his first entrance into public life; and the plan of reform which he brought forward in the House of

marle; Groom of the Stole, Marquess of Winchester; First Commissioner of Land Revenue, Mr Agar Ellis; Treasurer of the Navy, Mr Poulett Thomson; Attorney-General, Sir T. Denman; Solicitor-General, Sir W. Horne.

In Ireland.—Lord-Lieutenant, Marquess of Anglesea; Lord Chancellor, Lord Plunkett; Commander of the Forces, Sir John Byng; Chief Secretary, Lord Stanley; Attorney-General, Mr Pennefather; Solicitor-General, Mr Crompton.

In Scotland.—Lord Advocate, F. Jeffrey, Esq.; Solicitor-General, H. Cockburn, Esq.—*Ann. Reg.* 1830, pp. 164, 165; *ROEBUCK*, vol. i. pp. 450, 451.

Commons, without success, in 1797, differed in no material degree from that which he brought to a triumphant issue in 1832.

8. As a public speaker he must be assigned a very high place—second, perhaps, only to Pitt and Fox in the Augustan age of English oratory. He had not the power of lucid exposition of the former, nor the impetuous flow of the latter; but in condensed expression, cogent argument, and sarcastic power, he was equal, perhaps superior, to either. He had not the poetic fancy or playful expression of Canning, but he was more thoroughly, and at all times, in earnest—the great secret for moving and permanently ruling the hearts of men. His well-known philippic against that celebrated orator, when he succeeded to power in April 1827, is deservedly placed amongst the most brilliant specimens of rhetorical power which the English language can boast. In society, his manner, though somewhat reserved and stately, had all the courtesy which belongs to real high-breeding, and in domestic life he was simplicity itself—the sure sign of a mind superior to any station, how lofty soever, to which its possessor may be elevated.

9. The great fault of Earl Grey, as of most men of his rank who are called to the general direction of affairs, was a want of practical acquaintance with mankind in all grades. He shared this defect with his whole Cabinet, when arranged in 1830, which was almost entirely composed of the nobility; and so conspicuous did this deficiency immediately become, that, as will appear in the sequel, he was saved from early overthrow only by identifying himself with the extreme movement party, and advancing a measure which entirely defeated his expectations, and for ever changed the institutions of the nation. He did great service to his country by taking the direction of that movement, and preventing it from falling into other and less scrupulous hands, and deserves its lasting gratitude for the use which he made of the vast power he enjoyed when the victory was gained. There was much to condemn in the

mode in which, in its latter stages, he carried on the contest, but nothing save to admire in the conduct he pursued after it was over. He then boldly confronted menaced rebellion in Ireland, coerced its wildest excesses, and when he had the power to have carried innovation in Great Britain to any imaginable length, stopped short with one organic change, and observed henceforward the landmarks of the constitution.

10. Although the practical results of the Reform Bill, which he carried through, have been widely different from what he either intended or desired, yet this is not so much to be ascribed as a fault to Earl Grey, as it was the unfortunate result of the elevated position he occupied, and the sphere in which he had moved in society. In the framing of that measure itself he was as completely misled by the representations of others of inferior rank about him, who possessed the practical knowledge which he wanted, and had their own ends in view in their representation, as he had been in early life as to the tendency of the French Revolution by the declamations of the philosophers and Girondists. He said it was "the most aristocratic measure ever brought forward in Parliament," when it was a measure, as experience has now proved, which took the government of the country entirely out of the hands of the aristocracy. He declared he would stand or fall by his order, and yet he exerted all his talent and influence to carry through a measure which politically nullified that order, and substituted that of shopkeepers, with whom assuredly his aristocratic feelings had nothing in common, in its room. In this there was no duplicity or disingenuousness on the part of this proud and straightforward nobleman. He believed all he said, and acted accordingly; but his measures, being founded on no practical acquaintance with the community to which they referred, had a directly contrary tendency to what he intended, and ere long precipitated himself from power, and his order from the dominant posi-

tion it had so long held in English society.*

11. Second only to Earl Grey in influence and station, and superior to him in versatile power, LORD BROUGHAM now stood prominently forward in a totally different sphere and position from that in which he had first moved and risen to such eminence. A tribune of the people, he was suddenly made a senator; a brilliant and successful advocate, he was at once, and without having gone through any of the intermediate stations, elevated to the very highest judicial station; a common lawyer, chiefly known in political or popular cases at *nisi prius*, he was put at the head of the Court of Chancery, and immersed in all the subtleties of

* In the course of the debates on the Reform Bill in the House of Peers, Lord Sidmouth, who supposed Lord Grey to have been carried by circumstances far beyond his original intention, said to him, "I hope God will forgive you on account of this bill; I don't think I can." To which Lord Grey replied, "Mark my words: within two years you will find that we have become unpopular from having brought forward the most aristocratic measure that ever was proposed in Parliament." Lord Althorpe, too, did not conceal his opinion; he avowed it, "that the Reform Bill was the most aristocratic Act ever offered to the nation; and the wonder is, who can doubt it, while the new county representation preponderates over the addition to the towns."—See *Sidmouth's Life*, iii. 439; and *MISS MARTINEAU*, ii. 28, 29. The truth is, that there was much plausibility in the reason thus advanced to prove the aristocratic tendency of the Reform Bill; and without doubt these noble lords were perfectly sincere in the opinion thus advanced. But what they did not see, though their followers did, was, that these aristocratic tendencies were entirely neutralised and overpowered by three circumstances, the action of which has now been completely demonstrated by experience. These were—1. The working of the ten-pound clause, which in all the boroughs (that is, three-fifths of the House of Commons) vested the returns in *one class—that of small shopkeepers*; 2. The operation of the monetary laws, which, by adding 50 per cent to the value of money, and taking as much from the remuneration of industry, has rendered these small shopkeepers chiefly dependent on the moneyed and commercial, instead of the landed and aristocratic, class; 3. The vast extension of the commerce and manufactures of the country, which rendered the greater part of the boroughs, and many of the counties in the manufacturing districts, dependent on the employment furnished by the great manufacturing cities, not the purchases made by the impoverished landlords in their vicinity.

conveyancing, and the niceties of the law of equity. He was the first barrister, if we except perhaps Lord Erskine, who was made Lord Chancellor, and put at the head of the court of last resort, entirely from political considerations, and to avoid a difficulty in the formation of an administration, without any regard to his competency to discharge the important duties with which he was intrusted.

12. He was no common man who could stand such a change of position, not only with no diminution, but in some respects with an increase of reputation. It is reported to have been said of him, when he was elevated to the Woolsack, by a very great lawyer, "It is a pity Lord Brougham does not know a little of English law, for then he would know something of everything;" and certainly his judgments in the Chancery Court will never be placed on a level with those of Lord Eldon, or Lord St Leonards, or the other great masters of the law of equity. But it is a mistake to imagine that he proved a failure on the bench. It was not to be supposed that a man of his extraordinary versatility of talent and variety of information should have acquired the vast store of precedents which can be mastered only by a powerful mind exclusively devoted to their acquisition; still less that he should be on a level with experienced equity lawyers, when the first time he entered the Chancery Court was in advanced years as its head. But his example, and the great ability which he has shown now for a quarter of a century in determining cases in the House of Peers, proves that an extensive acquaintance with precedents is not an indispensable requisite for a great Judge; and that strong natural talents, and habits of forensic debate, in a different branch of jurisprudence, may, when the cases are fully laid before him, sometimes enable the Judge to supply the want of early acquaintance with another branch of law. Lord Eldon's decisions on Scotch cases are universally regarded with the utmost respect by the Scotch bar, and yet he never practised at it, and had little

experience of appeals from that part of the island before being put on the Woolsack.

13. If the legislative measures in which Lord Brougham took an interest, or has been mainly instrumental in promoting, are considered, we shall have more cause to admire the variety of his acquirements, the versatility of his powers, than the length of his vision or the solidity of his judgment. He did not foresee the real tendency of the measures which he so powerfully advocated, and in consequence brought about results the very reverse of what he intended and desired. He professed to "stand upon the ancient ways of the constitution" in all his projects of reform; and yet he strenuously supported, or besought the House of Peers, "on his bended knees," to pass a bill on that subject, which entirely altered those ways, because, in lieu of the old representation of classes and interests, it introduced the new representation of mere numbers, or one single class in society. He was the uncompromising foe through life of West India slavery, and the generous advocate of the poor negro's rights; and yet, by urging on the fatal step of immediate and unprepared emancipation, he has proved his worst enemy, and thrown back the sable inhabitants of the Antilles centuries in the path of real and lasting improvement. No man saw more clearly, or has expressed more strongly, the decline which would be brought on British agriculture from the unrestrained competition of foreign states; and yet he has been active in the furthering of a series of measures which have rendered Great Britain, in seven years, from being practically self-supporting, dependent on foreign states, in ordinary years for a third, in unfavourable ones for a half, of the national subsistence. In two important particulars, however, his labours have been attended with unmitigated good. He has been, through life, the zealous supporter of the cause of general education, although sectarian jealousy has hitherto much impeded the beneficent results of his efforts; and he has devoted his great powers, with equal

judgment and success, to the important and difficult subject of Law Reform.*

14. His style of speaking, though always energetic and powerful, affords the most striking contrast to that which his taste approves, and which he has uniformly recommended to the imitation of others. The last is condensed even to the confines of dryness; the first diffuse to those of excess. No one feels more strongly, or has expressed more emphatically, the manly simplicity of ancient oratory; and yet no one in his own speeches has deviated more completely from the style of Demosthenes, or overlaid ideas always forcible, often striking, by an overwhelming deluge of words. It would seem as if in his own style of speaking he was desirous, by the process of *reductio ad absurdum*, of establishing the truths of the general principles on eloquence which he has elsewhere inculcated. This verbose habit is very much to be regretted, for, on the few occasions on which it has been avoided, he has left most striking pieces of oratory.† His expressions in each clause of a sentence are generally forcible, often epigrammatic; it is the frequent repetition of the same idea in different forms, and putting it in different lights, which weakens the force of his addresses. Yet, however widely

it may deviate from the standard of ancient eloquence or ideal perfection, if we are to judge from the result, it was well calculated for the persons to whom it was addressed; for he was mainly instrumental in achieving the four great Liberal triumphs of the last half-century—the repeal of the Orders in Council, that of the Income-Tax, the passing of the Reform Bill, and of Negro Emancipation.

15. If there is any British statesman of his age who has acquired a European reputation, it may safely be pronounced to be LORD PALMERSTON, whose name will be for ever associated with the great change in our foreign policy, and the substitution of Liberal for Conservative alliances. Foreign nations, not aware of the vital change which the Reform Bill made in our Government, ascribe this change chiefly, if not entirely, to his individual influence; and according as their statesmen and historians belong to the democratic or monarchical party, he is the subject either of vehement laudation or of impassioned hatred. In truth, however, he is not the fit object of the praise he has received, or the vituperation with which he has been encountered. In a despotic country, a minister may impress his own principles upon the measures of govern-

* The quantity of grain consumed in the British Islands in 1854 was—

	Qrs.	Qrs.
By man,	32,850,000	
By animals and distillers,	16,350,000	
		49,200,000
Produced,		42,265,771
Imported on average of seven years ending 1852,		6,929,786
Imported, 1853,		10,173,135

—M'CULLOCH, in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edit., voce Great Britain.

The importation of all kinds of grain is now (1863) from 14,000,000 to 18,000,000 quarters annually, being just a half of the required food of man. The details are as follows :—

	1859.	1860.	1861.	1862.
	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.
Grain—Wheat,	4,000,922	5,880,956	6,912,815	9,469,270
Grain—other kinds,	5,317,761	7,125,662	7,366,239	6,905,922
Meal—Wheat,	950,949	1,453,205	1,759,982	2,059,175
Meal—other kinds,	1,142	35,150	57,878	5,124
	10,270,774	14,494,976	16,094,914	18,441,791

—*Statistical Abstract*, No. X., 36, 39.

† His written speeches, as Lord Rector of Glasgow College in 1857, and as Lord Chancellor to that of Edinburgh in 1860, were wonderful compositions, exhibiting, in a condensed form, the thought and learning of a lifetime.

ment; in a constitutional one he must receive it from the Legislature. The Reform Bill having vested the government of England in the class of urban shopkeepers, the majority of whom are imbued with Liberal principles, the carrying out of their wishes into our foreign policy became a matter of necessity, to which every minister, however otherwise inclined, must bend.*

16. If this change of policy, however, was imposed upon the country by the Reform Bill, it is equally true that the character and talents of the Liberal Foreign Secretary, in a prominent manner, fitted him for carrying it through. His abilities were not only of the highest order, but of the most marketable description. No man knew better how to address himself in speaking to the prevailing feelings and tastes of his audience, in acting to the inclination and interests of the class in society upon which his influence was rested. Great as were his talents, varied his accomplishments, they were rendered still more powerful by the versatility of their possessor. He could be, when he pleased, all things to all men. He has been a member of the greater part of the Administrations of all parties for the last fifty years.† He

* Lord Palmerston was sagacious enough to see, as he advanced in life, in what direction the current of general opinion was running, and, without relinquishing his settled secret convictions, he adapted himself to it. He has, accordingly, been as conservative in domestic government as was consistent with his place in a Liberal administration.

† In March 1807 Lord Palmerston was appointed a junior Lord of the Admiralty, on the formation of the Duke of Portland's Administration. In October 1809 he succeeded Lord Castlereagh as Secretary-at-War, and held that office (under the successive Administrations of Mr Perceval, the Earl of Liverpool, Mr Canning, Lord Goderich, and the Duke of Wellington) till May 1828, when, with Mr Huskisson and others, he withdrew from the Duke's Cabinet. In November 1830, on the retirement of the Wellington Administration, Lord Palmerston became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Earl Grey's Administration, and this office he held (with the exception of his temporary retirement in 1831) till November 1834, and again from April 1835 (with the exception of the few days' interval in May 1839) to August or September 1841. From that time to 1846 Lord Palmerston was in opposition. In July 1846,

has alternately aided in expelling his former friends from power, and reinstating them in office; yet, strange to say, his character for consistency has not materially suffered from these changes. The reason is, that all men see that, like the Duke of Wellington, his leading principle has always been the advancement of the power and glory of his country; and that he has taken a part in so many administrations, because they successively furnished him with the means of advancing that primary object. He has been through life not so much a statesman as a diplomatic soldier of the State.

17. His talents for diplomacy and administration were unquestionably of a very high order. To immense acquaintance with foreign treaties and conventions, he unites the rarer but not less essential knowledge of courts and statesmen, and the prevailing influences by which they are severally governed. As Secretary-at-War during the contest with Napoleon, and Home Secretary under Queen Victoria, his administrative powers have been equally conspicuous; and such were his oratorical talents that no man could with greater certainty alternately keep the attention of the House of Commons awake during a long detail of diplomatic proceedings, or fascinate a popular audience by the beauties of a varied and highly wrought eloquence. Indefatigable in his attention to business, he yet found time, as men of a similar energetic turn of mind often do, for the pleasures of society; and much of his political influence is owing to the charm which manners of the highest breeding, and courtesy of the most finished kind, lend to a varied and delightful conversation. These varied powers have largely contributed to his fame and popularity as a Minister.

on the resignation of Sir R. Peel, his Lordship returned once more to office, as Foreign Secretary. In December 1851 he retired from Lord J. Russell's Cabinet. In December 1852 he became Home Secretary in the Administration of the Earl of Aberdeen. In December 1853 he resigned, but after a few days resumed his post, at the solicitation of his colleagues; and this he held till March 1855, when he succeeded Lord Aberdeen as Premier. His Lordship was born in October 1784.

ter. No man can "star it," in dramatic phrase, in the provinces with equal success; and his most decided opponents cannot avoid being fascinated by the tact and brilliancy of his after-dinner speeches.

18. The great fault of this accomplished minister—and it is a very serious one, for it has more than once brought his country to the brink of the most serious danger—was, that he never calculated the means at his disposal for effecting the projects which he had at heart, and engaged in designs which he had not the means of carrying through, or stimulated movements in other countries which he had not the means of supporting. There was a restless desire to advance the dignity and interests of his country and party on all occasions, which has more than once brought both into serious peril. Bred in the school of Pitt, and essentially patriotic in his feelings and ideas, he sometimes forgot the difference in the situation and power of the country at different times, and has often held as high language in diplomatic intercourse, when a reformed House of Commons had not left twenty thousand disposable men in the country, or ten ships of the line to form a Channel fleet, as when Lord Castlereagh wielded the power of one hundred and fifty thousand, and one hundred ships of the line bore the royal flag. A sincere friend of freedom, he has occasionally proved its worst enemy, by stimulating movements of the Liberal party among the excitable inhabitants of other states, which the people of this country had neither the means nor the inclination to support, and being forced, in consequence, to leave them to be crushed by the military force of despotic powers. With admirable skill he arranged all the other powers of Europe to check the ambition of France on the Eastern Question in 1840; and it was owing to the influence of his diplomacy that the cordial alliance of France and England was formed which put such a bridle in the mouth of Russia in 1854. But on other occasions his ill-timed assertions of British influence have been attended with the utmost hazard;

for they brought us to the verge of a war with France, and once with France and Russia united, at a time when the country was wholly unprepared to maintain a contest with either the one or the other.

19. LORD JOHN RUSSELL has not obtained the same elevated niche in the temple of fame as Lord Grey and Lord Palmerston; but still the nobleman who carried the Reform Bill through the House of Commons, and has since for years held the highest place in the councils of his Sovereign, or been the leader of the House of Commons, must be regarded as no common man. As an orator he occupied a useful rather than a distinguished place. He seldom aimed at the highest flights of eloquence, and his speeches were distinguished by business-like habits, by information on the subject, and acuteness in reply, rather than either genius of conception or cogency of argument. If he owed, however, the distinguished position he so long held in the House of Commons, in the first instance, to family influence and the prestige of an illustrious name, he afterwards showed that he was not unworthy of it, by the talent he exhibited while discharging its duties. To admirable temper and great tact in debate, he united a thorough acquaintance with the feeling and prevailing inclination of the House, and especially of his own side,—qualities invaluable in the leader of a party, and much more important than those more showy ones which often dazzle only to mislead. His figure was not commanding, and his voice feeble, so that nature had not endowed him with the physical qualities requisite for subduing stormy assemblies, but she in a great degree made up for the deficiency by the gift of the prudence and judgment which so often succeed in the end in leading them.

20. Sydney Smith has said, that such is Lord John Russell's confidence in himself, that he would, with equal readiness, at a moment's warning, assume the lead of the House of Commons, take the command of the Chan-

nel fleet, or undertake to cut for the stone. Assuming that the celebrated discourses has here strained somewhat for the sake of point, it is evident, from Lord John Russell's public career, that there is some truth in the assertion, though his success in literature and biography by no means warrants the belief that the confidence is in every respect well founded. On several important occasions he has shown that he does not shrink from responsibility, and that, supported only by courage and conscious rectitude, he can engage fearlessly in the most hazardous undertakings. His conduct as the leader of the House of Commons on occasion of the Reform Bill in 1831, and the war with Russia in 1854, and of Cardinal Wiseman's assumption of titles when he was Prime Minister, sufficiently demonstrates this. Unfortunately, his colleagues in the Cabinet were not always possessed of the same determination, and thus it has not infrequently happened that the most intrepid denunciations on his part have been followed by no corresponding state measures, and thus have entirely lost their effect. In one respect his conduct has always been worthy of the very highest admiration: he never shirked responsibility, but, on the contrary, not only always took his full share of it when his own, but generously came forward to divide with others a responsibility which belonged to their department, and with which his connection was more nominal than real—a conduct which has done more than anything else to win for him the respect of the country, for the obvious reason that it is the rarest quality in public men, and the one which most observers feel themselves least competent to imitate.

21. LORD MELBOURNE was a man of very different abilities and character from the eminent ones which have now been drawn; but he has occupied too important a position in the councils of his Sovereign, on her first accession to the throne, and for some years after, not to deserve a distinguished place in a contemporary gallery of state portraits. If his talents

were not of the highest order, they were of the kind of all others best adapted for the important and responsible duty to which he was called, of guiding a youthful Queen in the first and most important years of her reign. To great and almost unrivalled powers of conversation he united the charm of the highest breeding and the grace of the most polished manner. A man of the world in every sense of the word, he had mingled in all its circles only to glean from each what rendered him a delightful companion, a brilliant ornament to the most elevated. His store of anecdote was immense, and related to the most interesting characters; his felicity in recounting them equal to the tact with which they were given out or withheld. An accomplished classical scholar, and well versed in the traditional history of great families, he had little information on the subjects required by a statesman, and took his opinion on the measures brought forward rather from the authority of others than his own reflection. Yet his suavity of disposition and courtesy of manner conquered all opposition; and when, as Prime Minister, he gave in the House of Lords, with perfect *nonchalance*, in answer to a question put to him, "I really know nothing at all about the matter," there was a loud laugh from all sides, and no further inquiries were made. The truth was, all parties, and especially those of them who were nearest the throne, were aware of the vast importance of the duties which, when Prime Minister, he discharged as councillor and almost guardian of our present gracious Sovereign in her early years; and if we are to judge of the debt of gratitude which the nation owes him for the manner in which he fulfilled them, from the strict propriety and wisdom of her Majesty's conduct ever since her accession to the throne, the debt is great indeed.

22. SIR JAMES GRAHAM owed more to natural advantages than any of the statesmen who have been mentioned. A tall and commanding figure, handsome countenance, and powerful sonorous voice, gave him the superiority in

debate which, in civil almost as much as military contests, these qualities never fail to confer; and to these he united administrative and oratorical talents of a very high order. As First Lord of the Admiralty on the Whigs' accession to office in 1830, and again when the Russian war broke out in 1854, he evinced a degree of vigour and capacity which was appreciated and acknowledged by all parties; and he displayed equal ability as Home Secretary during a very trying time, from 1841 to 1846. Indefatigable in his attention to business, and endowed with great powers of application, he was always prepared on his own subjects; and, unlike Lord Melbourne, could give a satisfactory answer to every question put regarding them. The expression of his countenance had a supercilious cast, a quality which has been complained of in him in official intercourse, though none was more bland or courteous in private society. He was a powerful debater, as well from the cogency of argument employed as the stores of information displayed, and was excelled by none in the rare and effective power of reply. Occasionally, though not frequently, he rose to the highest flights of eloquence.

23. Inconsistency was his great defect, and his reputation has suffered more from this peculiarity than that of Lord Palmerston, who is also chargeable with it, because he at different times took more decided and contradictory views on the same question. There is hardly a subject of importance discussed of late years on which there will not be found, in the parliamentary debates, an admirable refutation of a previous equally admirable argument on the opposite side by this skilful rhetorician. This, however, is the fault of the age and circumstances under which he lived, rather than of the individual man. Such is the mutability of general opinion in every popular government, that the rulers of the State can only maintain their ascendancy by changing with it. The philosopher may be consistent, because his aim is the discovery of truth, which is ever the same; the historian, be-

cause he traces the unchanging laws of the social order through all the mutations of fortune. But the statesman in a popular community, who aims at the enjoyment of power, can attain it only by the suffrages of the multitude, and to gain them he must often share its mutability. Consistency in such a case is a passport to ultimate fame, but it generally leads to present downfall.

24. Such were the chiefs of the Liberal party, who now succeeded to power, and in whose hands, with a few brief intermissions, the government of the country has since been constantly vested. Earl Grey, immediately after his accession to office, made the following profession of the principles of his administration, which diffused general satisfaction: "Prominently, and in the foreground, I place Reform in Parliament. I have, when out of office, declared that that great question could be satisfactorily introduced by the Government alone, and that the Government ought immediately to propound some measure concerning it. What out of office I have professed, I am now in office about to perform; and I promise that a proposal for the reform of our representative system shall be introduced immediately for the consideration of Parliament. It shall be a proposal not of any wild or unreasoning change, not of universal suffrage, not a mere theory of pretended accuracy and efficiency. I desire to stand as much as possible on the fixed and settled institutions of the country. What I seek to do is all that is necessary to secure to the people a due influence in the great Council of the nation, and to secure by that means confidence and satisfaction in the determinations of Parliament. Anything short of this will be insufficient. But while seeking for this end, I am anxious not to disturb, by violent changes, the established principles and practice of the constitution. To such a measure I have secured his Majesty's assent. The important matter of the poor will also be considered, and the laws which regulate the provision which the State makes for them. The

whole and earnest attention of my colleagues and myself shall be directed to economy in every department of the State, and every saving that can possibly be made shall be adopted with the most unflinching severity."

25. After a few routine measures had passed, Parliament adjourned to the 9th February. The interim was a period of great alarm and anxiety in England. The southern counties around London were, as Lord Grey afterwards said in Parliament, "in a state of open insurrection; and midnight fires or predial outrages seemed to have been imported into the peaceful realm of England from the distracted and wasted fields of Ireland." The special commission, however, which was opened in December, had a salutary effect: the execution of some desperadoes, convicted of fire-raising, spread a universal terror among the peasantry, and the transportation of great numbers of others, at length arrested the disorders which had attained so alarming a height. But the excitement in the towns was not so easily appeased. Public meetings were everywhere held, in many cases presided over by distinguished members of the Whig aristocracy, at which the most inflammatory language was used. Constant reference was made to the armed insurrection which had overthrown the government in France and Belgium, and hints given that, if the English aristocracy adopted a similar system of resistance to the public voice, their fate might be the same. These threats were always received with the most vociferous applause, insomuch that not merely the timid and temporising, but even the firm and intrepid, began to think that a general convulsion was at hand. Mr O'Connell and the other members of the Catholic Association were in an especial manner laudatory of the revolution at Brussels, which, as leading to the overthrow of a government and the disruption of a kingdom by a rebellion fomented by the Romish priesthood, was held up as a glorious object, worthy of general imitation.*

* Mr Sheil, not the least violent or able of

26. "The proceedings and language of Mr O'Connell," says Mr Roebuck, "became every day more hostile and threatening: he went about the country making violent harangues, gathering together numerous assemblages of the people, under colour of meetings for the purposes of petitioning, or of celebrating some feast or festival. At all of these meetings he did his utmost to excite his ignorant hearers, but always ending his speeches by some earnest recommendations to keep the peace, hoping thus to escape the law." Such was the alarm generally excited by these proceedings, that the magistrates in the disturbed districts asked from the Lord-Lieutenant how they should act in regard to them, not from any difficulty in determining what was the law, but from uncertainty whether, or to what extent, the Government would enforce the law, or support their acts in carrying it into execution. The answer of the Lord-Lieutenant was sufficiently clear, and such as every lawyer knows to be the law, and every man of sense must see is an exposition of what is essential to the peace of the community.* But meanwhile distress,

Mr O'Connell's friends, said at this time: "If the Union is not repealed within two years, I am determined that I will neither pay rent, tithes, nor taxes. They may distress my goods, but who'll buy, boys?—that's the word—who'll buy? Mind, I don't tell any man to follow my advice; but so help me God, if I don't do it, you may call me 'Sheil of the silk gown.'"—ROEBUCK, vol. ii. p. 15.

* "The law recognises the fair and legitimate exercise of the right of petition, and protects them in the full exercise of that right; but it does not warrant any assemblies having a manifest and direct tendency to a violation of the public peace, under whatever name, or for whatever professed object they are assembled. Therefore any assemblies of persons, whether collected under pretence of petitioning, or of public exhibitions of strength and skill, or under any other pretence whatever, if from their number, acts, place, or times of meeting, or other circumstances preceding or accompanying them, they excite in the minds of his Majesty's well-disposed subjects *reasonable fears* that the public peace will be thereby violated, and the lives and properties of the King's subjects thereby endangered; or if they be so constituted or conducted as to induce *reasonable and well-founded apprehensions* that the motives and objects of the persons so assembling are not the fair and legal exer-

the usual accompaniment of agitation, which distracts the minds of the peasantry, set in with extraordinary severity in Ireland. Potatoes in less than usual quantities had been planted in that country, and such as had been even then had suffered under the epidemic which afterwards made such fatal ravages in its fields. Two hundred thousand persons were without food; and their sufferings were aggravated by great severity of weather, and want of clothing, food, and fuel. The peasants crowded in thousands into the towns, where they introduced contagion and death. When Parliament met in spring, one of their first measures was to vote £50,000 for the relief of the starving people; but though this evinced a sympathy with their sufferings, it did no good except alleviating immediate want, for it was nearly all expended in forming useless highways, and making good roads bad ones.

27. The declared object of all these movements was to procure a repeal of the Union, and unwearied were the efforts, innumerable the shifts, of Mr O'Connell to keep up the agitation for this object, without incurring the penalties of treason or sedition. The device usually adopted was to assemble the people in such numbers as to intimidate Government by the display of

cise of constitutional rights and privileges, but the accomplishment of alterations in the laws and constitution of the realm by *means of intimidation and by demonstration of physical force*, or by any other than legal and constitutional means; all these and suchlike assemblies, however composed, or with whatever view collected, are illegal, and are by the law denominated 'unlawful assemblies.' And it is the duty of all magistrates within whose jurisdiction such assemblies are called together (being first satisfied of their illegal nature), by all lawful means within their power to prevent such meetings, and to suppress and disperse them."—*Ann. Reg.* 1831, pp. 301, 302. It is impossible to state the law more clearly than is here done, and it was laid down in exactly the same terms by Lord Tenterden and the Court of King's Bench in Mr Hunt's case. They form a curious commentary on the meetings at Birmingham, Manchester, and Glasgow, by which the Reform Bill was carried, and the monster meetings by which for so many years the germs of improvement in Ireland were crushed.

physical strength, and at the same time avoid an ostensible breach of the law by recommending peaceable conduct and obedience to the letter of the Lord-Lieutenant's proclamation. As fast as one meeting was proclaimed down, another was convened under a different name, or for a different avowed object; and in the interval letters were invariably published by O'Connell, recommending peaceable and ceaseless agitation, and promising a repeal of the Union in two years if his advice was implicitly followed.* At length Government, under the able and energetic advice of Mr Stanley, wearied with this interminable pacific warfare, determined on a prosecution, and an indictment was accordingly executed against him and several of his associates. The grand jury found true bills against them; and although they threw every possible obstacle in the way of the proceedings, they were successfully carried through. Mr O'Connell withdrew his demurrer, and actually *pleaded guilty* to some counts in the indictment. This was so unexpected a result that it naturally created a suspicion of some secret understanding or agreement with the Government. Mr Stanley, however, the Irish Secretary, upon being questioned on the subject in the House of Commons, emphatically denied that there was any such understanding, and declared in the most solemn way, "It is the unalterable determination of the

* "Let us be in no hurry. Events in England and on the continent of Europe are working for us. Every succeeding day weakens the supporters of despotism in every clime and country; each successive day strengthens the friends of cheap government and free institutions. Patience, my dear countrymen, and Ireland will achieve one more bloodless, stainless change. Since I was born she has achieved two such glorious political revolutions. The first was in 1782, when she conquered legislative independence; the second in 1829, when she won for her victory freedom of conscience; the third and best remains behind—the restoration of a domestic and reformed legislature by the repeal of the Union. This we will also achieve if we persevere in a legal, constitutional, and peaceable course. Let my advice but be followed, and I will venture to assert the Union cannot last two years longer."—ROBEYCK, vol. ii. pp. 22, 23.

law-officers in Ireland to let the law take its course against him." But in making that declaration that highly gifted nobleman was not yet aware of the degradation which sooner or later awaits all who, for political purposes, ally themselves with popular demagogues — *Mr O'Connell was never brought up for judgment!* The Reform Bill was coming on in the House of Commons; a general election might at no distant period be anticipated; the support of the Catholic leaders in and out of Parliament might be required by Government, and the haughty spirit of Earl Grey yielded to the necessities of his situation. Nothing was done against O'Connell: he openly braved and abused the Government, but he and his party supported them in Parliament, and he and his associates were permitted to carry on for fifteen years longer their unchecked career of agitation, devastation, and ruin.*

28. On February 11, Lord Althorpe brought forward the budget, which, although not of much moment in a

* "The Crown has procured a verdict against Mr O'Connell, and it will undoubtedly call him up to receive judgment on it."—*Mirror of Parliament*, 1831, p. 281. Such were Mr Stanley's words, in which he was undoubtedly sincere, but he was overruled by the Cabinet. The excuse put forward for this discreditable act—viz., that the Act under which O'Connell had been convicted expired before he could be brought up to receive judgment—is unfounded both in fact and in law. He pleaded guilty on Feb. 5, and the Parliament was dissolved on April 22; and every lawyer knows that though an Act of Parliament may be temporary in its duration, the punishment of a crime committed while it was in force may be inflicted or continue long after. In truth, the whole affair was a mere compromise of justice for expedience, or rather party ambition; and it was discussed as such in the Cabinet of Dublin, and produced an estrangement between Lord Cloncurry and Mr O'Connell, and such a violent altercation between the former and the Attorney-General (Mr Blackburn), who insisted for punishment, that the Lord-Lieutenant was obliged to take a pledge from both it should go no further. "I strongly urged upon Lord Anglesea," says Lord Cloncurry, "*the prudence of allowing Mr O'Connell to escape*, as the infliction of a nominal punishment, which could only have endured a few weeks, would only have the appearance of impotent malice."—Lord CLONCURREY'S *Recollections*, quoted in ROEBUCK, vol. ii. p. 60.

financial point of view, as its leading provisions were defeated in Parliament, was yet attended with very important results in a political, as that very defeat opened the eyes of Government to the necessity of conciliating their Radical allies, and had no small influence in the construction of the Reform Bill, now under the consideration of the Cabinet. The preceding year had been one of unsparing and unflinching economy, which had brought a considerable and real excess of income over expenditure. Lord Althorpe, basing his calculations on that year, estimated the national income in round numbers at £50,000,000, and the expenditure at £46,850,000, leaving an anticipated surplus of £3,150,000. Instead, however, of reserving this surplus, as it should have been, for the reduction of the national debt, it was resolved to take off taxes to more than the whole amount, and in lieu thereof to impose other taxes, which it was thought would be less burdensome to the people. The taxes taken off he estimated at £4,080,000, and the taxes to be imposed at £2,740,000, thereby reducing the anticipated clear surplus to £1,800,000 a-year! A woeful reduction, when it is recollected that, when the new system of finance began in 1813, and present popularity was looked for instead of ultimate good, the Sinking Fund was £15,000,000, at which level it might have been retained but for the immense diminution of indirect taxes forced on by the contraction of the currency.

29. This was a sufficiently alarming state of finances, with a view to the ultimate solvency and resources of the country. But it was rendered doubly important with reference to *present* interests, by the description of taxes which were proposed to be removed, and those which were to be imposed. The principal ones which were to be taken off were those on tobacco, glass, sea-borne coal, tallow candles, and printed calicoes; and no one could deny that the reduction of these duties would be a very considerable relief to the industrious classes of the community. But with regard to the new taxes

to be imposed, there was much more room for difference of opinion. They consisted chiefly of an increase in the duties on *Cape* wine, *colonial* timber, raw cottons, steamboat passengers, and half a per cent on the transfers of funded property.* These taxes were considerable in point of amount, but they were far more so in point of principle, for they indicated in an unmistakable manner the new interests which were rising to the government of the State, and the old ones whose influence was declining, and which were in consequence to be subjected to taxation. For the first time in English history, a duty was to be imposed on funded property; and by the equalisation of the duties on Baltic and Canadian timber, and on Cape and foreign wines, the chief colonies of the empire would lose the benefit of protection on the staple article of their industry. These projects might be agreeable to some classes of the community, but they were eminently distasteful to others; and the latter were those who, by the possession of the close boroughs, had hitherto ruled the State. From the very first, accordingly, a violent clamour was raised against the proposed new taxes; and so vehement did it soon become, that two days afterwards the Chancellor of

* The budget proposed stood as follows:—

Taken off.

Tobacco, . . .	£1,400,000
Newspapers, . . .	190,000
Sea-borne Coal, . . .	830,000
Tallow Candles, . . .	420,000
Printed Calicoes, . . .	500,000†
Glass, . . .	600,000
Auctions, . . .	60,000
Miscellaneous, . . .	80,000
	<hr/>
	£4,080,000

Laid on.

Cape Wines, . . .	£240,000
Colonial Timber, . . .	600,000
Raw Cotton, . . .	500,000
Coals exported, . . .	100,000
Steamboat Passengers, . . .	100,000
Transfers in Funds, . . .	1,200,000
	<hr/>
	£2,740,000

—*Ann. Reg.*, 128, 129; *Parl. Deb.* (new series), ii. 411, 414.

† Though this tax produced only £500,000 a year, it was stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the loss it inflicted on the community was £2,500,000.—*Parl. Deb.* ii. 411.

the Exchequer was obliged to declare in Parliament, that the proposed tax on funded transfers was abandoned, and that, in consequence, he could not remit the duties on tobacco and glass. The duty on steamboat passengers was also withdrawn, and that of 1d. a pound on raw cottons reduced to $\frac{1}{4}$ ths of 1d. The timber duties also were given up, having been lost on a division by a majority of 46. In a word, the proposed budget was entirely abandoned, and the defeat of Ministers was so obvious that they must have gone out had they not trusted to the sheet-anchor of the Reform Bill, which was essentially modified by this calamitous issue of their first financial measures.

30. Meanwhile a committee of the Cabinet was sitting, and actively engaged with the formation of the projected Reform Bill. It consisted of Lord Durham (Earl Grey's son-in-law, and who was perfectly acquainted with his views on the subject), Lord Duncannon, Sir James Graham, and Lord John Russell. The instructions of the Ministry to this committee were quite general, but they amounted to this, "that the measure should be large enough to satisfy at once the public opinion, and prevent any further change; but which, while thus extensive, should be based on and connected with existing territorial divisions and rights. The constitution was not to be trenched upon, but the House of Commons was really to represent the intelligence, property, and feeling of the people." The principles were first discussed, and the first draft submitted to the Government proposed to make the suffrage in towns depend on a rent of £15 or £20, but combined with the ballot. This, however, was not agreed to, and Earl Grey held out for the higher suffrage for a time.* At length,

* Earl Grey said in the House of Lords, on 28th March, "The first disposition of my mind was, to *limit the reform within a much narrower compass*; but after full consideration, and after having discussed the subject with my colleagues, I was convinced that nothing short of the present measure was likely to lead to the satisfactory result of fulfilling the wishes of all classes, and of giving to the Government security and respect;" and Sir R. Peel said in the House of Com-

as a measure of compromise, it was determined to make the suffrage £10 rent without the ballot. No one thought of introducing a suffrage depending on a *different kind* of qualification, or was aware of the effect of making it depend on *one alone*. The principle being agreed on, the details of the measure were next considered, and the boroughs to be wholly or partially disfranchised. Lord John Russell furnished the materials for this important part of the measure, proceeding, of course, on the information collected by others; and the principle adopted was, that all boroughs having together two thousand inhabitants should be wholly, between two thousand and four thousand inhabitants partially, disfranchised. At length the selection was made, not, however, without vehement charges of favouritism from the other side—"not wholly," says the Whig historian, "if my information be correct, without reason. Certainly some of the results did look exceedingly suspicious. Tavistock was the common subject of hostile sarcasm, and always, by some peculiar and happy fatality, escaped the drag-net of the dreaded schedules."

31. While these important discussions were going on in the Cabinet, and in the committee to which the preparation of the measure had been intrusted, the country was agitated from one end to the other with anxiety regarding it, and the agitation increased as the time for announcing it approached, until it became almost unbearable. Vast numbers of petitions were presented to the House of Commons, which gave a curious and instructive picture of the state of public opinion on the subject, and evinced beyond all question the deep-rooted desire for change which pervaded the middle and inferior classes of society. The great object of all seemed to be to secure "a real, not nominal, repre-

sentation of the people, and put an end to the influence of the aristocracy in returning members of the House of Commons." As to the means for effecting these objects, in the desirability of which all concurred, there was a great diversity of opinion, but the majority of the petitions recommended the shortening the duration of Parliament, extending and equalising the elective franchise, and the use of the ballot in elections. The evils which these changes were designed to remove were, the existing commercial and manufacturing distress, the frequency of unjust and unnecessary wars, the profligate expenditure of the public money, and the amount of taxes kept up to impoverish the country by squandering its resources on placemen and pensioners. In addition to these petitions, which were extremely numerous, associations were formed in all the great towns under the name of POLITICAL UNIONS, the object of which, like that of the Catholic Association, was to provide the means of permanent agitation, by raising funds, procuring a staff of itinerant orators, calling public meetings, influencing the press, and instilling by all possible means into the minds of the people the belief that all their sufferings were owing to the want of reform, and would be at once removed by its adoption.

32. At length the momentous day arrived, big with the future destinies of England and the whole civilised world. To Lord John Russell, out of compliment to the illustrious house from which he sprang, was assigned the honour of introducing the measure in the House of Commons. The House was crowded to excess in every part; all the avenues to it were choked with anxious and agitated crowds panting to get the first intelligence of the eventful measure, and messengers mounted on fleet horses to convey to the newspaper offices, and through them to the country, the earliest reports of the debate. When the doors of the gallery opened, the rush was tremendous, like that which had been witnessed at the theatres when Mrs Siddons was to fascinate the world by her mimic powers.

mons, on 19th April 1831, "I well know, for I heard it from the noble Earl himself, that at the close of last year the measure of reform contemplated by Earl Grey was of a more moderate nature—far more moderate than that which is now proposed. The present Lord Chancellor, too, said the same thing."—*Parl. Deb.* (new series), ii. 1032.

The House of Commons had become the stage, the world composed the audience. So well had the secret been preserved by the Cabinet, though so deeply interesting to so many, that not the slightest surmise had gone abroad of the intentions of Government; and when Lord John Russell rose amidst profound silence to state their designs, they came as much by surprise on the whole House as on the most distant parts of the country.

33. On the one hand, it was urged by Lord John Russell, Mr Macaulay, and Lord-Advocate Jeffrey: "The measure now to be brought forward, though moved by one who is not a member of the Cabinet, is the result of the united opinions of the whole Cabinet, and especially of the noble Lord at its head. The object of the Government has been to frame a measure which, without going the length of the extreme partisans of either side, shall amend all existing imperfections, and satisfy all the reasonable demands of the country. We desire to stand between two hostile parties, neither agreeing with the bigoted, on the one hand, that no reform is necessary, nor with the fanatics on the other, that nothing but the most extreme measures will satisfy the people. To attempt to calm the public mind will not endanger the institutions of the country; to refuse to do so might have that effect. We hope to take a firm and steadfast ground between the abuses we wish to amend and the convulsions we hope to avert.

34. "Our ancient statutes of Edward I. contain the vital principles of our constitution. The 25th of that monarch, cap. 6, declares, 'that for no business from henceforth we should take such manner of aids, tasks, nor prizes, but by the common consent of the realm, and for the common profit thereof, saving the ancient aids and prizes due and accustomed.' The 34th Edward I., commonly called *De Tallagio non concedendo*, expressly provides, 'that no tallage or aid shall be taken or levied by us or our heirs in our realm without the goodwill and

assent of archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other freemen of the land.' Although historical doubts have been thrown on this statute, its validity cannot be contested, for it is asserted in the Petition of Right that it was allowed by the judges in the case of Hampden, and is, in fact, the foundation of the constitution, as it has existed since the days of the Stuarts. The consent of the 'burgesses and other freemen of the land' thus required to the validity of any imposition was given by their representatives, consisting, by immemorial usage, of two knights from each county, two citizens from each city, and two burgesses from each borough. For two hundred and fifty years the number of boroughs so sending members to Parliament was one hundred and twenty, and thirty or forty others exercised or lost that privilege, according as they rose or sank in importance. At the beginning of this period there can be no question that the House of Commons did represent the people of England, and continued to do so for a very long period. No man of sense now pretends that this House represents the people of England. If the question is to be determined, therefore, by considerations of right, it must be determined in favour of reform.

35. "Turn now to the question as one of reason. Suppose a stranger from some distant country should arrive in England to examine our institutions. He had been informed that this country was singular from the eminence it had attained in wealth, science, and civilisation. If, in addition to this, he learned that this land, so great, so learned, so renowned, once in six years chose its representatives to sit in the great Council of the nation, and legislate on all its concerns, with what eagerness would he inquire by what process so important an election as that of this body was effected? What, then, would be his surprise if he were taken by his guide, whom he had asked to accompany him to one of the places of election—to a green mound—and told that this green mound

returned two members to Parliament; or to a stone wall, with niches in it, and told that they returned two members; or to a green park, and told it returned as many? But what would be his surprise if he were carried to the north of England, where he would see large and flourishing towns, full of commerce and activity, containing vast magazines of trade and manufactures, and were told that these places had no representatives in the assembly which was said to represent the people? Suppose him, after all, to ask for a specimen of popular elections, and to be carried for that purpose to Liverpool, his surprise would be turned into disgust at the gross corruption and venality which he would find to pervade the electors. After seeing all this, would he not wonder that a nation which had made such progress in every kind of knowledge, and which valued itself upon its freedom, should permit so absurd and defective a system of representation any longer to prevail?

36. "It has been often said, and by none so often as the late Mr Canning, that whatever the constitution of the House of Commons may be, and however open to theoretical objections, it has worked well in practice, and has enjoyed the confidence of the people. Can that any longer be affirmed? Is it the case at this moment? So far from it, the whole people are calling loudly for reform. That confidence, whatever it was, and on whatever founded, which formerly existed in the House of Commons as at present constituted, has gone for ever. It would be easier to transfer the flourishing manufactures of Manchester and Leeds to Gotton and Old Sarum, than to re-establish confidence and sympathy between this House and those whom it is pleased to call its constituents. In a word, if the question is considered as one of right, it is in favour of reform; if it is considered as one of reason or justice, it is in favour of reform; if it is considered as one of reason and necessity, it is still more loudly in favour of reform.

27. "We talk of the wisdom of our

ancestors, and in one respect certainly they were wiser than we are. They legislated for their own times; they looked at England as it was before them: they did not think it necessary to give twice as many members to York as they did to London, because York had been the capital of England in the time of Constantine; and they would certainly have been amazed if they had been told that a city with a hundred thousand inhabitants would be left without representation in the nineteenth century, merely because in the thirteenth it consisted only of a few huts. They formed a representative system, not indeed without defects and irregularities, but which was well adapted to the England of their time. But when new forms of property arose—when former towns became villages, and former villages became towns—a change in the representation became necessary, to prevent it from becoming the mere vehicle of class government, and thereby proving a curse instead of a blessing to society. Unfortunately, when times were changed, the old institutions remained unchanged. The form remained when the spirit had departed. Then came the pressure almost to bursting—the new wine in the old bottles, the new people under the old institutions.

38. "It is now time for us to pay a decent, rational, manly reverence to our ancestors, not by superstitiously adhering to what, under other circumstances, they did, but by doing what they, under our circumstances, would have done. All history is full of revolutions produced by causes similar to those which are now operating in England. A portion of the community which had been of no account, expands and becomes strong. It demands a place in the system, suited, not to its former weakness, but to its present strength. If this is granted, all is well; if it is refused, then comes the struggle between the young energy of the one class, and the ancient privileges of the other. Such was the struggle between the patricians and plebeians of Rome: such was the struggle of the Italian allies for ad-

mission to the full rights of Roman citizens; such was the struggle of the North American colonies against the mother country; such was the struggle of the *Tiers Etat* of France against the aristocracy of birth; such was the struggle which the Catholics of Ireland maintained against the aristocracy of creed; such is the struggle which the free people of colour in Jamaica are now maintaining against the aristocracy of skin; such, finally, is the struggle which the middle classes of England are maintaining against the aristocracy of mere locality—against an aristocracy, the principle of which is to invest a hundred drunken potwallopers in one place, the owner of a ruined hovel in another, with power which we withhold from cities renowned to the furthest ends of the earth for the marvels of their wealth, and the prodigies of their industry.

39. “The argument drawn from the virtual representation is wholly unfounded. On what principle can it be maintained that a power which is admitted to be salutary when exercised virtually, is noxious when exercised directly? If the wishes of Manchester have already as much influence with us as if Manchester were directly represented, can there be any danger in giving direct members to Manchester? The utmost that can be said for virtual representation is, that it is as good as direct representation. If so, why not grant direct representation at once? If it be argued there is an evil in change, is there not a still greater evil in discontent? Can it be said that a system works well which has become the parent of boundless discontent—which has almost alienated the hearts of the people from the institutions of their country? It is almost as essential to the utility of a House of Commons that it should possess the confidence of the people, as that it should deserve that confidence. But it is here that the crazy part of the constitution is to be found; what should be the most popular part of it has become the most unpopular. No one but a few insane Radicals wish to dethrone the King or

turn out the House of Lords. But the whole people desire to alter the constitution of the House of Commons.*

40. “The fall of all the free states that ever have flourished upon the earth has been owing to the obstinate resistance of the privileged classes, who had got votes, and through them the government of the state, to an extension of the privilege to other classes of citizens. Athens had twenty-one thousand freemen and four hundred thousand slaves; Sparta a still smaller number; and in the Italian republics there were twenty thousand electors disposing of the lives and properties of as many millions of unrepresented citizens. What interest can such a multitude of slaves of a class have in upholding institutions in which they are not allowed to participate? America was lost to England, because the latter contended for taxation without representation: there are many Americas in Yorkshire and Lancashire; let us beware lest the refusal of their claim produce a similar disruption in the British Empire. Rome alone adopted the opposite system; she progressively extended the privileges of Roman citizens to all the inhabitants of the conquered states; she carried their affections with them, because she consulted and knew their interests, and she obtained in return the empire of the world.†

41. “We have tried cruel operations: what has been their result? Does there remain any species of coercion not tried by Pitt and Londonderry? We have had laws, we have had blood. The press has been fettered, the Habeas Corpus Act suspended, public meetings have been prohibited. Have these measures proved more than palliatives? You are at the end of your palliatives; the evil remains: it is more formidable than

* The three preceding paragraphs are abridged from Mr Macaulay's speech on March 2, *Parl. Deb.* (new series), vol. ii. p. 1195-1198. It is easy to recognise his composition from the condensation of the style, and the philosophical view of the subject.

† From Lord-Advocate Jeffrey's speech on introducing the Scotch Reform Bill.—*Parl. Deb.*, vol. iv. pp. 796-799.

ever. Under such circumstances, Ministers have brought forward a great measure of conciliation, intended to still all animosities, reconcile all interests, and satisfy all reasonable expectations. It takes away a great power from a few, and distributes that power through the vast mass of the middle orders. It is a mistake to assert that this change will endanger the monarchy. Is it only in the aristocracy, or the higher ranks, that the principle of loyalty exists? Is it unknown among the middle ranks, among the citizens of towns, or the yeomanry of the country? All history tells the reverse. But if it really were so—if the great body of the middle class in England look with aversion on monarchy or aristocracy, then we must rest in the melancholy conclusion, that monarchical and aristocratic institutions are unsuited to this country. The end of all government is the happiness of the people; and that happiness can never be promoted by a form of government in which the middle classes place no confidence, and which exists only, even for a time, because they have no organ by which to make their sentiments known. The truth is, that they are at bottom as much attached to our monarchical form of government as the higher; and they have become alienated solely from not being allowed to participate in it. Give them that power; throw open the portals of the constitution, and they will become its firmest defenders.

42. "To accomplish this object, the

ministerial plan is as follows: It consists of three parts—those calculated to get rid of the close boroughs, those intended to extend the suffrage, those destined to diminish the expense of elections. To accomplish the first object, it is proposed to disfranchise entirely all boroughs which, by the census of 1821, had less than 2000 inhabitants. This will utterly disfranchise sixty boroughs, and get rid of 119 members. With regard to boroughs containing from 2000 to 4000 inhabitants by the same census, it is proposed not to disfranchise them altogether, but to reduce them to one member each. This will cut off forty-seven members—Weymouth, which now, by a strange anomaly, returns four members, being reduced to two. Thus far the process of disfranchisement, by which 168 members will be struck off. Then as to the work of enfranchisement, it is proposed that seven large towns, hitherto unrepresented, should send each two members, and twenty others one member each. Twenty-seven of the largest counties are to return four members; Yorkshire, the largest of all, two members for each Riding, or six members. Ten new members to be added to London and its suburbs, which will, with London, Southwark, and Westminster, raise the metropolitan representation to eighteen members.*

43. "The most important point of all—the qualification of the new voters—remains behind. The existing right of voting in all boroughs is to be made

* BOROUGHs ENTIRELY DISFRANCHISED AND PUT IN SCHEDULE A.

Auldborough, York	Corfe Castle	Midhurst	St Michael's,
Auldborough, Suffolk	Dunwich	Milborne	Cornwall
Appleby	Eye	Minehead	Sarum, Old
Bedwin	Fowey	Newport, Cornwall	Seaford
Beeralston	Gatton	Newton, Lancashire	Steyning
Bishop's-Castle	Haslemere	Newton, Isle of	Stockbridge
Bletchingley	Hedon	Wight	Tregony
Boroughbridge	Heytesbury	Okehampton	Wareham
Bossiney	Higham Ferrers	Orford	Wendover
Brackley	Hindon	Petersfield	Weobly
Bramber	Ilchester	Plympton	Whitchurch
Buckingham	Looe, East	Queenborough	Winchelsea
Callington	Looe, West	Reigate	Woodstock
Camelford	Lostwithiel	Romney	Wootton-Basset
Castle Rising	Ludgershall	St Mawes	Yarmouth, Isle
	Malmesbury	Saltash	of Wight

120 Members.

the same, and to depend on one *uniform qualification*—viz., the payment of a rent of £10 or upwards, or property to the same amount. Existing non-resident electors are to retain their right, but in future no electors in boroughs to be entitled to enrolment if non-resident, and all leaseholders for twenty-one years to be voters. In counties, copyholders to the value of £10, and all householders paying £10 rent, and all leaseholders paying £50 rent, provided they had leases for twenty-one years or upwards. No alteration to be made on the forty-shilling freeholders in counties. All electors to be registered: the registers to be made up by the overseers of parishes, according to the rating of each person; and the register to be made up and revised annually by assistant barristers appointed by the Lord Chief-Justice. In towns, the poll to be limited to two days; in counties, the same, and the latter to be divided, so that, if possible, no elector should have more than fifteen miles to travel to his polling place.

44. "It may be objected, that the effect of this plan will be to destroy the power and privileges of the aristocracy, and exclude talent from the Legislature. No apprehension can be more groundless. Large and populous boroughs will spontaneously choose men of great talent and public spirit. No reform can prevent wealth, probity, learning, and wit from having their proper influence on elections. Wherever the aristocracy reside, receive large incomes, perform important duties, relieve the poor by charity, it is not in human nature that they should not possess a great influence upon public opinion, and have an equal weight in electing persons to serve their country in Parliament. Though such persons may not have the direct nomination of members under this bill, they will have as much as they ought. But if by aristocracy are meant those persons who do not live among the people, and who care nothing for them—who seek honours without merit, places without duty, and pensions without

BOROUGHES TO BE REDUCED TO ONE MEMBER EACH.—SCHEDULE B.

Amersham	Evesham	Lymington	Sudbury
Arundel	Grimsby	Maldon	Shaftesbury
Ashburton	Grinstead	Marlborough	Tamworth
Bewdley	Guilford	Marlow	Thetford
Bodmin	Helston	Morpeth	Thirsk
Bridport	Honiton	Northallerton	Totness
Chippenharn	Huntington	Penryn	Truro
Clitheroe	Hythe	Richmond	Wallingford
Cockermouth	Launceston	Rye	Westbury
Dorchester	Leominster	St Germain	Wilton
Downton	Liskeard	St Ives	Wycombe
Droitwich	Lyne Regis	Sandwich	

47 Members.

TOWNS TO SEND TWO MEMBERS EACH.

Manchester & Salford	Birmingham and	Greenwich	Sheffield
Leeds	Ashton	Wolverhampton	Sunderland

TOWNS TO SEND ONE MEMBER EACH.

Brighton	Huddersfield	Kendal	Cheltenham
Blackburn	Halifax	Bolton	Bradford
Macclesfield	Walsall	Stockport	Frome
South Shields	Gateshead	Dudley	Wakefield
Warrington	Whitehaven	Tynemouth	Kidderminster

TWO ADDITIONAL MEMBERS TO

Yorkshire, East Riding	Norfolk	Cornwall	Nottingham
Cheshire	Somerset	Devon	Surrey
Derby	Suffolk	Essex	Stafford
Durham	Wilts	Kent	Northumberland
Gloucester	Warwick	Lincoln	Leicester
Lancashire	Cumberland	Salop	Hampshire
	Northampton	Sussex	Worcester

service—for such an aristocracy we have no sympathy; and we think the sooner it is swept away, with the corruption which it has engendered, the better for the country in which it has repressed so long every wholesome and invigorating influence.

45. "With regard, again, to Scotland and Ireland, the same principles will be carried into execution. In the former country, where the constituency is only 2500 for 2,500,000 people, and where it depends in counties on a mere feudal title of superiority, independent altogether of the property or possession of land, and in boroughs on the votes of self-elected town-councils, an entire change will be made. The qualifications will be the same in counties and boroughs as in England, so that in both political power will be taken out of the hands of the small junto in which it has hitherto been vested, and extended to the great middle class of the people. In Ireland, the ten-pound clause will be introduced both in boroughs and counties; and the franchise will be taken out of the hands of the corporations which have hitherto exclusively enjoyed it, and vested in the whole body of resident citizens. The general result will be an increase over the whole empire of about 500,000 electors, making, with those already enjoying it, above 900,000 for the two islands. Of these, 50,000 will be found in the new towns created into parliamentary boroughs in England; 110,000 additional electors in boroughs already returning members; London, 95,000; counties, 100,000; Scotland, 60,000; Ireland, 40,000. No change is intended to be

proposed in the duration of Parliament, nor is the ballot to be introduced. The House will consist in all of 596 members, being a reduction of sixty-two on its present number of 658. By such a course alone will it be possible to give permanency to that constitution which has been so long the admiration of surrounding nations on account of its popular spirit, but which cannot exist much longer unless strengthened by an additional infusion of that spirit, commensurate with the progress of knowledge and the increased intelligence of the age."*

46. No words can convey an adequate idea of the astonishment which the announcement of this project of reform created in the House of Commons and the country. Nothing approaching to it had ever been witnessed before or has been since. Men's minds were prepared for a change, perhaps a very considerable one, especially in the enfranchising new cities and towns which now were unrepresented; but it never entered into the imagination of any human being out of the Cabinet that so sweeping and entire a change would be proposed, especially by the King's Ministers. The Tories never had dreaded such a revolution; the Whigs never before thought of it; the Radicals never had hoped for it. Astonishment was the universal feeling. Many laughed outright; those who did so were chiefly those whose seats were to be taken away. None thought the bill could pass; it was supposed by many that Ministers themselves neither intended nor desired it, but wished only to establish a thorn in the side of their adversaries, which should

* The Members were thus distributed:—

House at present,	658
Disfranchised,	168
Remain,	490
Additional Members for Scotland,	5
.. .. for Ireland,	3
.. .. for Wales,	1
.. .. for London,	8
.. .. for English large towns,	34
.. .. for English counties,	55
	596
Decrease from existing members,	62

prevent them from holding power if they succeeded in displacing them. So universal was this feeling that it is now generally admitted that, had Sir R. Peel, instead of permitting the debate to go on, instantly divided the House, on the plea that the proposed measure was too revolutionary to be for a moment entertained, leave to bring in the bill would have been refused by a large majority. The Cabinet Ministers themselves are known to have thought at the time that their official existence then hung by a thread, and that it depended entirely on the debate being allowed to proceed.*

47. The course which the Ministers dreaded, however, was not adopted; the debate was allowed to proceed, and

* "I have often heard," says Mr Roebuck, "Lord Brougham relate a circumstance connected with his celebrated motion, which vividly illustrates the ignorance of the Administration, even at the eleventh hour, as to the real feelings of the people. The members of the Cabinet who were not in the House of Commons, dined that day with the Lord Chancellor, whose secretary, Mr (now Sir) Denis le Marchant, sat under the gallery of the House of Commons, and sent half-hour bulletins to the noble lord as to the progress of the debate. They ran thus: 'Lord John has been up ten minutes—House very full—great anxiety and interest shown.' Another came describing the extraordinary sensation produced by the plan on both sides of the House. At last came one saying, 'Lord John is near the end of his speech—my next will tell you who follows him.' 'Now,' said the noble host, and narrator of the story, 'we had often talked over and guessed at the probable course of the Opposition, and I always said, Were I in Peel's place, I would not condescend to argue the point, but would, so soon as Lord John Russell sat down, get up and declare that I would not debate so revolutionary, so mad a proposal, and would insist upon dividing the House at once. *If he does this, I used to say, we are dead beat*; but if he allows himself to be drawn into a discussion, we shall succeed. When Le Marchant's bulletin at length came, which was to tell us the course adopted by the Opposition, I held the note unopened in my hand, and laughing said, 'Now, this decides our fate, therefore let us take a glass of wine all round, in order that we may with proper nerve read the fatal missive.' Having done so, I opened the note, and seeing the first line, which was, 'Peel (should have been *Inglis*) has been up twenty minutes,' I flourished the note round my head—"Hurrah! hurrah! Victory! victory! Peel has been speaking twenty minutes!" and so we took another glass of wine to congratulate ourselves on our good fortune.'"—ROEBUCK, ii. 87, 88, note.

it lasted seven nights. It was contended, on the part of the Opposition, by Sir Robert Inglis, Sir Richard Vyvyan, and Sir Robert Peel: "This is the first time for fifty years that any person invested even with the reflected light of Government has come down to the House formally to declare that the House is incompetent to the due discharge of its legislative functions. It is the first time during that period that the advisers of his Majesty have thought fit to pledge their Sovereign before his people to the doctrine that the House of Commons is 'unworthy of the confidence of the people,' unworthy to stand between their fellow-subjects and the throne. The doctrine is not new; but the circumstances under which, and the persons by whom it is now advanced are new, and they invest it with a character not less novel than ill-omened. We hear much of the demand of the people for reform, and the perilous consequences which might ensue from resisting it; but the truth is, that the present excitement has arisen entirely from the example of successful revolution in France and Belgium, and will subside gradually when these convulsions have terminated, as terminate they will, in universal suffering. Even now the clamour, of which so much is said, comes from a part only, and that the least respectable part, of the community; and to it we may apply Mr Burke's words in 1770, 'Faction will make its cries resound through the nation as if the whole were in an uproar, when by far the majority, and much the better part, will seem for a time annihilated by the quiet in which their virtue and moderation incline them to enjoy the blessings of government.'

48. "As to the measure itself, it has no pretensions to be what Ministers call it—a restoration of the principles of the constitution to their pristine purity from the pollution they have received from an accumulation of abuses. The very foundation of it—viz., that population and taxation should be the foundation of representation—never was the principle of the

English constitution. Our sovereigns in early times called parliaments together because they wanted men and money, and the appeal was made to the *liberti homines*. The next step was the calling on 'communities' to assist at these parliaments, but then each community had only one vote. At that time the county of Cornwall had but eight members. How can it be contended that population and taxation was the principle of representation, when from the earliest times small towns in some places had been called to send representatives, and large ones been left unrepresented? Can a single instance be pointed out in the whole history of England, in which a town or borough was called into parliamentary existence because it was large or populous, and excluded from it because it was small or declining in its inhabitants? Old Sarum, of which we hear so much, was never large or populous, or more so than it is now; on the contrary, in the same year, 23d Edward I., writs were issued for the first time to Old and New Sarum—the former to oblige the Earl of Salisbury, by putting his friends in the House; other boroughs, as Newport in the Isle of Wight, received members in the same way—in that instance to please Sir G. Carew. All the Cornish boroughs had sprung up in this way; while at the same time Halifax, with 8400 inhabitants, Manchester, with 5400, were never called on to send any. These towns had prospered without any representatives; and no one ever heard that their commercial interests had suffered from the want of advocates in this House to maintain their rights.

49. "The constitution of England was fixed at the Revolution, and at the Revolution only. Since that time the Crown has not claimed the right of creating boroughs, and probably would not be advised to attempt to create that right by its mere charter. It may therefore be considered as certain that the House of Commons, as it now is, is the same practically as it was at the Revolution, *only* that it is more popular. It has adapted itself, almost like another work of nature,

to our growth. How different is the county representation of England from what it once was; how unlike are the country gentlemen to what they were a century ago; how completely do they now reflect in their own the mind of their constituents, as well as advocate their local wants! Such, generally speaking, is the House of Commons now, and such has it been for a long succession of years. It is the most complete representation of the interests of the people that ever was assembled in any age or country. It is the only constituent body that ever existed which comprehends within itself those who can urge the wants and defend the claims of the landed, the commercial, and the professional interests of the country; those who are bound to uphold the prerogatives of the Crown, the privileges of the nobility, the interests of the lower classes, the rights and liberties of the whole people. It is the *absence of symmetry in our elective franchise* which admits to this House interests so various. The *concordia discors* opens the door to the admission here of all talent, and of all classes, and of all interests. How far, under any other than the present circumstances, the rights of the distant dependencies of the East Indies, of the West Indies, of the colonies, of the great corporations, of the commercial interests generally, of the fundholders, could find their just support in this House, it is impossible to see. If all the members of the House represented the *landed* interest exclusively, the trade and commerce of the country would be pressed on by restrictive laws alike intolerable and impolitic; if, on the other hand, mere *population* were taken as the basis of the representation, the members sent here *would vie with each other in a clamour for cheapness*, to the destruction of the only permanent interest, the agriculture of England. 'All interests,' said Burke, '*must be let in*; a great official, a great professional, a great military and naval interest, all necessarily comprehending many men of the first weight, ability, wealth, and spirit, has been gradually formed in the king-

dom. The new interests must be let into the representation.*

50. "The men who have entered Parliament by means of the close or rotten boroughs, as they are called, have been its greatest ornament, and more than any other contributed to the prosperity and advancement of the kingdom. There has not been an eminent man in the House of Commons for the last hundred years, who did not begin his career as member for some close borough; and if that door is closed, rely upon it the race will disappear. Lord Chatham came into Parliament in this way—his earliest seat was for Old Sarum. Mr Pitt sat for Appleby. Mr Fox came in for a close borough; and when rejected by a populous place, he again took refuge in a close borough. Mr Burke sat originally for Wendover; it was only in his glory he was transferred to Bristol. Mr Canning, too, had fixed his fame as member for Wendover before he was called to Liverpool. In later times, Mr Wyndham, Mr Brougham, Sir Samuel Romilly, and nearly all the existing ornaments of this House, have owed their parliamentary existence to the same system. None have got in, in early life, for populous places, to which the representation is now to be confined. Had the system now proposed been in existence in their early days, they would never have been heard of. We are told, on the other side, that the professional class will obtain an entrance under the new system; but how is this to be effected? Will men of independence or genius condescend to the arts requisite to gain large constituencies? and if they will not, how or where are they to find an entrance? They obviously will find none, unless they condescend to prostitute their talents to the purposes of mob oratory, the lowest and most debasing object to which they can be applied.

51. "It is said the House of Commons is corrupt, and this corruption would be removed by the proposed change of system. Corruption is of three kinds—by money, by place, or by party. As to the first, the thing is unknown in these times; it was not so two generations back. God grant, if reform is carried, it may be unknown two generations hence! In the time of James II. the secret-service money was a twentieth of the whole revenue, now it is a seven-hundredth part. But the House is corrupted by placemen! So far from it, there never was a time when so few placemen sat in the House as at this period, or when the offices at the disposal of the Crown were so few.† In truth, no patronage remains to the King but that of commissions in the army and navy, which must always remain with him as long as the Crown enjoys the power of declaring peace and war. And as to the corrupting influence of party, so far is that complaint from being well founded, that it is universally acknowledged to be one of the misfortunes of the times that there are no leading men on either side under whose banners others will range themselves, and thus give character and steadiness to the Government, or consistency to the Opposition.

52. "The monarchy cannot long coexist with a free press and a purely popular representation. It never yet has been found to be consistent with it in any age or country. We have a memorable example of what such a combination leads to in the annals of our own country, when the Commons, in 1648, voted that their resolutions had the force of law, and thereby in one day murdered their King and voted the House of Lords useless. 'I cannot,' said Mr Canning, 'conceive a constitution of which a third part shall be an assembly delegated by the people, not to consult for the good of

* This paragraph is taken *verbatim* from Sir R. Inglis's admirable speech.—*Parl. Deb.*, vol. ii. pp. 1108, 1109.

† First Parliament of George I.,	were placemen in House of Commons,	271
Do. do. of George II.	do. do. do. do.	257
Do. do. of George IV.	do. do. do. do.	109

—*Parl. Papers*, p. 569, 16th July 1823; and No. 543, 9th July 1822.

the nation, *but to speak day by day the people's will*, which must not ere long sweep away every other branch of the constitution that might attempt to oppose or confront it.' The thing may not happen to-day or to-morrow, but before ten years are over the shock will be decisive. The examples of the National Assembly of France, of the Cortes of Spain and Naples, of the Chamber of Deputies last year in France, prove how utterly impossible it is for a purely popular representation to coexist with a monarchy. Forty years ago Mr Pitt declared that, 'from the period when the new and alarming era of the French Revolution broke in upon the world, I found that the grounds upon which the question of reform rested were essentially and fundamentally altered.' Is not the same the case with the last French Revolution, which, not less than the first, has entirely unsettled the minds of men, and blasted the brilliant career of prosperity which the Restoration had opened to France? It is possible that titles of honour may still be continued; it is possible that the House of Lords may have a nominal existence; but its real conservative power, its distinct and legislative character, is gone. The Reformers evince no hostility to the Lords or the Crown now, because they do not require to do so; they know, if they can popularise the House of Commons, they will get everything their own way.

53. "The reformers," says Caning, 'are wise in their generation. They know well enough, and have read plainly enough in our history, that the prerogatives of the Crown, and the privileges of the nobility, would be but as dust in the balance against a preponderating democracy. They mean democracy, and nothing else. Give them a House of Commons constructed on their own principles, the peerage and the throne may exist for a day, but they will be liable to be at any time swept away by an angry vote of the House of Commons. It is, therefore, utterly unnecessary for the reformers to declare hostility to the Crown; it is superfluous for

them to make war upon the peerage. They know that, let but their principles have full play, the Crown and the peerage would be to the constitution which they assail but as the baggage to the army, and the destruction of them but as the gleanings of the battle. They know that the battle is with the House of Commons as at present constituted, and that *that* once overthrown, and another popular assembly constructed on their principles, as the creation and depository of the people's will, there would not only be no chance, but there would not be even a pretence for the existence of any other branch of the constitution.'

54. Such was the substance of this great debate, which, commencing on the 1st March, continued through *seven* successive nights, at the close of which the bill was allowed to be brought in and read a first time without a division; it being understood that the trial of strength was to take place on the second reading, which stood for the 21st March. Immense were the efforts which both sides made during this interval, and great the transposition of parties which took place during its continuance; but the Reformers gained greatly more by the delay than their opponents. All classes of the Tories, indeed, were reunited by the approach of danger: the divisions consequent on the contraction of the currency, agricultural distress, and Catholic emancipation, were forgotten; and a great section of the House of Commons rallied in earnest, and in the ancient spirit, round Sir Robert Peel, who stood forth as the leader of the Conservatives on this momentous crisis. Lord Winchelsea, Sir Edward Knatchbull, Sir Richard Vyvyan, were found by his side not less cordially than Lord Haddington, Sir G. Clerk, or his own immediate supporters. But the Reformers gained infinitely more than the Conservatives by the delay. The towns all took fire, and infinite pains were everywhere taken to fan the flame into a conflagration. The country for the most part stood aloof, but in silent amazement, stupefied by the din and clamour,

and overpowered by the vehemence of the urban multitudes. The Reformers at once perceived the democratic character of the measure which had been proposed; *they* discovered its practical working as completely as its aristocratic authors had been ignorant of it.* An unerring instinct caused them to fasten on the £10 clause as decisive in their favour, and adequate for all their purposes. "The £10 clause," said the *Examiner*, "secures the constitution on a democratic basis: nothing remains but to prevent Ministers from abandoning it." To this object their whole efforts were directed; and then began the cuckoo cry, "The bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill," which for the next year was the watchword of all classes of Reformers, and rendered it impossible for Ministers, if they had been so inclined, to recede from any material part of the proposed measure.†

55. The interval between the close of the debate on leave to bring in the bill and that on the second reading, a period of a fortnight, was a season of incessant agitation and turmoil over the whole country, such as, since 1642, had never been seen in Great Britain. The press, following, as is generally the

case, in the wake of popular passion, made the most strenuous efforts to inflame it, and these efforts were attended with signal success. Petitions were everywhere got up, and signed by thousands and tens of thousands, praying that the bill might pass "untouched and unimpaired." These petitions from the large towns had often 20,000 or 30,000 signatures; and though, without doubt, the usual arts to get names were practised with every possible exaggeration on this occasion, yet enough remained to show that the middle and working classes were nearly unanimous in favour of the change. So completely had their attachment to existing institutions been undermined by the long and dreary years of suffering which they had undergone, and their passions been inflamed by the exciting language everywhere addressed to them! To such a length were the people roused, that the worst and most degrading effect of vehement faction became conspicuous. Private character and worth were entirely overlooked, a lifetime of beneficence was forgotten, and the noblest characters, if they refused to bend to the popular voice, were put on a level with the most degraded, and abandoned to the whole fury of popular indignation.*

* "I honestly confess," said Mr John Smith, a sincere Reformer, "that when I first heard the Ministerial proposal, it had the effect of taking away my breath, so surprised and delighted was I to find the Ministers so much in earnest."—ROEBUCK, vol. ii. p. 108.

† "Ministers have far exceeded our expectations. The plan of reform, though short of radical reform, tends to the utter destruction of borough-mongering, and will *prepare the way for a complete improvement*. The ground, limited as it is, which it is proposed to clear and open to the popular influence, will suffice, as the spot desired by Archimedes for the plant of the power that must ultimately govern the whole system. Without reform, convulsion is inevitable. Upon any reform, farther improvement is *inevitably consequent*, and the settlement of the constitution on the *democratic basis certain*. If we supposed that the plan before us could be permanent, we should declare it insufficient; but we have no such apprehension in our age of onward movement, and we hail it as a first step to a greater good, and as a first step towards abandoning an odious vice. It does not give the people all they want, but it takes the arms from their enemies. Like Sinbad, we have first to dash from our shoulders the Old Man of the Island, and afterwards to complete our deliverance."—*Examiner*, 6th March 1831.

* "The opponents of the measure were not treated as men entitled to entertain their own opinion, and differing on a question with which, by possibility, reason might have nothing to do. They were all dealt with as being profligate oppressors, who wished to trample on and plunder the people; creatures, therefore, to be hunted down as beasts of prey, if they did not voluntarily fly from before the faces of their pursuers. Was there a man who was distinguished for nothing but having discharged all his duties; who had borrowed nothing from aristocratic patronage, and was innocent of the receipt of one farthing of the public money; who, standing on no other foundation than that of his own honest industry and honourable aspirations, had gained for himself a decent reputation in his profession, or a respectable fortune in the unpoluted exercise of his calling; and did he, the most estimable of all citizens, doubt, as hundreds of thousands of such citizens did doubt, whether the ends of good government would be served by increasing, as Ministers wished to increase, the efficiency of a pure democracy in the constitution—such a man was placed beyond the pale of citizenship. He was a betrayer of the rights of the people, a corrupt plunderer of the humble and the poor; he was

56. While such was the vehemence of the populace throughout the country, and such the efforts made alike by the Radical Reformers and the partisans of Government to inflame and organise them, there were not wanting those who boldly stood forward on the opposite side, and exhibited the noblest of all spectacles, and the most characteristic of a really free people—that of a small but resolute minority, standing firm amidst the surging and surrounding waves of an overwhelming majority. First in position, as first in importance, must be placed a petition from the merchants and bankers of the city of London, which, presented at this time amidst the heat and din of the conflict, contains a mass of arguments, remarkable even at this day for the far-stretching ken by which it was distinguished. “While,” said they, “we should have been far from opposing the adoption of any proposition, temperate in its character, gradual in its operation, consistent with justice and the ancient usages of the realm, and having for its object the correction of acknowledged abuses, or any amelioration in the administration of public affairs, we feel it impossible to regard in that light a measure which, by its unprecedented and unnecessary infringement on the rights and privileges of large and wealthy bodies of people, would go far to shake the foundation of that constitution under which our Sovereign holds his title to the throne, his nobles to their estates, and ourselves and the rest of our fellow-subjects to the various possessions and immunities which we enjoy by law; a measure which, while it professes to enlarge the representation of the kingdom on the broad basis of property, would,

the mean and crawling slave of the wealthy few. He was entitled to no opinion, or his opinion was of no use except to degrade his character, for it was different from the opinion of those who thought otherwise, and who had determined, in accordance with the Ministry, that to doubt the unmixt wisdom of ‘the bill’ was to manifest a corruption of heart, an incapacity of understanding, which unfitted the man whom they disgraced for any exercise of judgment on political institutes, and which invited and justified any charges which might be imposed upon them, if they could not be seduced by vanity or the love of power.”—*Ann. Reg.* 1831, pp. 79, 80.

in its practical operation, have the effect of closing the principal avenues through which the moneyed, the commercial, the shipping, and colonial interests, together with all their connected and independent interests throughout our vast empire abroad, have hitherto been represented in the Legislature, and would thus effectually exclude the possessors of a large portion of the national wealth from any effectual voice and influence in the national affairs.”

57. At length the debate on the second reading of the bill came on, on the 21st March. It lasted only two days, and was distinguished rather by increased vehemence and acrimony than additional information or more enlightened views. The opponents of the bill openly denounced it as revolutionary, and as likely, at no distant period, to overturn both the throne and the altar. Its supporters loudly retorted that it was the only measure which could avert revolution; and that the rejection of a bill on which the nation was so unanimously set, could not fail to lead to the most terrible convulsions. The press opened with the utmost violence on the opponents of the measure, whom it held up to the hatred and contumely of the country.* The nation was in anxious suspense for two days; but at length the public anxiety was terminated by the announcement that the bill had been carried by a majority of ONE in a House of 608. The numbers were 302 to 301, the Speaker and four tellers being excluded. It was the fullest House on record, there being only 50 awaiting out of 658. An analysis of

* Take as an example the following: “When night after night borough nominees rise up to infect the proceedings of the House of Commons, to justify their own intrusion into it, and their continuance there, thus imprudently maintaining what the lawyers call an ‘adverse possession,’ in spite of judgment against them, we really feel inclined to ask why the rightful owners of the House should be longer insulted by the presence of such unwelcome inmates? It is beyond question a piece of the broadest and coolest effrontery in the world, for these hired *laquais* of public delinquents to stand up as advocates of the disgraceful service they have embarked in.”—*Times*, 14th March 1831. See also *Ann. Reg.* 1831, p. 82; and *Parl. Deb.*, vol. iii. p. 602.

the vote showed how entirely the public voice had turned against the close boroughs, and how thoroughly the temper of the counties had been changed from what it once had been, by the low prices and agricultural distress of the last ten years; for 60 county members for England and Wales were for the second reading, and only 32 against it; while in Ireland the disproportion was still greater, there being 40 county members for the bill, and only 21 against it.*

58. This memorable division was hailed in the country as a decided triumph by the Reformers, and immensely augmented the excitement already so great on the subject; but by the Ministry, and those more immediately acquainted with the working of parties in the House of Commons, it was with reason regarded as a virtual defeat. They knew that many of those who had voted in the majority had done so from the dread of losing their seats at the next election, but were in secret averse to the measure, and would do their utmost in committee, by voting for amendments or staying away from divisions, to defeat it. No less than sixty votes for the bill were for places to be disfranchised or reduced; and it was not to be supposed that their representatives could be very sincere in the wish to have the places they sat for extinguished. This accordingly soon appeared. On the 18th April, Lord John Russell moved that the House go into committee on the bill, and

* Over the whole empire the vote, when analysed, stood thus, pairs included:—

	For.	Against.
England,	229	227
Wales,	14	10
Scotland,	14	27
Ireland,	55	37
	312	311

—*Parl. Deb.*, vol. iii. p. 818.

It is a singular circumstance how many of the most momentous divisions on record have been carried by a majority of one. The first triumph of the *Tiers Etat* in the National Assembly in 1789, when they constituted themselves a separate chamber, was carried by one; and it will appear in the sequel that a similar majority ousted the Whigs, and re-seated Sir Robert Peel in power in 1841.—See *History of Europe*, chap. iv. § 46.

stated several alterations on the details of the measure which he proposed to make, not affecting its general principles. Upon this General Gascoigne moved, as an instruction to the committee, “that it is the opinion of the House that the total number of knights, burgesses, and citizens returned to Parliament for that part of the United Kingdom called England and Wales, ought not to be reduced.” The motion was seconded by Mr Sadler, in a powerful and argumentative speech; but strongly opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who declared that “the object of the amendment was to destroy the bill.” An animated debate ensued, which terminated in a majority of EIGHT against Ministers, the numbers being 299 to 291.

59. This was the crisis of the reform question. It was now apparent that a majority of the House was adverse to the bill, and that the only course which remained to Ministers, if they desired to carry it, was to dissolve the House of Commons. But this course was neither easy nor free from danger. It was well known that the King had become seriously alarmed at the probable effects of the measure, and was to the last degree reluctant to appeal to the people on a question of such moment, and on which the public mind was so vehemently agitated. There was no saying what a House of Commons, elected in a moment of such unparalleled excitement, might force upon the King and the Government. On the other hand, the danger appeared to be not less in the end, and much more pressing in the beginning, if the sense of the country were not taken on a matter concerning which the anxiety of the public mind had become so strongly excited. To do so was to follow the course prescribed by the constitution, and generally adopted in similar circumstances; and there was too much reason to apprehend that, if it were not followed, the threats of the Radicals might be realised, and the monarchy and constitution be overturned in some terrible convulsion. Ministers have since confessed that they beheld equal perils on

both sides, and felt as if crossing the bridge figured by the poets, consisting of a single arch of sharp steel, spanning a fiery gulf on either hand !

60. Earl Grey, however, had judiciously taken one step, calculated, in some degree, to lessen these difficulties, by smoothing the way to a better understanding with the Sovereign. The whole Cabinet were impressed with the idea that William IV. was in reality as averse to them as his predecessor would have been : that they had been intrusted with the government merely because it could not be avoided ; and that the first opportunity would be gladly seized to displace them. It is not surprising that, entertaining this belief, they were desirous of establishing themselves on a more solid foundation with the King ; and with sovereigns, as well as individuals, it is not the least effectual way of establishing a good understanding to remove all difficulties about money matters. This was accordingly done. The committee on the civil list which, on Sir H. Parnell's famous motion which displaced the Ministry, had been appointed, had reported that a reduction of £12,000 a-year should be made in the expense of the royal household, chiefly in the departments of the Lord Steward, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Master of the Horse. This report gave great offence to the King, who required the Lord Chancellor to give him his opinion as to whether the committee were empowered to make such a proposal. Finding his Majesty thus disposed, Ministers conceded the point, and proposed £510,000 a-year for the civil list, instead of £498,480, as recommended by the committee ; and at the same time a liberal jointure of £100,000 a-year was settled on Queen Adelaide. This dexterous move gratified the King in the highest degree ; the bill, settling the civil list as he desired, passed the House of Commons with very little opposition, and it received the royal assent on the very last day of the session, a few minutes before Parliament was dissolved.

61. Ministers, however, had still a

very difficult task before them in obtaining the royal assent to a dissolution of Parliament ; for his Majesty was very reluctant to take so extreme a step, and the Opposition lost no opportunity, in public and private, of impressing upon him the great danger with which it would be attended. The chief reliance of the Ministry was on the vanity which was the principal foible in the royal character ; and this worked with surprising effect. The historian of the Whigs has given the following account of the manner in which they acted on this occasion : "The King was vain, and he was timid ; he was flattered by his extraordinary popularity, and he was fearful lest confusion might follow a rejection of the bill. The Ministers were now compelled to play upon these two strings ; to take every opportunity of making the King the subject of eulogy, of noisy and vociferous applause. He was delighted by the extravagant manifestations of his own popularity, with which the eager and confiding populace supplied him whenever he appeared in public. And he was, with great dexterity, made to feel that all this vehement applause resulted directly from the public belief that he sincerely desired reform, and intended to support his Ministers by the whole weight of his prerogative in their endeavours to promote it. The people, from time to time, began to show symptoms of impatience and distrust ; menaces were every now and then thrown out, which the Ministers were obliged openly to condemn, but which, nevertheless, very materially promoted the object they had in view, which was to make the King understand the ticklish condition of his present popularity, and the serious and imminent risk attending a positive rejection of the measure."

62. Notwithstanding all these arts, which they practised with great skill, the Whig leaders found it no easy matter, when the crisis arrived, to induce the King to dissolve Parliament. The Cabinet were unanimous in recommending it, regarding, with justice, General Gascoigne's amendment as the

first of a series of measures intended to defeat the bill. But the Sovereign expressed the utmost reluctance to take the decisive step. The story told, and generally credited at the time, of his being so anxious to do so that he said, when informed the royal carriages were not in readiness to take him to the House, "Then call a hackney-coach," is now known to have been a well-devised fable; and the following is the account of this transaction, given by the historian of the Whigs, whose known intimacy with Lord Brougham, as well as the fact of his statement not having been contradicted by his lordship, entitles it to confidence: "On the morning of the 22d, Lord Grey and the Lord Chancellor waited on the King, in order to request him instantly to dissolve Parliament. The necessity of a dissolution had long been foreseen and decided on by Ministers; but the King had not yet been persuaded to consent to so bold a measure; and now the two chiefs of the Administration were about to intrude themselves into the royal closet, not to advise and request a dissolution, but to request the King on a sudden, on that very day, and within a few hours, to go down and put an end to his Parliament, in the midst of the session, and with all its ordinary business unfinished. The bolder mind of the Chancellor took the lead, and Lord Grey anxiously solicited him to *manage* the King on the occasion. So soon as they were admitted, the Chancellor, with some care and circumlocution, propounded to the King the object they had in view.

63. "The startled monarch no sooner understood the drift of the Chancellor's somewhat periphrastic statement, than he exclaimed, in wonder and anger against the very idea of such a proceeding, 'How is it possible, my lords, that I can, after this fashion, repay the kindness of Parliament to the Queen and myself? They have just granted me a most liberal civil list, and the Queen a splendid annuity, in case she survive me.' The Chancellor confessed that they had, as regarded his Majesty, been a liberal and wise

Parliament, but that, nevertheless, their further existence was incompatible with the peace and safety of the kingdom, and both he and Lord Grey insisted upon the absolute necessity of their request, and that this request was in pursuance of a unanimous decision of the Cabinet, and that they felt themselves unable to conduct the affairs of the country in the present condition of Parliament. 'But, my lords,' said the King, 'nothing is prepared; the great officers of state are not summoned.' 'Pardon me, sir,' said the Chancellor, bowing with profound *apparent* humility; 'we have taken the great liberty of giving them to understand that your Majesty commanded their attendance at the proper hour.' 'But, my lords, the crown, the robes, and other things needed, are not prepared.' 'I entreat your Majesty's pardon for my boldness; they are all prepared and ready, the proper officers being desired to attend in proper form and time.' 'But, my lords, you know the thing is wholly impossible; the guards, the troops, have had no orders, and cannot be ready in time.' 'Pardon me, sir; we know how bold the step is, but presuming on your Majesty's great goodness, and your anxious desire for the safety of your kingdom and happiness of your people, *I have given the order, and the troops are ready.*' The King started in serious anger, flamed red in the face, and burst forth with, 'What, my lords! have you dared to act thus? Such a thing was never heard of. You, my Lord Chancellor, ought to know *that such an act is treason—high treason*, my lord.' 'Yes, sir,' said the Chancellor, 'I do know it; and nothing but my thorough knowledge of your Majesty's great goodness, of your paternal anxiety for the good of your people, and my own solemn belief that the good of the state depends upon this day's proceedings, could have emboldened me to the performance of so unusual, and, in ordinary circumstances, improper a proceeding. I am ready, in my own person, to bear all the blame, and receive all the punishment which your Majesty may deem meet;

but I again entreat your Majesty to listen to us, and follow our counsel.' After some further expostulations by both the ministers, the King cooled down and consented. The speech to be delivered by him on the occasion was ready prepared, and in the Chancellor's pocket. He agreed to it, and dismissed his ministers for the moment, with something between a menace and a joke on the audacity of their proceedings."

64. While this extraordinary scene, fraught with the future destinies of England, was going on in the King's closet, a still more violent exhibition occurred in the House of Commons. That House had met early, as it was well known that a dissolution was about to take place; and on the presentation of a petition in favour of reform, Sir R. Vyvyan took occasion to arraign Ministers violently for their intention of dissolving Parliament. Sir Francis Burdett rose and contended that Sir Richard was out of order, as the question of dissolution was not before the House. The Speaker was appealed to, who decided that Sir Richard was in order. The Reformers, however, persisted in maintaining that he was not so, and the discussion was going on with great vehemence when the cannon were heard which announced his Majesty's approach. Upon this a scene of indescribable violence ensued. The cries were loud for Sir R. Peel, who rose, and was addressing the House with undisguised emotion, when the admonitory knock of the Usher of the Black Rod summoned the House to attend his Majesty to the House of Peers.

65. A scene scarcely less violent was in progress in the House of Lords when the King approached their hall. That House also had met early to discuss a motion made by Lord Wharncliffe for an address to his Majesty *not* to dissolve Parliament, and the most vehement language had passed on both sides in the course of the debate. As usual in such cases, each party accused the other of being out of order, and Lord Brougham from the Wool-sack said, "I never until now have

heard that the Sovereign has not the right to dissolve the Parliament when he sees fit to do so, more particularly when the House of Commons have considered it proper to take the extreme and unprecedented step of stopping the supplies."* Lord Londonderry upon this started up, denying the imputation; and Lord Mansfield afterwards rose, and was addressing the House with great energy on the awful predicament of the country, and the conduct of Ministers "in conspiring together against the safety of the state, and making the Sovereign the instrument of his own destruction"—when the arrival of the King cut short his speech. The King, with a flushed cheek and an unusual brightness in the eye, ascended the throne, and said, in a loud and shrill voice, "My Lords and Gentlemen, I have come to meet you for the purpose of proroguing this Parliament, with a view to *its instant dissolution!*" A loud murmur arose, which prevented the remainder of the speech from being audible; and at its close both Houses adjourned amidst a scene of tumult and excitement never before witnessed within the walls of Parliament.

66. And now commenced a contest such as never before, since the Great Rebellion, had been experienced in Great Britain, and never, it is to be hoped, will be seen again. The enthusiasm in favour of "the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill," was such that it not only led to great and justifiable efforts on the part of the reforming party to secure as great a number as possible of seats at the coming election, but to the most outrageous and disgraceful excesses. Large subscriptions were made at the Reform

* This statement of the Opposition having stopped the supplies, though very current at the time, and supported by the authority of the Wool-sack, is now universally admitted to have been erroneous. It originated in the Opposition having, in the preceding evening, carried a motion to *postpone* the consideration of the ordinance estimates which stood for that evening—a postponement which Sir James Graham, who was in the secret of the Cabinet, and knew what was coming next morning, said, with a significant smile, was equivalent to a stopping.—ROEBUCK, vol. ii. p. 154.

Club in London, and active working committees appointed to carry on the contest, and so far all was right; and the same thing was done by the Tories. But, in addition to this, the press, both in London and the provinces, almost unanimously* broke out into the most violent language, and openly recommended the most flagitious measures. To the disgrace of English literature be it said, the first in talent, and the first in circulation, took the lead in this crusade against independence of thought; counselled the use of the "brickbat and the bludgeon," and recommended the Reformers to "plaster the enemies of the people with mud, and duck them in horse-ponds." The advice was not long of being followed. The Reformers, especially in Scotland and Ireland, took advantage of the vast numerical majority they possessed to break out into the most violent excesses, which only demonstrated to impartial men how little fitted they were for the exercise of power. In London, the Lord Mayor sanctioned a general illumination on the dissolution of Parliament; and in Edinburgh, and other towns, where the same thing was not enjoined by the magistrates, the Reform Clubs took upon themselves to order it. All the windows of those who did not illuminate, and not a few who did, but were suspected of Tory principles, were broken. "As dash," says a Radical, "went the stones, smash fell the glass, and crash came the window-frames, from nine o'clock to near midnight. Reflection arose, and asked seriously and severely what this meant. Is it reform—is it popular liberty?"†

* The *Morning Post*, *Standard*, and *John Bull*, at this period, were almost the only honourable exceptions.

† The author's windows in St Colme Street, Edinburgh, and those of his brother, Professor Alison, in the same city, whose life had been devoted to the relief of the poor, though illuminated, were utterly smashed in five minutes, as were those of above a thousand others of the most respectable citizens in that city. A friend of his, who was in the crowd that did the mischief, told him afterwards "the crash was glorious in St Colme Street!"

67. The Lord Provost of Edinburgh was seized by the mob on the day of the election, who tried to throw him over the North Bridge, a height of ninety feet—a crime for which the ringleaders were afterwards convicted and punished by the Justiciary Court. The military were called out by the sheriff and magistrates, but withdrawn at the request of the Lord Advocate (Jeffrey), who pledged himself, if this was done, the riots would cease. It was done, and they were immediately renewed, and continued the whole evening. At Ayr the violence of the populace was such that the Conservative voters had to take refuge in the town-hall, from whence they were escorted by a body of brave Whigs, who, much to their honour, flew to their rescue, to a steam-boat which conveyed them from the scene of danger. No person anywhere in Scotland could give his vote for the Conservative candidate without running the risk of being hooted, spit upon, or stoned by the mob. At Wigan, in Lancashire, a man was killed during the election riots. In London, the windows of the Duke of Wellington, Mr Baring, and other leading anti-Reformers, were all broken; and those memorable iron shutters were forced upon Apsley House, which, till the Duke's death, continued to disgrace the metropolis. At Lanark a dreadful riot occurred, which was only quelled by the interposition of the military, and the Conservative candidate was seriously wounded in the church where the election was going forward. At Dumbarton, the Tory candidate, Lord William Graham, only escaped death by being concealed in a garret, where he lay hidden the whole day. At Lauder, the election was carried by a counsellor in the opposite interest being forcibly abducted, and the ruffians who did so were rescued by the mob. At Jedburgh, a band of ruffians hooted the dying Sir Walter Scott. "I care for you no more," said he, "than for the hissing of geese." Genius, celebrity, probity, beneficence, were in those disastrous days the certain at-

traction of mob brutality, if not slavishly prostituted to their passions.*

68. One fact was conspicuous on this occasion, which points to an important conclusion in political science. This is, that while in Scotland, where this appalling violence was exerted to intimidate the electors, who were almost entirely composed of the higher classes of society, two-thirds of the county members returned were in the Conservative interest, it was just the reverse in England, where nearly the whole members returned, either for counties or populous places, were of the Reform party. Yorkshire returned four Reformers, London the same. General Gascoigne was driven from Liverpool, Sir R. Vyvyan from Cornwall, Sir Edward Knatchbull from Kent, Mr Bankes from Dorsetshire; even the Duke of Newcastle's candidature was defeated at Grantham. Of eighty-two county members only six were opposed to the bill; so completely had the heartburnings consequent on neglected agricultural distress and Catholic emancipation alienated those who formerly had been the firmest supporters of the constitution. In Ireland the whole Catholics threw their weight in favour of the Reformers, and secured a decided majority for the Government. Strange to say, the sturdy Protestants of England coalesced with the furious Catholics of Ireland to overturn the constitution! The conclusions to be drawn from these anomalous and unexpected facts are, that a long course of selfish legislation and unwise monetary laws had alienated the landed interest in Great Britain; and that on a social crisis, such as had now occurred, no reliance is to be

placed on voters of the same class in society to resist the march of even the most perilous innovation commenced by their compeers. If it is to be checked at all, it must be by those belonging to a different sphere, and *enfranchised by a different suffrage*. The gentlemen of Scotland, voting on their estates, or the parchment qualifications for which they had given £1000 or £1200 each, courageously withstood the tempest; the forty-shilling freeholders of England, with very few exceptions, were swept away by its fury!

69. While the elections were in preparation or going forward, the political unions throughout the country were exerting themselves to the uttermost, not merely to intimidate their opponents by the threat of rebellion, but by organising the means of rebellion itself. The following account of their proceedings is taken from an unsuspected source, the able Liberal historian of the period: "In March and April 1831, the great middle class, by whose intelligence the bill must be carried, believed that occasions might arise for their refusing to pay taxes, and for their *marching upon London*, to support the King, the Administration, and the bulk of the nation, against a small knot of unyielding and interested persons. The political unions made known the numbers they could muster—the chairman of the Birmingham Union declaring that they could send forth two armies, each fully worth that which had won Waterloo. On the coast of Sussex ten thousand men declared themselves ready to march at any moment; Northumberland was prepared in like manner; Yorkshire was up and awake; and, in short, it might be said the nation was ready to go to London if wanted. When the mighty procession of the unions marched to their union ground, the anti-Reformers observed with a shudder that the towns were at the mercy of these mobs. The cry was vehement that the measure was to be carried by intimidation, *and this was true*: the question was, whether, in this singular case, the intimidation was wrong."

70. Future ages will scarcely be able

* Sir Walter's diary of 18th May bears—"Went to Jedburgh greatly against the wishes of my daughter. The mob were exceedingly vociferous and brutal, as they usually are nowadays. The population gathered in formidable numbers; a thousand from Hawick also—sad blackguards. The day passed with much clamour and mischief. Henry Scott was re-elected for the last time, I suppose—*Troja fuit*. I left the burgh in the midst of abuse, and the gentle hint of '*burk Sir Walter*.' Much obliged to the brave lads of Jeddart."—LOCKHART'S *Life of Scott*, vol. vi. p. 257.

to credit the generality of the delusions which pervaded the minds of the middle and working classes at this eventful crisis. The former flattered themselves that rent and taxes would be abolished, and the sales of their shop goods at least tripled, from the universal prosperity which would prevail among their customers. The latter believed, almost to a man, that the wages of labour would be doubled, and the price of provisions halved, the moment the bill passed.* The Anglo-Saxon mind, eminently practical, did not, in these moments of extreme excitement, follow the *ignis fatuus* of "liberty and equality," like the French in 1789, but sought vent in the realisation of real advantages, or the eschewing of experienced evils. It was this which constituted the strength of the Reform passion; it visited every fireside with the expectant sunshine of domestic bliss. There was as much truth as humour in the picture which a sagacious and able Reformer drew of the expectations of his party at this period: "All young ladies imagine that, as soon as this bill is carried, they will be instantly married; schoolboys believe that gerunds and supines will be abolished, and that currant-tarts must ultimately come down in price; the corporal and sergeant are sure of double pay; bad poets expect a demand for their epics; and fools will be disappointed, as they always are."

71. Amidst the general turning of heads there were some examples of courageous and resolute resistance on the part of the Conservatives, which, as they were prompted by a sense of duty in a case which was obviously hopeless, must command the respect even of those who are most strongly convinced that that sense of duty was mistaken. A petition against the bill was prepared and extensively signed by the bankers and merchants of Bristol, which ably and firmly, but temperately, stated the leading objections to the measure.† At Edinburgh a

great public meeting was held of those opposed to the bill, at which the late lamented Professor Wilson and the present able Lord Justice-General (McNeill), then an advocate at the bar, distinguished themselves on the platform. The higher part of the press also began now to meet their able and indefatigable opponents with a sturdy array of facts and arguments. In this warfare of the pen, the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Examiner*, and the *Spectator*, on the one side, took the lead, and the *Quarterly Review*, *Blackwood's Magazine*, and *Fraser's Magazine*, on the other; and in some of their essays, composed during the heat of the conflict, and in the most violent state of general excitement, the consequences of the measure were predicted with a truth which subsequent experience has verified to the letter.*

manner calm, loyal, and courageous. If the opposition of the anti-Reformers had been more generally of this character, there would have been less marshalling of the political unions."—MARTINEAU, vol. ii. p. 33.

* "The fundamental and irremediable defect of the proposed constitution is, that it vests an overwhelming majority in the populace of the island, to the exclusion of all the other great and weighty interests of the British empire. By vesting the right of returning members to Parliament in forty-shilling and ultimately £10 freeholders in counties, and £10 house or shop holders in towns, the command of the Legislature will be placed in hands inaccessible, save by actual bribery, to the approach of the commercial, colonial, or shipping interests. If such a change does not soon produce a revolution, it will in the end infallibly lead to the dismemberment of the empire. The Indian and Canadian dependencies will not long submit to the rule of the populace in the *dominant island*, indifferent to their interests, ignorant of their circumstances, careless of their welfare. This evil is inherent in all systems of *uniform representation*, and must to the end of time render it unfit for the representation of a great and varied empire. Being based mainly upon *one class in society*, it contains no provision for the interest of the other classes, and still less for the welfare of the remote but important parts of the empire. The great majority of electors being possessed of houses rented from £10 to £20 a-year—that is, enjoying an income of from £60 to £120 per annum—the representatives will be persons inclined to support their local and immediate interests. The remote possessions of the empire can have no influence on such men, save by the corrupted channel of actual bribery. The most valuable feature of the British constitution—that of affording an in-

* The author often heard these opinions from the working classes at this period.

† "This declaration, though proved to be mistaken in its view, was in its diction and

72. Parliament met on the 21st June, and the speech from the throne said: "Having had recourse to the dissolution of Parliament for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of my people on the expedience of a reform in the representation, I have now to recommend that important question to your earliest and most attentive consideration. Great distress exists in Ireland; the most pressing cases have been relieved by temporary measures, and Parliament is invited to consider what measures should be adopted to assist the country, in order to prevent the recurrence of the like evils. Local disturbances, unconnected with political causes, have taken place in various parts of Ireland, especially Clare, Roscommon, and Galway, for the repression of which the constitutional authority of the law has been

let through the close boroughs to all the great and varied interests of the empire, supported by its rising talent—will be destroyed. The Reform Bill should be styled, 'A bill for *disfranchising the colonial, commercial, and shipping interests*, and vesting the exclusive right of returning members of Parliament in the populace of Great Britain and Ireland.'

"What the measures are which they will force upon the Government may be judged of by those which have been commenced to conciliate their goodwill: confiscation of the Funds, under the name of taxes upon transfers, or a heavy property-tax,—of land, under the name of a duty on succession; the withdrawal of all protecting duties on the produce of the colonies; the sacrifice of every other interest to furnish cheap articles of necessity or convenience to the sovereign multitude in towns, will and *must* be the future policy of the Government. The landed interest will be sacrificed by a repeal of the Corn Laws, to procure their favour by the purchase of cheap bread; the Canadas will be lost from the throwing open the trade in timber; the West Indies will be ruined in the conflagration consequent on immediate emancipation of the negroes, or in the losses arising from a free trade in sugar; the East India interest, deprived of the monopoly of the China trade, will be reduced to the doubtful military sovereignty of a distant continent. These effects may not all follow at once: considerable periods may elapse between each successive step; but their ultimate establishment under a reformed Parliament is as certain as that night succeeds day."—*Blackwood's Magazine*, May and June 1831, vol. xxix. pp. 748, 976. The author is happy to think, after the lapse of thirty years, he has no reason to regret, and no cause to retract, predictions uttered during the first heat of the conflict.

vigorously and successfully applied, and thus the necessity of enacting laws to strengthen the executive will, it is hoped, be prevented. To avert such a necessity ever has been my anxious wish; but if it should arise, I do not doubt your firm resolution to maintain the power and order of society, by the adoption of such measures as may be necessary for their more effectual protection."

73. The first question brought forward, of course, was the all-engrossing one of Reform. The bill was read a first time without opposition, the debate being reserved for the second reading, which came on on the 4th July, before which time the Scotch and Irish Reform Bills had also been brought in. The debate lasted three nights, but it was distinguished by no novelty, excepting increased vehemence on both sides; revolution being confidently predicted by the opponents of the measure if the bill passed, and as openly threatened by the other if it should be thrown out. At length, all parties being worn out by the speeches, the division was loudly called for, and the second reading was carried by a majority of 136, in a House of 598 members. This majority, how great and decisive soever, was scarcely so large as had been anticipated by those who had seen the results of the elections, and the universal transports under which they had been conducted.

74. The bill now went into committee, when the case of each individual borough which it was proposed to disfranchise came under consideration. The first which came, from its alphabetical position in Schedule A, was Appleby, and it led to a long and keen debate as to whether the census of 1821, which brought it below two thousand inhabitants, should be taken as the rule, in opposition to the allegation of the inhabitants that their number now exceeded two thousand, and that this had been established by the enumeration of the people just completed. Ministers resisted this to the uttermost, upon the ground that the progress of a great national meas-

ure could not be arrested by investigation concerning so insignificant a place as Appleby, and so it was carried by a majority of 97, the numbers being 284 to 187. The Opposition, however, was not discouraged, for next day Mr Wynn moved a general resolution, that the consideration of the schedules should be postponed,—avowedly for the purpose of taking advantage of the new census, the report of which might be expected in a few weeks. “After,” said Sir Robert Peel, “having obtained so large a majority as 136 on the principle of the bill, Government would have acted wisely, even for the interests of the measure itself, to have postponed going into the details of the bill till they were in possession of better documents on which to proceed. They know what is coming, they are aware of the event which is casting its shadow before; namely, that the boroughs will be overtaken by the population returns of 1831. In another fortnight these returns will be laid before the House; and though his Majesty’s Ministers now proceed expressly on the doctrine of a population of two thousand or four thousand, they are guilty of the inconceivable absurdity of proceeding on the returns of 1821, when they can so soon be in possession of the census of 1831. Before this bill leaves this House, it may be shown that so inapplicable are the returns of 1821, that there are many boroughs so increased since that time in population as that they are now excluded, while they ought to be included in the enjoyment of the franchise.” The House, however, by a majority of 118, determined to proceed, making the census of 1821 the rule.

75. A protracted and tedious series of debates ensued on the details of the measure and the disfranchisement of particular boroughs, which continued, without interruption, for two months, but in which Ministers uniformly had triumphant majorities. The mind of Mr Croker, forcible and indefatigable, but minute and microscopic, shone forth with peculiar lustre in these discussions. Two points of general and

lasting interest were, however, determined in the course of these interminable debates. The first was a motion, brought forward by Mr Hume on 16th August, that members should be given to the colonies; and the proposal was of the most moderate kind; for all he asked was, that 19 members should be given to the *whole colonies of Great Britain*, including four for British India, with its 100,000,000 of inhabitants.* The proposal was supported by the Conservatives, but excited very little attention, and was *negatived without a division*. When “Australia” was read out as to send a member, there was a loud laugh. “Gentlemen,” said Mr Hume, “may laugh; but it can be shown that Australia already has twenty times the number of inhabitants of many of the boroughs in England which are now to be enfranchised.” Within twenty-five years of the time when these words were spoken, Australia had a population of 600,000 souls, took off annually £14,000,000 of British manufactures, and a single province of it (Victoria) yielded the local government a revenue of £3,500,000 a-year! It is a curious and instructive proof of the inherent and universal selfishness and thirst for power in all ranks, that, at the very moment when the Reformers of England were most strenuously contending for and successfully asserting the right of the middle classes at home to a preponderating share in the government, they would not *even entertain a proposal* for the extension of similar rights, in the smallest degree, to their fellow-countrymen beyond the seas! It may safely be affirmed, that the future destinies of the British empire, and its dissolution at no distant period, were determined on this eventful though unobserved night; for, can it be supposed that the vast and rapidly-growing colonies, destined ere long to outstrip the mother country in wealth, commerce, and population, will remain permanently subject to a legislature exclusively elected by

* He proposed to give British India 4, Crown colonies 3, Canada 3, West Indies 3, Channel Islands, 1—total, 19.

the inhabitants of a distant island, ignorant of their circumstances, indifferent to their wants, and actuated by interests adverse to their prosperity?*

"*Cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare eurrant.*"

76. If the subject of colonial representation excited no attention in the whirlwind of domestic reform, the same could not be said of another topic brought forward by Lord Chandos, which was the extension of the elective franchise to tenants-at-will. By the bill as it originally stood, tenants holding leases for twenty-one years or more, and paying £50 rent, were to obtain votes in counties. This clause, however, applied to a very small number of such persons, leases being rare in England. The Marquess of Chandos now moved that tenants-at-will should be enfranchised who paid £50 rent—

* It cannot be said that this decision was come to in ignorance of the circumstances and claims of the colonies: for, in the course of the brief debate on Mr Hume's motion, Mr Keith Douglas observed: "In the present times of sweeping and universal change, the plan of the honourable member for Middlesex is a subject of the very highest importance. The idea of giving due proportion to the commerce and colonies which had raised this country to its present pitch of greatness, was worthy of the most attentive consideration. It appeared, by the returns of 1827, that our colonial imports were then worth £90,000,000 (official value), and our exports £80,000,000; that the ships employed in this trade amounted to 4580, and their tonnage to 900,000, independent of those employed in the colonies themselves. They were now about to localise the representation, and in all probability the various boroughs would in future return gentlemen resident in their immediate vicinity, so that the class of persons connected with the colonies, who had hitherto found their way into Parliament, and who were alone able to give information concerning colonial matters, would be completely excluded. In whatever point of view the great question of our colonial policy and government came to be considered, it was impossible to doubt that the honourable member for Middlesex had done perfectly right in bringing it forward." Hansard's *Reports* bear, "He (Mr Hume) had begun his speech by expressing a fear that very few members who heard him would give their attention to the subject; but he was now convinced that those who laughed did give their attention to the subject—the late Secretary of the Admiralty might laugh. (Mr Croker: 'I did not laugh at all; I was reading this paper'.)"—*Parl. Deb.*, vol. vi. pp. 122-126.

a great change, for it went to admit the whole body of the English tenantry holding farms to that value. The debate was short, for the minds of nearly all were made up on the subject; and the Whig territorial magnates, though obliged for consistency's sake to side with the Government in opposing the amendment, were in secret most anxious for its adoption. The result was that the amendment was carried by a majority of 84—the numbers being 232 to 148. Ministers, nothing loth, acquiesced in the change, which became, and has ever since continued, an integral part of the Reform Act. There can be no doubt that it was a very great improvement on the measure, and that on principle, irrespective of its influence on the state of parties in the House. It introduced at once a class of voters qualified by a *different franchise* from the general £10 voters, and thus tended to modify, in some degree, that fatal vesting of power in one single class of society, which is the invariable and worst effect of a uniform system of representation.

77. At length, after having undergone an amount of discussion unparalleled even in the long annals of parliamentary warfare, the bill approached its final stage in the Lower House. On the 21st September it was passed by a majority of 109—the numbers being 345 to 236. This division was received with loud and long-continued cheers, which were prolonged through great part of the night in the streets of the metropolis, which was violently agitated. The news spread like wildfire through the country, and was almost everywhere received with ringing of bells and acclamations. London was partially illuminated, and the windows of those who declined to do so were generally broken: but the excitement over the country was not so violent as on the dissolution of Parliament in the April preceding, because that was the first decisive victory; this had long been foreseen.

78. All eyes were now turned to the Upper House: and the question, "What will the Lords do?" was in

every mouth. All the usual engines of intimidation were applied to the Peers, and the bishops, in particular, were daily threatened by the press and the political unions with spoliation, deprivation, and even death, if they persisted in opposing the voice of the people. Meetings were called to inform the Peers of the "tremendous consequences of rejecting the bill, and how deeply the security of commercial as well as all other property would be shaken, if the bill were any longer delayed. The Peers would be insane if they refused to do so; they would pass it, as they hoped to transmit their honours to their children; they would pass it, if they desired to retain their rank and legitimate privileges; and they would, moreover, pass it without delay, for the public would not submit much longer to see trade stand still, and business remain in protracted stagnation, on account of such tediously protracted expectation. The people will thenceforward not pay taxes, nor would they be justified in doing so, when the country had decided that the constitution was not such as it ought to be. Let the Lords refuse this bill if they dare; and if they do, dearly will they rue their obstinacy hereafter."

79. Amidst all this violence and excitement the bill was carried to the House of Lords. It was read a first time without opposition, and the second reading came on on October 3. The debate lasted for five nights, and much exceeded that of the Commons in dignity, statesmanlike views, and eloquence; giving thus the clearest proof of the weight which the Upper House had acquired, by the successive additions of talent of the highest order from the Lower. "It exhibited," says Mr Roebuck, "a most admirable, striking, and memorable example of finished excellence in parliamentary discussion." Earl Grey moved the second reading in a calm, dignified, and powerful speech, which concluded with these memorable words: "Brave I know your Lordships to be, and angrily susceptible when approached with a menace. I fling aside all ideas of

menace and intimidation; but I conjure you, as you value your rights and dignities, and as you wish to transmit them unimpaired to your posterity, to lend a willing ear to the representations of the people. Do not take up a position which will show that you will not attend to the voice of nine-tenths of the people, who call upon you, in a tone too loud not to be heard, and too decisive to be misunderstood. The people are all but unanimous in support of the bill; the immense preponderance of county members and members for populous places who have voted for it, is a sufficient proof of that. If this measure be refused, none other will be accepted; none less would, if accepted, be satisfactory. Do not, I beg, flatter yourselves that it is possible by a less effective measure than this to quiet the storm which will rage, and to govern the agitation which will have been produced. I certainly deprecate popular violence. As a citizen of a free state, and feeling that freedom is essentially connected with order, I deprecate it. As a member of the Government it is my duty to maintain tranquillity; but as a citizen, as a member of the Government, as a man and a statesman, I am bound to look at the consequences which may flow from rejecting the measure. And although I do not say, as the noble Duke (Wellington) did on another occasion, that the rejection of this measure will lead to civil war—I trust it will not produce any such effect—yet I see such consequences likely to arise from it as make me tremble for the security of this House and of this country. Upon your Lordships, then, as you value the tranquillity and prosperity of the country, I earnestly call to consider well before you reject this measure.

80. "Let me respectfully entreat the right reverend prelates to consider that, if this bill be rejected by a narrow majority of the lay peers, and its fate should thus be decided, within a few votes, by the votes of the heads of the Church, what will then be their situation with the country. You have shown that you are not indifferent or inattentive to the signs of the times.

You have introduced, in the way in which all such measures ought to be introduced by the heads of the Church, measures of melioration. In this you have acted with a prudent forethought. You appear to have felt that the eyes of the country were upon you; *that it is necessary to put your house in order, and prepare for the coming storm.* I implore you to follow on this occasion the same prudent course. There are many questions at present which may take a fatal direction, if, upon a measure on which the nation has fixed its hopes, and which is necessary for its welfare, the decision of this House should, by means of your votes, be in opposition to the feelings and wishes of the people. You are the ministers of peace; earnestly do I hope that the result of your votes may be such as will tend to the peace, tranquillity, and happiness of the country."

81. The debate elicited talent of the very highest order on both sides; and Lord Harrowby in particular, on the second night, made the best speech which had yet been delivered in either House against the bill. The closing night of the debate brought the two great champions on the opposite sides—Lord Brougham and Lord Lyndhurst—into the lists, whose speeches, as might have been expected, embraced everything which could be urged on either side, and were masterpieces of forensic power and eloquence. The former said, "By all you hold most dear—by all the ties that bind every one of us to one common order, and one common country,—I solemnly adjure you—I warn you—I implore you—on my bended knees I supplicate you—reject not this bill." The latter concluded thus: "Perilous as the situation is in which we are placed, it is at the same time a proud one; the eyes of the country are anxiously turned upon us, and if we decide as becomes us, we shall merit the eternal gratitude of every friend of the constitution and of the British empire." On a division, which took place at half-past six, the bill was lost by a majority of 41—the numbers being 199 to 158.

82. This decision, having been long

foreseen, took no one by surprise; and the reforming party, both in and out of Parliament, adopted immediate measures to obviate its effects. The Funds suddenly fell, many of the shops were closed in London, and that general anxiety was felt which is so often the precursor of some great public calamity. The King requested Ministers to retain their places, and shape the bill so as to disarm their opponents, being much alarmed at the prospect of an approaching convulsion. On the Monday following, Lord Ebrington, in the House of Commons, moved a vote of confidence in Ministers, which was carried by a majority of 131—the numbers being 329 to 198.* This vote enabled the Ministers to retain their places; and the parliamentary contest, for the present at least, being now over, the King, on 20th October, prorogued Parliament in person, with these significant words: "To the consideration of the important question of the reform of the House of Commons the attention of Parliament must necessarily again be called at the opening of the ensuing session; and you may be assured of my unaltered desire to promote its settlement by such improvements in the representation as may be found necessary for securing to my people the full enjoyment of their rights, which, in combination with those of the other orders of the State, are essential to the support of our free constitution."

83. The declared resolution of the King and the House of Commons to carry out the principles of reform, however, was not sufficient to allay the apprehensions or calm the pas-

* The vote was in these words: "That while this House laments the present state of a bill for introducing a reform into the Commons House of Parliament, in favour of which the opinion of the country stands unequivocally prominent, and which has been matured by discussions the most anxious and the most laborious, it feels itself most imperatively called upon to reassert its firm adherence to the principles and leading provisions of that great measure, and to express its unabated confidence in the integrity, perseverance, and ability of those Ministers who, introducing and conducting it so well, consulted the best interests of the country."—*Ann. Reg.* 1831, p. 278.

sions of the people. In London these ebullitions were confined to the lowest of the populace, whose acts, however, indicated to what they had been stimulated by the incendiary language so long addressed to them by the reforming journals and the public meetings. The Duke of Wellington, the Duke of Cumberland, and the Marquess of Londonderry were assaulted in the street, and with difficulty rescued by the police and the respectable bystanders from the violence of the mob. The latter nobleman, whose courage and determination during the whole contest had signalled him for vengeance, was struck senseless from his horse by showers of stones at the gate of the Palace, amidst cries of "Murder him—cut his throat!" Persons respectably dressed, and wearing ribbons round their arms, took the lead on these occasions, gave orders, and, rushing forward from the crowd, led it on, and made way for those who commenced the demolition of the windows of Apsley House.* But alarming as these riots were in the metropolis, they were as nothing to those which occurred in the provinces, where scenes ensued which have affixed a lasting stain on the English character, and proved that, when their passions are thoroughly roused, the people of this country may become as dangerous, and engage in atrocities as frightful, as the worst populace of foreign states.

84. While the bill was yet pending in the House of Lords, a great meeting was called by the Political Union of Birmingham, attended, it was said by the Reformers, by one hundred and fifty thousand, and probably, in truth, by one hundred thousand persons. At this meeting very violent language, as might have been expected, was used, though not more so than was usual on all such occasions at that period.† But

* See in particular the statements of Mr Trevor and Colonel Trench (who followed the crowd which committed the outrages), in the House of Commons, on 14th October.—*Ann. Reg.* 1831, pp. 288, 289.

† One of the speakers said: "He declared before God, that if all constitutional modes of obtaining the success of the reform measure failed, he should and would be the first man to refuse the payment of taxes, except by

it acquired a historic importance from what followed. The meeting voted an address to the King, setting forth the "awful consequences" which might ensue from the rejection of the bill, their pain at imagining that the House of Lords should be so infatuated as to reject it, and their earnest desire that his Majesty should create as many peers as might be necessary to insure its success. They voted also thanks to Lord Althorpe and Lord John Russell. Both these noblemen acknowledged the compliment with thanks; the latter, in doing so, used the expression which became so celebrated: "I beg to acknowledge, with heartfelt gratitude, the undeserved honour done me by one hundred and fifty thousand of my countrymen. Our prospects are now obscured for a moment, and, I trust, only for a moment. *It is impossible that the whisper of faction should prevail against the voice of the nation.*"

85. Similar meetings, attended by vast multitudes, took place at Liverpool, Birmingham, Glasgow, Newcastle, Edinburgh, and all the great towns, at all of which language the most violent was used, and ensigns the most revolutionary were displayed; while the press, provincial as well as metropolitan, increased every hour in vigour and audacity. To intimidate the Peers was the great object, and acts soon ensued more calculated even

a levy upon his goods—(tremendous cheers). I now call upon all those who are prepared to join me in this step to hold up their hands—(an immense forest of hands was immediately held up, accompanied by vehement cheering). I now call upon you who are not prepared to adopt this course to hold up your hands and signify your dissent—(not a single hand was held up). Mark my words, 'Failing all other constitutional means.'" Another speaker said: "It is said that the reverend fathers in God, the bishops, will oppose this bill: if they do, their fate, which even now is exceedingly doubtful, will be irrevocably sealed. The haughty remnants of the Establishment will be buried in the dust, with a nation's execration for their epitaph: the splendid mitre will fall from the heads of the bishops; their crosses will fall as if from a palsied hand; their robes of lawn may be turned into a garb of mourning, and my Lord Bishop of London may shut up his episcopal palace, and take out a licence for a beer-shop."—*Ann. Reg.* 1831, p. 282.

than words to produce this effect. At Derby, the mob, as usual, demolished the windows of the anti-Reformers; and some of the ringleaders having been apprehended by the magistrates and put in jail, it was forthwith attacked, the doors forced, and the whole prisoners liberated. At Nottingham the violence was of a still more serious and systematic kind, as the Duke of Newcastle, to whom the castle and great part of the property in the town belonged, had signalled himself by the most decided opposition to the bill. A mob suddenly assembled there, and moved against that venerable pile, once a royal residence, and associated with many of the most memorable events in English history; for it was there that Charles I. unfurled his banner at the commencement of the civil wars. The gates were quickly forced, the building sacked, set on fire, and burnt to the ground. A regiment of hussars, having opportunely arrived from Derby, prevented any further damage being done in the town; but the mob, thirsting for plunder, issued forth into the country, and attacked several houses of noblemen or gentlemen known to entertain anti-reform principles. Among these were those of Lord Middleton and Mr Musters, the latter of which was sacked and pillaged, and his unfortunate lady, driven to seek safety by concealment among the shrubby bushes on a cold and rainy October evening, lost her life.

86. These disorders, serious as they were, however, all sank into insignificance before the riots at Bristol, which were of so dreadful a kind as not only to spread a universal panic over the country, but to affix a dark stain on the English character, and suggest a painful doubt as to its ability to retain its equilibrium in periods of violent political excitement. The occasion, or rather the pretext, for the outbreak, was the appearance of Sir Charles Wetherall, a noted anti-reformer, who, as Recorder of Bristol, with more courage than judgment, made his public entrance into that city on the 29th October. He was received by the ma-

gistrates with the pomp and respect usually shown to the judicial representatives of royalty on such occasions; but at the same time the cavalcade was followed by a disorderly mob, which, beginning with groans and hisses, soon proceeded to throwing of stones and brickbats. The respectable citizens at the commercial rooms received them with three cheers; but this only irritated the rabble, who, when the procession reached the Mansion House, assailed it with missiles of every description. The mayor in vain requested the mob to disperse, and withdrew a portion of the special constables, who were particularly obnoxious to them, in order to appease their fury. This only increased it, and the crowd swelled in number and audacity as night approached. The Riot Act was read, but the military were not called in. The consequence was, that the constables were suddenly attacked and driven back, the doors of the building forced, the Mansion House stormed, its whole furniture smashed and pillaged, and the iron palings in front torn up, and put into the hands of the rioters for future mischief. Meanwhile Sir Charles and the magistrates escaped by a back door, and the former left the city. The latter called in the military, and two troops of dragoons, amply sufficient to have arrested the disorders, arrived in the square. But they received at first no orders to act, either from the magistrates or the commanding officer; and the soldiers, not knowing what to do, for some time merely walked their horses through the multitude. Seeing this, the mob proceeded to break the windows of the Council House, and the military then charged, dispersed the crowd, and prevented any farther mischief that night.

87. But the lull was of short duration. Deeming the riot over, the magistrates allowed the dragoons, who were much fatigued, to retire for the night, and the mob made good use of the breathing-time thus afforded them to prepare for ulterior measures. The indecision evinced the preceding evening spread far and wide the conviction

that the magistrates would not order the soldiers to act, and that if ordered they would not do so. This belief brought multitudes next day to the expected scene of plunder and intoxication; the bargemen from the adjoining canals flocked in on all sides, and those wild-looking haggard desperadoes began to appear in the streets, which in all civil convulsions, like the storm-birds to the distressed mariners, betoken coming shipwreck. Thus reinforced, the mob returned in greater numbers on the following morning to the scene of their former violence, broke open and ransacked the cellars of the Mansion House, and soon intoxicated wretches added the fumes of drunkenness to the horrors of the scene. The military were again called in, and a troop of the 14th was soon on the spot; but no magistrate was there to give them orders, and the commanding officer, though the violence was going forward, having no orders from the civil authorities, thought it his duty to abstain from acting, and soon after deemed it best to withdraw his men from the risk of contamination, and moved them to the barracks. They were replaced at the Mansion House by another troop less obnoxious to the people. Upon this the mob cheered loudly, and leaving the Mansion House, where nothing now remained to pillage, dispersed in different bodies over the city.

88. The most frightful scene of violence and devastation ensued. One detachment proceeded to the bride-well, where they broke open the doors, liberated the prisoners, who immediately joined them, and set the building on fire; another went to the new jail, which was also forced open, the prisoners set free, and the building consigned to the flames. The Gloucester county prison shared the same fate, and the chief toll-houses round the town were destroyed. A band next proceeded to the bishop's palace, which was set on fire and totally consumed. The Mansion House was speedily burnt to the ground; and, not content with this, the rioters set fire to the Custom House, Excise Office, and other build-

ings in Queen Square, which soon were wrapt in one awful conflagration. An attempt was made to fire the shipping in the docks, but happily repulsed by the vigilance and courage of the seamen. Exclusive of the Mansion House, jails, and other public edifices, forty-two private houses and warehouses were burnt, and property to the amount of £500,000 destroyed. Before night, Queen Square and the adjoining streets exhibited the most appalling spectacle. Flames were bursting forth on all sides; the walls of buildings already consumed were falling in every minute, and the square and streets filled with infuriated crowds in the last stage of intoxication, many of whom were lying senseless on the pavement, while not a few perished in the flames which they themselves had raised.

89. While these terrible scenes were going on in the town, the soldiers, *for fear of irritating the people*, had been sent into the country; and the officers and men beheld with speechless agony the whole firmament, on Sunday night, reddened by the flames of the burning city. At length, however, the enormity of the evil worked out its own cure. Orders were sent by the magistrates to the military to return on Monday morning; and under the command of an active and gallant officer (Captain Wetherall of the 14th) the work was speedily and effectually done. The dragoons charged the rioters with the utmost vigour in all the streets where they were assembled, and in an hour's time the insurrection was quelled. Passing from the extreme of audacity to the most abject terror, the mob fled in crowds from the sabres of the soldiers, and in many instances, in drunken alarm, precipitated themselves into the burning houses, and perished miserably. On the whole, no less than ninety-four persons were killed and wounded during these disastrous days, who were brought to the public hospitals; and probably a still greater number perished in the burning houses, and were never heard of. Since Lord George Gordon's riots in 1780, no such scenes had disgraced the annals of England.

90. This violent outbreak, like many other things when matters have reached the extremity of evil, in the end did good. All classes took the alarm at the terrible consequences which it was now apparent flowed from exciting the passions of the people. It was seen how little security the boasted solidity of the English character afforded, when the cupidity of the populace was excited by the prospect of power or plunder. The trial of the ringleaders, which came on in December, and was presided over by Lord Tindal, terminated in the conviction of a great number of prisoners, three of whom underwent the last punishment of the law. What was still more material, the facts which came out in evidence as to the committing of the worst acts of incendiarism in presence of the military, but in absence of the magistrates, drew from that venerable judge an exposition of the law on that important point; which amounted to this, that every citizen, armed or unarmed, is entitled to interfere to prevent a felony being committed, or destruction to life or property being effected; that a citizen does not cease to be such by becoming a soldier; and that, although in the general case it is advisable for the military to await the orders of a civil magistrate before they act, yet they are entitled, and even bound to do so, even without such orders, in extreme cases, in defence either of their own lives, or of the lives or property of others.* Lastly, these events afforded a decisive proof of the ruinous effects which invariably result from

either the magistrates or military officers flinching from their duty in the commencement of such disorders, whether from timidity or mistaken humanity. The only course to be adopted in such cases is to let the felonious intent be fairly proved by deeds before giving the orders to act; but when it is so proved, to act at once, and with the utmost vigour. Had this been done at the commencement of the riots, they might have been put down in a few hours. A melancholy tragedy, which closed the Bristol disorders, brought home these truths still more impressively to the public mind. The mayor, and the commanding officer of the district, Colonel Brereton, were both brought to trial for neglect of duty on the occasion. The former was acquitted, as it was proved he had not been adequately supported by the military; but the evidence against the latter proved so overwhelming, that after the fourth day of the trial he committed suicide by shooting himself through the heart.

91. Disturbances of a lesser but very alarming kind took place about the same time in other quarters. At the Bristol riots, it was proved that some of the rioters, when firing the bishop's palace, exclaimed, "We'll soon have every church in England down!" This disposition appeared in attacks on those who had hitherto been the object of most veneration to the English mind. At Croydon the Archbishop of Canterbury was publicly insulted when returning from a Bible meeting. Lord Tenterden's carriage

* "The soldier is still a citizen, lying under the same obligation, and invested with the same authority, to preserve the peace of the King, as any other subject. If the one is bound to attend the call of the civil magistrate, so also is the other; if the one may interfere for that purpose, when the occasion demands it, without the requisition of the magistrate, so may the other too; if the one may employ arms for that purpose, when arms are necessary, the soldier may do the same. Undoubtedly, the same exercise of discretion which requires the private subject to act in subordination to and in aid of the magistrate, rather than upon his own authority, before recourse is had to arms, ought to operate in a still stronger degree with a military force. But where the danger is pressing and immediate, where a felony has actually been com-

mitted, or cannot otherwise be prevented, and from the circumstances of the case no opportunity is offered of obtaining a requisition from the proper authorities, the military subjects of the King, like his civil subjects, not only may, but are bound to do their utmost, of their own authority, to prevent the perpetration of outrage, to put down riot and tumult, and to preserve the lives and property of the people.

"Gentlemen, still further by the common law, not only is each private subject bound to exert himself to the utmost, but every sheriff, constable, and other peace officer is called upon to do all that in them lies for the suppression of riot, and each has authority to command all other subjects of the King to assist them in that undertaking."—*Chief-Justice Tindal's Charge*, p. 7.

was attacked when his lordship was proceeding to Westminster Hall; and Bond Street and Regent Street were kept in alarm by mobs of some thousand persons, which broke the windows of all the respectable shops. At Bath the populace surrounded the inn where the yeomanry were assembled to proceed to Bristol during the riots, thus preventing them getting out, and almost pulled the building down. Serious disturbances took place at Worcester and Coventry, at the latter of which places a mill was burnt down. Finally, to give greater unity to the operations of the different political unions, a "National Political Union" was formed in London at a great meeting, Sir Francis Burdett in the chair. This Union, a few days after, issued a proclamation, in which, besides demanding annual parliaments, universal suffrage, and vote by ballot, it was stated, "that all property *honestly acquired* is sacred and inviolable; that all men are born equally free, and have certain natural and unalienable rights; that all hereditary distinctions of birth are unnatural, and opposed to the equal rights of man, *and ought to be abolished*; and that they would never be satisfied with any laws which stopped short of these principles." At the same time, an immense number of staves, having the tricolor flag painted on them, were prepared in the neighbourhood of Bethnal Green; sword-sticks were to be seen in many shops of the metropolis, and the demand for bludgeons was so great that the makers could not supply it. And during the whole recess, Earl Grey's privacy was daily intruded upon by deputations of political unions calling upon him to summon Parliament instantly together, and quell the opposition of the factions by a great creation of peers.

92. However insensible Ministers, in the heat of the reform contest, might be to the signs of the times, they did not escape the penetrating eye of the chief magistrate of the realm. Though not free from foibles, which prevented the higher points of his character from being appreciated, William IV. was

by no means destitute of the sagacity and firmness which is inherent in his race. He early conceived the utmost apprehension at the proceedings of the political unions, and daily, and even hourly, called upon his Ministers to check them. He composed and submitted to them a very elaborate memoir on the subject, demanded from the law officers a statement of the means which the existing law afforded for their suppression, and required his Ministers, if these were insufficient, to apply to Parliament for additional powers. Thus urged, and having the sacking of Bristol before their eyes, the Cabinet at length issued a proclamation against the political unions, which satisfied the King, but was far from checking the proceedings of these audacious bodies. Trusting to the protection of juries, which in the present excited state of the public mind would never, they flattered themselves, convict them, they proceeded unchecked in their measures to overawe and intimidate the Government; and the National Political Union, in derision, ostentatiously placarded the proclamation at the door of the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, which was then their headquarters.

93. Parliament met on the 6th December, after this brief and stormy recess, and the first thing done, of course, was to bring in a new Reform Bill. It was introduced on the 12th by Lord John Russell in the Lower House, and though the leading principles of the former bill were preserved entire, several alterations in matters of detail were introduced, which afforded a just though transient subject for congratulation and triumph to the Conservative opposition. Lord Chandos's fifty-pound clause for voters in counties was retained; and as this was done with the secret approbation of the Whig leaders, it could not justly be considered as a triumph to their political opponents. But other changes, which had been resisted with the whole influence of Government in the former Parliament, were adopted. The House was restored to its original number of 658, though the former House had been dissolved on

the success of General Gascoigne's motion, that no reduction should take place in the members for England and Wales. The census of 1831 was adopted as the basis of the disfranchisement, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts made to retain that of 1821; and very considerable alterations were made in the distribution of boroughs in the schedule. A change, important in principle, though not very material in its present results, was introduced also in the calculations on which the rule for disfranchising boroughs was framed. This was no longer done by mere numbers, but by *numbers compounded with the amount of assessed taxes paid*,—an obvious improvement, as letting in at least some consideration of property, and which was industriously and correctly worked out by Lieutenant Drummond. Sir Robert Peel made a skilful use of the advantage thus afforded him, and ironically congratulated the new Parliament upon the tribute paid to the *manes* of the old one, by adopting General Gascoigne's amendment.

94. In truth, however, the new bill, though it adopted some of the amendments for which the Opposition had contended in the discussion of the former one, was in reality more democratic than its predecessor had been. The ten-pound clause, which enfranchised the middle class, and the Schedules A and B, which disfranchised property and the colonies, were retained. The first of these schedules, being that containing boroughs which were to be entirely disfranchised, was kept up at its original amount of fifty-six, and there was no addition to the one hundred and forty-four county members, as proposed by the first bill. Eleven towns were taken from Schedule B, and placed in Schedule C, containing new towns returning two members each. The general result was, that the borough members for England amounted to three hundred and twenty-eight, and the county to one hundred and forty-four, or *considerably less than a half!* Yet did Government still persist in the belief that the landed interest would not be impaired by the change. "The House," said Earl Grey,

on introducing the bill into the House of Peers, "know how unfounded must be the alarm of those who thought that the present measure would be fatal to the influence of the landed interest."

95. The second reading of the bill was carried in the Commons by a majority of 161; the numbers being 322 to 161. This was a much larger majority than had yet been obtained on the subject, and demonstrated the progress which the question was making in the public mind. It was strenuously and firmly, though temperately, opposed by Sir R. Peel. "I shall oppose this bill," said he, "to the last, believing as I do that the people are grossly deluded as to the practical benefits to be derived from it; that it is the first step, not directly, to revolution, but to a series of changes which will affect the property and alter the mixed constitution of the country; that it will be fatal to the authority of the House of Lords, and that it will force on a series of further concessions. I will oppose it to the last, convinced that, though my opposition will be unavailing, it will not be fruitless, because it will in some degree oppose a bar to future concessions. If the whole House were now to join in giving way, it would have less power to resist future concessions. On this ground I take my stand, not opposed to any well-considered reform of any of our institutions which the wellbeing of the country demands, but opposed to this reform in our constitution, because it tends to root up the feelings of respect towards it which are founded in prejudice perhaps, as well as in higher sources of veneration for all our institutions. I believe that reform will do this, and I will wield all the power that I possess to oppose the gradual progress of that spirit of democracy to which others think we ought gradually to yield; for if we make these concessions, it will only lead to establish the supremacy of that principle. We may, I know, make it supreme; we may be enabled to establish a republic, full, I have no doubt, of energy—not wanting, I have no doubt, in talent—but fatal, in my conscience I

believe, to our mixed form of government, and ultimately destructive of all those usages and practices which have long insured to us a large share of peace and prosperity, and which have made and preserved this the proudest kingdom in the annals of the world."

96. The third reading of the bill was carried, on 23d March, in the Commons, after a very long discussion in committee, by a majority of 116, in a House of 594, being less than the majority on the second reading, but larger by 7 than the final division on the first bill. Lord John Russell closed his arduous task with these remarkable words, which, without doubt, expressed in good faith the opinion of Government regarding the measure: "With respect to the expectations of the Government, I will say that, in proposing this measure, they have not acted lightly; but, after much consideration, they were induced to think, a year ago, that a measure of this kind was necessary, if they would stand between the abuses which they wished to correct and the convulsions they desired to avoid. I am convinced that, if Parliament should refuse to entertain a measure of this nature, they would place in collision that party which, on the one hand, opposed all reform in the Commons House of Parliament, and that which, on the other, desired a reform extending to universal suffrage. The consequence of this would be, that much blood would be shed in the struggle between the contending parties; and I am perfectly convinced that the British constitution would perish in the conflict. I move, sir, that this bill do now pass."

97. Before following the bill to its next stage, and recording the momentous conflict between the Crown and the democracy which ensued in the Upper House, it is necessary to mention two circumstances occurring at this period, which threw an important light both on the causes that had produced the reform passion, and the effect its gratification was likely to have on the prosperity and welfare of the nation. During the first half of the year 1831,

all branches of industry in the country had come to be sensibly affected by the consternation which generally prevailed, and the feeling of danger which existed on the part of the holders of property in regard to the security of their possessions. Before the end of the year this feeling had become so strong that enterprise and speculations of all sorts were paralysed, expenditure was generally contracted, and industry of every kind in consequence became depressed to a most alarming degree. Mr Hunt, the Radical member for Preston, brought this under the notice of the House of Commons, by an amendment on the Address, which expressed the feeling of the democratic classes in regard to the remote causes of their distresses.* No one seconded his amendment, and it was negatived without a division. Posterity will probably reverse the sentence, as it has already done the unanimous vote of the National Assembly finding Louis XVI. guilty, and come to regard the contraction of the currency, and introduction of Free Trade, to which he referred the whole existing distress, as the real cause of all the convulsions into which the nation had been thrown.

98. But how insensible soever the House of Commons, during the heat of the reform contest, might be to the real causes which had induced the general distress, and with it the desire for change, its effects were soon brought to light in a form which could neither be overlooked nor mistaken. The revenue exhibited a falling-off to a most alarming extent. On October 3d, the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought

* "That by the present critical and alarming state of our country, when trade and manufactures are reduced to such difficulties by the withdrawing of and narrowing the circulation, without a proportionate reduction of taxation, by which the incomes of all those classes but those who lived upon the taxes are reduced one-half in value, the greatest distresses existed; that these were aggravated by the baleful system called Free Trade, by which a competition of foreign silks, gloves, and other articles is permitted with our own manufactures; that by these means the people have been driven to desperation and frenzy; and that to these causes are to be attributed these incendiary proceedings going on in the country."—*Ann. Reg.* 1831, p. 13.

forward his second budget for the year, the first having been abandoned, as already stated, and he was obliged to admit a very considerable defalcation in the principal articles of revenue. The Customs, in the preceding quarter, had fallen £644,000 below the corresponding quarter in the preceding year, and the Excise, in the same period, no less than £1,909,000. Upon the whole, the Chancellor of the Exchequer estimated the revenue at £47,250,000, and the expenditure at £46,756,000, leaving an apparent excess of income of £500,000 a-year.* But so far were these expectations from being realised that the total income, deducting the cost of collection from both sides, for the year ending 5th January 1832, was only £46,424,000, and the total expenditure £47,123,000, leaving a deficit of £700,000 a-year, which of course more than extinguished the last remnants of the Sinking Fund.

99. Ireland also, before the end of the year, exhibited a most afflicting increase of predial outrage and disorder. Then was seen how utterly fallacious an idea it had been that the exclusion of the Catholics from the Legislature had been the real cause of the disturbances of the country, and how little their admission into it had done to re-

move them. So far from it, their success on the former occasion had only made them more audacious; and the agitators and priests over the whole country had now banded the people together, in a general combination for resistance to tithes, which led to the most frightful tragedies. The misery and crimes of the people were daily increasing, and never had this increase been so great as since emancipation had passed. Murder, robbery, searching for arms, were committed in open day, and by such large bodies as set resistance at defiance, even the armed police. In daylight they dug up the potatoes in the fields. Five were shot dead while attacking a house in Tipperary; but this had no effect in deterring from similar outrages. Nine persons were killed during a conflict between the insurgents and police at Castle Pollard, in the county of Westmeath, on the 23d of May. Twelve were killed and twenty wounded during an affray at Newtonbarry, in Wexford, originating in a sale for distraining of tithes. The coroner's jury, after sitting nine days, could arrive at no verdict, six Catholics being on the one side, and six Protestants on the other.

100. As winter approached, and the severities of nature were added to the animosities of man, these outrages assumed a still more sombre and alarming character. Payment of tithe generally ceased; when it was recovered, it was only by distraining, which generally led to conflicts between the police and peasantry, ending in wounds and death, and leading to still more unseemly struggles for vengeance or impunity in the courts of justice. In the end of November, five of the peasantry were shot dead by the military in a tithe riot, when the latter had been assailed by a band of ruffians; but soon after the insurgents took a bloody revenge. A strong party of police having gone to protect a legal officer employed to serve a tithe notice, the peasantry assembled in multitudes on the road-sides, armed with pitchforks, bludgeons, and scythes, and having closed with the procession of the constabulary, the commanding-

* The income and expenditure for the year 1831, as actually realised, stood as follows:—

Income, net.

Customs,	£16,516,271
Excise,	16,303,025
Stamps,	6,947,829
Taxes,	4,864,343
Post-office,	1,530,205
Lesser Payments,	262,757
	<hr/>
	£46,424,430

Expenditure.

Interest of Funded Debt,	£24,372,894
Terminable Annuities,	3,318,688
Interest of Unfunded Debt,	649,833
Civil List, &c.,	1,548,772
Army,	7,216,292
Navy,	5,689,858
Ordnance,	1,472,944
Miscellaneous,	2,854,013
	<hr/>
	£47,123,465

Deduct income, net, 46,424,440

Excess of expenditure over income, } £690,025

—Ann. Reg. 1832, pp. 223, 230; App. to Chron.

officer and twelve of his men were killed. Such was the ferocity of the mob, that they beat out the brains of five of the police, who lay on the ground weltering in their blood, and put to death the captain's son, a boy of ten years of age, who was with the procession, and the pony on which he rode!

101. While these frightful scenes were going forward, and the country, from one end to the other, was in a state of the most violent excitement, from the dread of yet greater calamities impending over it, the Cabinet were anxiously engaged in the consideration of the all-important question, how the declared hostility of the Peers to the bill was to be overcome. The King had, in the outset of the discussions on the Reform Bill, distinctly declared to his Ministers that he would not dissolve the House of Commons if it should reject the bill, nor create peers if the Upper House did the same. "He had been induced, however," says the Whig historian, "under the mixed influence of vanity and alarm, to dissolve the intractable Parliament of 1830; but he declared he never would consent to any coercion of the Peers by means of creations." The Cabinet, however, distinctly saw that matters had now come to such a point that such a measure was unavoidable, to avoid a rejection of the bill; and great division of opinion existed in the Ministry on the subject. Lord Brougham and Lord Durham strenuously supported the measure, which they represented as unavoidable, and even urged a creation of sixty, to neutralise an anticipated majority to that amount. Lord Grey, on the other hand, manifested the utmost repugnance, and declared that he could never bring himself to acquiesce in any such unconstitutional measure. Lord Durham combated Earl Grey's objections in a written memoir, dated in January 1832; and Sir James Graham recommended the creation of a small batch of peers in the first instance, to show that Government were determined, and had the power to en-

force their determination. The philosophers of the Whig party, especially Sydney Smith, strongly urged Earl Grey to create at least sixty without a moment's delay. The discussions in the Cabinet were long and anxious; and when Parliament met, on 6th December, no decision was arrived at on the subject. It was not till the first week of January 1832 that the repugnance of Lord Grey was overcome; and a majority of the Cabinet had resolved to present the creations to the King as a Cabinet measure.

102. Meanwhile the Sovereign, who also foresaw that the matter would ultimately come to his decision, was in a state of the utmost anxiety and agitation, and he repeatedly and vehemently declared that he considered a creation of peers a revolutionary proceeding, and tending directly to the destruction of the House of Lords. It was on the 1st January, for the first time, that the majority of the Cabinet was brought round to the decisive step; and on the 3d of the same month, after a long conference with Earl Grey, he was, with great reluctance, induced to give his consent to "the measure of *peer-making*," as he termed it, if, on reflection, the Cabinet should remain of opinion that it was absolutely unavoidable. But, to be satisfied of that, he required all the members of the Ministry to give him their opinion *in writing*; adding, at the same time, that nothing but the most stern necessity would induce him to consent to so *fatal* a measure, and that, if done at all, he would prefer doing it at once to proceeding by successive small creations. He insisted, also, that the new peerages, with the exception of two, or at most three, should be in favour either of the eldest sons or heirs-presumptive of peers, and he expressed a hope that twenty-one might be sufficient. These conditions, he said, he considered essential to the preservation of the *hereditary* character of the peerage, and he expressed the utmost alarm at the revolutionary spirit which was abroad in the country, and entreated his Ministers, in the most

earnest manner, to do everything in their power to check and restrain it.

103. In the mean time a negotiation was secretly commenced, through Sir Herbert Taylor, the King's private secretary, between his Majesty and some of the Opposition peers, particularly Lord Wharnccliffe and Lord Harrowby, the object of which was to induce them to vote for the second reading of the bill as a matter of absolute necessity, and in the hope of effecting some important improvements upon it in committee. The fixed opinion of the King, which he expressed on all occasions, was, that a large measure of reform had become indispensable, but that a creation of peers to effect it would give an irremediable wound to the constitution, and that every possible effort should be made to avert so dire an alternative. The influence of his Majesty, as well as the obvious reason of the thing, had a decisive effect upon a considerable number of peers, respectable alike by their talents and their position; and the result appeared in the vote which followed, though it did not avert the catastrophe which was apprehended. Indeed, to any one who calmly considers the circumstances of the British empire at this period, it must be evident that the view taken by the King and these peers was well founded, and that there was now no alternative between an extensive reform and revolution. The nation had been worked up to such a pitch by the long dependence of the question and the efforts of the press, that it had become altogether ungovernable, and it had determined upon a change, which, for good or for evil, must be conceded. "A majority," says Roebuck, "of the wealthy, intelligent, and instructed, as well as the poor and laborious millions, had now resolved to have the Reform Bill. They had resolved to have it, if possible, by peaceable means, but, if that were not possible, BY FORCE."

104. Decisive proof of this ungovernable and revolutionary spirit speedily appeared during the three weeks which immediately preceded the second reading of the bill in the Upper House.

The political unions and Radicals turned the Easter recess to good account in the furtherance of agitation to overawe and coerce the House of Peers. The assembly of numbers made, and violence of the speeches delivered at the meetings which they called in all the great towns, much exceeded anything witnessed even during the earlier stages of this disastrous contest. Everything breathed approaching civil war. Argument or persuasion were little thought of: threats, denunciations of vengeance, predictions of approaching and prepared rebellion, formed the staple of the harangues. The great object was to make as imposing as possible a display of numbers and physical strength; and certainly the multitudes assembled did give fearful evidence of the extent to which the passions of the people had at length come to be stirred. At Liverpool, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Manchester, Leeds, Paisley, Sheffield, and all the great towns, meetings attended by thirty or forty thousand persons were held, at which the most violent language was used, and the most revolutionary ensigns were exhibited. Charles X., from his windows in Holyrood, gazed on a scene in the King's Park of Edinburgh which recalled the opening events of the French Revolution; and a speaker at Newcastle reminded the Sovereign that a "fairer head than that of Adelaide had ere this rolled on the scaffold." The object of all these petitions and speeches was the same—to induce the Lords, by threats of revolution, to pass the bill, and the King by similar threats to create peers sufficient to coerce them if they refused to do so. The National Union, on 3d May, spoke the voice of all the unions when it said that there was reason to expect that, if the Lords denied or impaired the bill, "the payment of taxes would cease, the other obligations of society would be disregarded, and the ultimate consequence might be the extinction of the privileged orders."

105. Amidst this tumult and anarchy the second reading of the bill came on in the House of Peers. The

debate commenced on the 9th, and was not concluded till seven o'clock on the morning of the 13th, when it was carried by a majority of NINE. The solicitations of the King, the threats of the people, had not been without their effects. Seventeen peers had changed their vote; twelve, who had formerly been absent, now appeared, and voted for the bill; ten, who had voted against it, were now absent. Among the twelve were the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of London, St David's, Worcester, and Chester. "It was the bishops," says the Liberal historian, "who saved the bill this time, but this deed did not restore the credit they had lost in October." It never does so: concession to democracy never either satisfies its desires or commands its esteem. It is ascribed to fear, and that generates nothing but contempt.

106. It soon appeared, however, that the object of this defection had been to meet the wishes of the Sovereign, or avert the wrath of the people, but by no means to pass the bill entire in obedience to the mandates of either. On May 7, when Parliament met after the recess, and when a meeting of not less than one hundred thousand persons was held in Birmingham, Lord Lyndhurst proposed in committee to defer the consideration of the disfranchising clauses in the bill till the enfranchising clauses had been considered. "Begin," said he, "by enfranchising, by conferring rights and privileges, by granting boons and favours, and not by depriving a portion of the community of the privileges which they at present enjoy." "Should this amendment be carried," said Earl Grey, in reply, "it may be necessary for me to consider what course I shall take. I dread the effect of the House of Lords opposing itself as an insurmountable barrier to what the people think necessary for the good government of the country." The House being in committee, proxies could not be taken, and, after an angry debate, the amendment was carried by a majority of 35—the numbers being 151 to 116.

107. Ministers next day held a cab-

inet council, at which it was resolved to resign unless the King would give them power to create a number of peers sufficient to give them such a working majority as might be necessary to carry the bill unimpaired in its leading provisions. The King refused to do so, and the Ministers immediately tendered their resignations, which were accepted. Lord Althorpe made this announcement in the House of Commons on the 9th, and Lord Grey did the same in the House of Lords. Matters had now come to the crisis which had long been foreseen on both sides. The Crown and the House of Lords had taken their stand to resist the bill, the Commons to force it upon them. When Charles I. planted his standard at Nottingham the crisis was scarcely more violent, nor the dreadful alternative of civil war to all appearance more imminent.

108. In this extremity the King applied to his former Chancellor, Lord Lyndhurst, who advised his Majesty to send for the Duke of Wellington. The old soldier at once obeyed the perilous summons. "I should have been ashamed," said he, "to show my face in the streets, if I had refused to assist my Sovereign in the distressing circumstances in which he was placed." The King frankly stated to the Duke that, in his opinion, a large measure of reform was necessary; and the old soldier, though strongly of opinion that such a measure was unnecessary, consented to assist the King in forming an administration on this basis; but he declined the situation of Premier, or indeed any seat in the Cabinet, for himself. Sir R. Peel, to whom the premiership was offered, at once refused it, saying, that "no authority nor example of any man or number of men could shake his determination not to accept office upon such conditions." Upon this determination being reported to the King, the Duke, at his request, immediately agreed to accept the perilous post of Prime Minister. Mr Manners Sutton was to be leader of the House of Commons; Mr Baring, Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Lord Lyndhurst,

Chancellor; and for the next five days the Duke was busily engaged in endeavouring to form an administration.

109. No sooner was the resignation of the Ministry known, and that the King had sent for Lord Lyndhurst and the Duke of Wellington, than a storm arose in the country more violent than any which had been yet experienced, and which demonstrated how well founded was the opinion of the Sovereign that an extensive measure of reform had now become necessary. Meetings were called in all the great towns, at which the most violent language was used; and insurrection was openly threatened if the bill was not instantly carried, and the late Ministry restored to office. Non-payment of taxes was universally recommended, and this not merely by the leaders of political unions, but by some of the greatest and proudest magnates of the land. Lord Milton, now Earl Fitzwilliam, desired the tax-gatherer who called upon him at this time, to call again a week after, as "he was not certain that circumstances might not arise which would oblige him to resist the payment." The Sovereign, so recently the object of the most fulsome flattery, could no longer show himself in public without being insulted.* The Queen, to whose influence the change was generally ascribed, was the victim of general abuse, and the public meetings often ended with "three groans for the Queen."† Then were seen the

infernal placards in the streets of London, "To stop the Duke, go for gold;" and with such success was the suggestion adopted, that in three days no less than £1,800,000 was drawn out of the Bank of England in specie. In Manchester, placards appeared in the windows, "Notice—No taxes paid till the Reform Bill is passed;" and a petition, signed by 25,000 persons, was speedily got up, calling on the Commons to stop the supplies till this was done. The Common Council of London petitioned the House of Commons to the same effect. Attempts were made to seduce some privates of the Scots Greys, then stationed at Birmingham. In a word, Great Britain was on the verge of a civil war; the leaders of the political unions were quite prepared to embark in it;* and although it is not yet known how far these frantic designs were countenanced by persons in authority, it was proved at the trial of Smith O'Brien, in 1848, that, at this period, questions of a very sinister kind

had heard there were some'—an allusion which was immediately followed by 'three groans for the Queen;' and her Majesty shortly after, while taking an airing, was grossly insulted by the populace."—*Ann. Reg.* 1832, p. 172.

* The petition from Birmingham bore: "Your petitioners find it declared, 'that the people of England may have arms for their defence suitable to their condition, and as allowed by law; and your petitioners apprehend that this right will be put in force generally, and that the whole of the people of England will think it necessary to have arms for their defence, in order that they may be prepared for any circumstances which may arise. Your petitioners, therefore, pray your honourable House forthwith to present a petition to his Majesty not to allow the resignation of his Ministers, but instantly to create a sufficient number of peers to insure the carrying of the bill of reform unimpaired into a law; and that your honourable House will instantly withhold all supplies, and adopt any other measures whatever which may be necessary to carry the bill of reform, and to insure the safety and liberty of the country.'"—*Birmingham Petition*, May 12, 1832; *Ann. Reg.* 1832, p. 172.

"The political unions everywhere began to organise their members for actual insurrection. Meetings in London were held by day and by night, at which the most violent language was employed, not by unknown or inferior persons, but by men of rank and substance."—ROEBUCK, vol. ii. p. 291; and *Mirror of Parl.* 1832, p. 245.

* "At a quarter past twelve the royal carriage reached Hounslow, where a strong guard of honour of the 9th Lancers joined the royal carriage, in which was the King and Queen. The postilions passed on at a rapid rate, and on entering the town of Brentford, the people, who had assembled in great numbers, began to groan, hiss, and make the most tremendous noises that can be imagined. The escort kept behind and close to the carriage-windows, or in all probability mischief would have ensued, as we were told a number of clots of dirt were hurled at the carriage. Along the road to London the people expressed their feelings in a similar manner; and when the carriage entered the Park, the mob saluted their Majesties with yells and execrations of every description, which we refrain from publishing."—*Sun.* May 12, 1832.

† "Mr Hume told the multitude, 'that there were 150 peers against them, but he did not know how many women, though he

were put to a distinguished officer at Manchester by a person in the confidence of a late cabinet minister.

110. Great as were the difficulties in the way of the formation of a new administration, from this vehement excitement of the public mind, it was not these which caused the attempt to fail. The insurmountable obstacles were found in the division of opinion which prevailed among those who would necessarily form the new Cabinet, on the subject of reform. The courage of the Duke was equal to the emergency, and he showed that he was willing to brave all the dangers, and incur all the obloquy consequent on accepting office, on condition of carrying through an extensive measure of reform, rather than desert his Sovereign on this crisis. Sir R. Peel, on the other hand, who was sensitively alive to the danger of change of conduct, felt "that, if he was now to carry a measure to which he had on principle given a most decided opposition, and which he had declared to be dangerous to the existence of our monarchical institutions and to the peace of the country, he might obtain power at the moment, but he would ruin himself in the estimation of the judicious, the honest, and the instructed portion of his countrymen. He saw clearly, from the excitement which the retirement of Lord Grey created, that the Reform Bill must be carried; and he was desirous, for many reasons, that it should become law under the auspices of its authors and original proposers." These were the sentiments of the great majority of his followers, and the consequence was that the negotiation failed; and on the 17th it was announced in the House of Commons, that the commission granted to the Duke of Wellington had come to an end.

111. Meanwhile the Commons had not been idle. On the very night when Lord Althorpe announced Earl Grey's resignation, Lord Ebrington moved for a call of the House, and an address to his Majesty on the present state of public affairs. The motion was resisted by the whole strength of the Tories, and carried by a majority

of 80 only—the numbers being 288 to 208. This majority, though sufficiently large to insure the creation of peers and the forcing through of the bill, was a considerable falling off from that which formerly supported Ministers, for on the third reading of the last Reform Bill the majority had been 139. This change, though mainly owing to their own violence and threats of revolution, excited no small indignation and some alarm in the minds of the Reformers, and a rigid inquiry was instituted into the conduct of every defaulter, with a view to excluding him from the next Parliament. The debate was characterised by extreme violence rather than great ability, and the passions on both sides were so strongly roused as to exclude the reason. Among the rest, Mr Macaulay said, "The new Ministry will go forth to the contest without arms, either offensive or defensive. If they have recourse to force, they will find it vain; if they attempt gagging bills, they will be divided; in short, in taking office they will present a most miserable example of impotent ambition, and appear as if they wished to show to the world a melancholy example of *little men* bringing a great empire to destruction." A curious proof of excitement, as Mr Roebuck remarks, when we recollect that among these little men "the Duke of Wellington was numbered." *

* The violence of the public press at this period was such as, in more calm and happier times, appears scarcely credible. Take, for example, the *Times* of May 14. 1832: "But of the multitudinous feelings produced by this temporary overthrow of a nation's confidence, there is none so active or so general as that of astonishment at the individual who it is now notorious has tripped up the heels of Lord Grey. What, the Duke of Wellington! The commander-in-chief of all the ultra-anti-Reformers in the kingdom now offers himself as Minister—nay, has for some months been making fierce love to the office, with a full and undisguised resolution to bring in with his own hands a 'strong and satisfactory' reform bill! There may be dexterity in such conduct—there may be generalship—there may be food for incontinent exultation and chuckling at Apsley House; but it affords evidence also of more ignoble faction, of a *lust for office more sordid and execrable*, of a meanness of inconsistency more humiliating and more shameful, than we had even suspected the Duke of Wellington of being cap-

112. All was now accomplished. The King, at the eleventh hour, had made an effort to assert the independence of the Crown, and avert the degradation of the House of Peers, but without success. A large majority of the House of Commons had supported the Whigs in their attempt to force the two other branches of the Legislature, and nothing remained to the Sovereign but submission. The only resource competent to a constitutional monarch in such a crisis—that of appealing to the people—was sure to fail in this instance. In the excited state of the public mind, a still larger majority in favour of the bill would inevitably be returned. The King saw the necessity of his situation, and yielded, as by the spirit of the constitution he was bound to do. Earl Grey and his Cabinet were reinstated in office, on a permission given in writing that they might create as many peers as might be necessary to secure a majority in the House of Lords. The reluctance of the King was painfully manifest, but he had no alternative, and the decisive paper was given to the Lord Chancellor, who, with Earl Grey* and Sir Herbert Taylor, were alone present at this memorable interview. All stood but the Sovereign the whole time—a thing unprecedented with that courteous monarch.† No other condemnation of this proceeding of the Whig Ministry is required than has been given by Lord Brougham himself. Speaking of the proposed

creation of peers in 1831 and 1832, he observes, in his *Political Philosophy*, that the supporters of the Reform Bill “never reflected for a moment upon the chance of the new peers soon after differing with Lord Grey and myself—a thing which, however, speedily happened—never considered what must be the inevitable consequence of a difference between ourselves and the Commons—never took the trouble to ask what must happen if the peers, thus become our partisans, should be found at variance with both King, Commons, and People—never stopped to foresee that, in order to defeat our oligarchy, a new and still larger creation must be required—and never opened their eyes to the inevitable ruin of the constitution by the necessity thus imposed of adding eighty or a hundred to the Lords each time that the Ministry was changed.”

113. Still solicitous to avert, if possible, the dire alternative of a creation of peers, the King, as a last resource, requested his private secretary to write a circular letter to the leading peers, requesting them to stay away from the House of Peers and allow the bill to pass.* This expedient had the desired effect. It could not throw a veil over the coercion of the Upper House, but it prevented the evil of that coercion being rendered permanent by the introduction of a permanent body of men, who might keep on the fetters in all future time. The practical good sense of the Duke of Wellington at

able of affixing to his own political character. As for success in such a course of imposture, it is, let us once for all warn his Grace, hopeless.” It is curious to contrast this passage with the just and splendid eulogium on the Duke in the columns of the same journal twenty years afterwards, on occasion of his death.

* It was in these terms: “The King grants permission to Earl Grey and to his Chancellor, Lord Brougham, to create such a number of peers as will be sufficient to insure the passing of the Reform Bill, first calling up peers’ eldest sons.—WILLIAM R.—Windser, May 17, 1832.”—ROEBUCK, vol. ii. p. 331, note.

† “The excitement, anger, and hurt pride of the King at this memorable interview were very evident, and marked by unusual circumstances. The one was, that he kept Lord Grey and the Chancellor both standing the whole time; the other, that Sir Herbert Tay-

lor was kept in the room. The Chancellor’s asking for a written promise Earl Grey deemed harsh and uncalled for: ‘I wonder,’ said he, as soon as they left the presence, ‘how you could have the heart to press it, when you saw the state he was in.’ The Chancellor replied, ‘You will see reason to think I was right.’”—ROEBUCK, vol. ii. p. 333.

* “ST JAMES’S PALACE, May 17, 1832.—“MY DEAR LORD.—I am honoured with his Majesty’s commands to acquaint your Lordship that all difficulties in the arrangements in progress will be obviated by a declaration to-night from a sufficient number of peers, that in consequence of the present state of affairs they have come to the resolution of dropping their farther opposition to the Reform Bill, so that it may pass without delay, and as nearly as possible in its present state.—I have the honour to be, yours sincerely. HERBERT TAYLOR.”

once saw that matters had come to such a crisis that one or other of these evils must be incurred, and he wisely adopted the least of the two. Though feeling, as he himself said, that yielding to a threat to create peers was as much a violation of the constitution as such a creation itself, he bowed to necessity, and rose and left the House, followed by above a hundred peers, none of whom appeared there again till after the bill was carried.

114. Lord Grey and Lord Brougham are said to have afterwards declared that, if the Opposition peers had stood firm, the Reform Bill and their Administration would have both been defeated, as they would probably not have exacted from the King his promise to create peers. If they have really said so, it only proves how ignorant they both were of the force of the current which they themselves had put in motion. It was impossible to prevent the bill then being carried; the excitement of the nation was such, that victory to the Reform party, or a bloody civil war, in the course of which, whatever side ultimately prevailed, the constitution would have perished, were the only alternatives left. The Whig annalist has, with more truth and justice, described the state of the country at this crisis in the following words, which all who recollect the period must feel to be just: "The violence of the language employed by persons intimately connected with the Whig chiefs, the furious proposals of the newspapers known to speak the sentiments and wishes of the Cabinet, all conspired to make the country believe that, if an insurrection were to break out, it would be headed by the Whig leaders, and sanctioned by the general acquiescence of the immense majority of the Whig party.* The consequence was, that a very large proportion of the more ardent Reformers throughout the country were prepared to resist, and civil war was, in

fact, thus rendered far more probable than was ever really intended by those who were using the popular excitement as a means whereby they were to be reinstated in office. Had the Opposition peers stood firm, and had Lord Grey retired without having exercised the power confided to him by the King, the Whig party would at once and for ever have been set aside; a bolder race of politicians would have taken the lead of the people, civil war would have been dared, and the House of Lords, possibly the throne itself, would have been swept away in the tempest that would thus have been raised. Fortunately for the fame of Lord Grey and the Chancellor, fortunately for the happiness of England, the practical good sense of the Duke of Wellington extricated the nation from the terrible difficulty into which the Administration and the House of Lords had brought it."

115. The resistance of the House of Peers being thus overcome, the bill proceeded at a rapid rate through its remaining stages in both Houses. Its passage through the Peers was not in form mere dumb show, but in effect it was so. A trifling minority, reduced now to twenty or thirty members, suggested a few inconsiderable amendments of no consequence, which were adopted by the Peers. The third reading in that House was carried by a majority of 84; the numbers being 106 to 22. Persevering to the end in his amiable illusion as to the real tendency of the measure, Earl Grey's last words on the subject were, "I trust that those who augured unfavourably of the bill will live to see all their ominous forebodings falsified, and that, after the angry feelings of the day have passed away, the measure will be found to be, in the best sense of the word, *conservative of the constitution*." Next day the Commons agreed to the amendments of the Lords, and the day after, June 7, the bill became law, and the British constitution was essentially and permanently changed. From being a mixed constitution, in which all classes were directly or indirectly represented, it became what may be called a *Poligarchy*, in which supreme power was

* "That the chief members of the Whig administration ever intended to proceed to illegal extremities no one can for a moment imagine; but that the conduct of their friends led the reforming world to think of and prepare for armed resistance, is beyond a doubt."
—ROEBUCK, vol. ii. p. 311, note.

lodged in a section of the community, numerous indeed, but belonging only to one class in the state. The royal assent was given by commission; the commissioners being, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Wellesley, Lord Lansdowne, Earl Grey, and Lords Holland and Durham. The King was vehemently urged by his Ministers to give his assent in person, the well-known sign of the measure having met with the royal approbation; but he positively refused. "The question," said he, "was one of feeling, not of duty; and as a sovereign and a gentleman he was bound to refuse."

116. As the English Reform Bill was the trial of strength between the two great parties into which the State was divided, so its passing was the turning-point between the old and the new constitution. But it was immediately followed by two other measures which, in their ultimate result, were still more decisive of the future policy and social condition of Great Britain. These were the Scotch and Irish Reform Bills. They were quickly brought forward, and carried by large majorities in both Houses. The Scotch bill increased the members for that portion of the empire from forty-five to fifty-three, and gave two members to Edinburgh and Glasgow, and one to Paisley, Aberdeen, Perth, and Dundee. But the great change made was in the class of electors both in burghs and counties; and this was so extensive as to amount to a total revolution. The number of members for Ireland was increased to a hundred and five; but the constituency, both in boroughs and counties, was entirely altered, and placed in harmony with the English Reform Bill. Mr O'Connell made great efforts to get the 40s. freeholders, disfranchised by the Relief Bill, restored to their electoral privileges; alleging, with much plausibility, that the object of the Reform Bill being to give the same political rights to the two islands, there was no reason why the 40s. freeholders of Ireland should be denied a privilege which those of England enjoyed. But the proposal was resisted by Government; and the

bill, making the county franchise a £10 interest in a freehold, or a £50 rent, passed both Houses by large majorities.

117. The change thus introduced into the Scotch and Irish representation has proved more important in its ultimate effects than even that made in England. In the latter country the alteration was great, but not entire; a large number of the old boroughs remained, the existing free-men and freeholders were preserved, and though many new and important interests were let in to the representation, the old ones were not extirpated. But in Scotland and Ireland the case has been far otherwise; in them the revolution has been complete. Not only have new interests and classes of society been let in to the constituency, but the old ones, in whom the power was formerly vested, have been practically disfranchised. There has been no amalgamation of constituencies, but an entire substitution of one for another. The old town-councils in Scotland, in great part self-elected, have been succeeded by a host of ten-pound shopkeepers and householders, actuated by different interests, and swayed by different influences.

118. The old parchment freeholders, who followed their directing magnate to the poll in Scotland, have been succeeded by a multitude of independent feuars in villages and tenants in rural districts, influenced in many cases by entirely different interests and views. The boroughs in Ireland, which James I. planted in the soil to be a barrier against the Roman Catholics, have been turned, by the change of the constituency, into so many strongholds of Romish influence; the ten-pound freeholders, whom the Protestant landlords multiplied in such numbers to give them the command of the county elections, have become a vast army, officered by Romish priests, and guided by Romish influence. The consequences have been great, lasting, and decisive. So strong are old interests and traditionary influences in England, and so comparatively small the change in the representation there made, that

within five years of the passing of the Reform Bill the Conservatives had recovered their majority in the English members. But they never have been able to shake the steady Liberal majority against them in Scotland and Ireland; and in the decisive divisions in November 1852, which turned out Lord Derby's Administration, of the English members a majority of fourteen were on the Conservative side; of the English and Irish, taken together, a majority of five on the same side; but of English, Irish, and Scotch, a majority of twenty-one on the Liberal.

119. In its final and general result the Reform Bill has thus arranged the Imperial Legislature. In England, the county constituencies, which formerly had been 52, returning 94 members, were increased to 82, returning 159 members. In Ireland, five members were added; there was no change in the constituencies, but a great one in the voters composing them. In Scotland, the number of burgh members was raised from 15 to 23; the county members remain at their original level of 30. With one or two temporary exceptions, as Glasgow, Airdrie, Haddington, and Kilmarnock, for short periods, every one of these burgh members has ever since been in the Liberal interest—a vast change, for formerly the great majority of the Scotch burgh members were on the Tory side. Thus in the Imperial Legislature, as it now stands, there are 253 county members, and 405 for boroughs—an immense disproportion, when it is recollected that they are nearly in the *inverse ratio of the population and wealth* raised by these different classes of society, three-fifths of both of which are drawn from, or dependent on, the rural inhabitants.* Earl Grey and the authors of the Reform Bill were perfectly aware of this disproportion; but what they trusted to, to correct it, was the belief, which they maintained to the very last,

that the great majority of the borough members would be in the landed interest, and, in fact, returned by the adjacent territorial magnates.* The subsequent division on the Corn Laws affords a curious commentary on this prediction; a memorable instance of the revolutionising of a state by persons in entire ignorance of the practical effect of their own measures.

120. Such was the termination of the old Constitution of England. Thus did the great Revolution of the eighteenth century reach and triumph over “even the greatest, the most powerful, and the most persevering of its enemies.” As such, the change of 1832 is an event of paramount importance in English, second only to that of 1789 in France, in European history. More even than the revolt of Sièyes and Mirabeau has it modified the external relations and changed the foreign policy of the European states, for France always was a great military power, passionately bent on foreign aggrandisement, and the conquests of the Revolution were only the realisation, by the aid of popular strength, of what had been the dream of the Gauls since the days of Brennus. But the Reform Bill has entirely altered the foreign policy and position in the European balance of Great Britain. It has converted the chief Conservative into the leader of the Liberal powers, and brought the strength of England, not into the career of military conquest, but into that of social change and democratic ascendancy. And of the magnitude of the alteration which this Revolution has made in European relations, no stronger proof can be given than is afforded by the fact, that England and France, soon after, became

* “How stands the argument with respect to the agricultural interest? I am prepared to contend that the 144 county members of England will belong to that interest, and that of the 264 old borough members, there will be as large a proportion as ever in favour of the landed proprietors. There only remain, then, the sixty-four new members, and even should the whole of these fall to the lot of the manufacturing and commercial interests, it will be a *share* to which those interests will be justly entitled.”—Lord Grey's words, April 9, 1832; *Parl. Deb.*, vol. xii. p. 23.

	County.	Borough.	Total.
* Viz.—England,	159	341	500
Scotland,	30	23	53
Ireland,	64	41	105
	253	405	658

united in a cordial alliance against Russia, the former enemy of the one and ally of the other; that their standards, for the first time since the Crusades, have appeared at Constantinople, not to overthrow, but to uphold, the religion of Mohammed; that they have waved in triumph over the fields of the Alma and Inkermann in the scenes immortalised by the genius of ancient Greece, and repelled the hordes of the modern Scythians in the regions where the victorious Goths poured into the decaying provinces of the Roman empire.

121. The influence of the English revolution appears still more conspicuously in the social state, colonial growth, and what may be called pacific conquests of the Anglo-Saxon race. Whatever difference of opinion may exist in other respects, one thing will admit of no doubt, that it has immensely extended the *outward* tendency of the British people. As such it will be for ever memorable, and should be particularly noticed as marking the turning-point in English annals, when a series of causes and effects came into operation, destined ere long to arrest the multiplication of the Anglo-Saxon race in these Islands, and effect a mighty transposition of it to the Southern and Western Hemispheres. When we recollect that the annual emigration from the British Islands, for seven years prior to 1830, was from twenty to forty thousand a-year, and that it soon became not less, on an average of years, than 300,000,* it is evident that a vast heave of the human race has taken place, and that few causes are so important upon the destinies of mankind as those which have brought about this marvellous change. It has doubled the already fabulous rate of Transatlantic increase—a million of

souls, between natural increase and immigration, are now annually added to the inhabitants of America; and it has caused a new world to spring up in Australia, which already numbers above half a million of souls among its members, and in 1853 consumed £14,000,000 worth of British manufactures, being four times as much as the empires of France and Russia put together, with their hundred millions of inhabitants.*

122. It must be obvious to every impartial observer that this prodigious change, with all its incalculable effects upon the world in general, and this country in particular, is mainly to be ascribed to the alteration in the dominant class in the British Islands by the effects of the Reform Bill. The immense emigration, which constitutes so remarkable a feature in these times, and in 1853 reached such a point as for several years considerably to overbalance the annual increase of our population, can be distinctly traced to this cause. Out of the 368,000 persons who emigrated in the year 1852, only 87,000 were bound for Australia; 225,000 went to America. They were impelled, not by the attraction of foreign riches, but by the necessities of home situations—they went not to the land of gold, but to the land of labour. Two hundred and fifty thousand of this immense multitude came from Ireland, and we are not in the dark as to the cause which sent them forth.†

* EXPORTS (DECLARED VALUE) OF GREAT BRITAIN TO AUSTRALIA, FRANCE, AND RUSSIA—1853.

Australia, . . .	£14,513,700
France, . . .	2,636,330
Russia, . . .	1,228,404

—*Statistical Abstract*, No. X., 42, 43.

† EMIGRATION FROM IRELAND FROM 1849 TO 1853.

Years	Number of Emigrants	Average Price of Wheat per Quarter.
1849, . . .	218,842	44s. 3d.
1850, . . .	213,649	40 3
1851, . . .	254,537	38 6
1852, . . .	224,997	40 9
1853, . . .	199,392	53 3

In 1852, the remittances from America to bring out emigrants from Ireland were £1,404,000; in 1853, £1,439,000, through public channels alone, besides what was re-

* EMIGRATION FROM BRITISH ISLES.

1825, . . .	14,891	1846, . . .	129,851
1826, . . .	20,900	1847, . . .	258,279
1827, . . .	28,003	1848, . . .	248,089
1828, . . .	26,092	1849, . . .	299,498
1829, . . .	31,193	1850, . . .	280,849
1830, . . .	56,997	1851, . . .	335,966
1831, . . .	83,160	1852, . . .	368,764
1832, . . .	103,140	1853, . . .	329,937

—CHESNEY'S *Results of the Census*, 1854, p. 56; and *Parl. Papers*, May 16, 1854.

The famine of 1846, indeed, shook their confidence in the potato, the staple food of the country; but it was not then, or from that cause, that the great emigration commenced. It was in 1849, after two fine harvests—for the first of which a thanksgiving was returned—that it became so great, and in 1851 that it reached its highest point, when wheat was at 38s. 6d. the quarter. The reason was, that the fall of prices, produced by the combined influence of a contracted and fettered currency and free trade in grain, had rendered it impossible to cultivate the land with cereal crops to a profit. The exportation of wheat to England had fallen off by 1,500,000 quarters; and Ireland, the great agricultural state, found its occupation gone, and its children sought employment in Transatlantic wilds.* There can be no doubt that this emigration was, in the first instance at least, a very great advantage, though, if it continues, it may come to impair the strength and drain away the resources of the state. But be it for good or for evil, one thing is perfectly clear, that this important change is mainly to be ascribed to the Reform Bill; and that it is the magnitude of the effects with which it has

mitted through private channels.—14th Report of Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, pp. 56, 71.

* The fluctuations in the extent of land devoted to the cultivation of potatoes and wheat is shown in the following Table:—

YEARS.	WHEAT. ACRES.	POTATOES. ACRES.
1847, . . .	743,871	284,116
1849, . . .	687,646	718,603
1850, . . .	604,867	875,357
1851, . . .	504,248	868,501
1852, . . .	353,566	876,532
1853, . . .	326,896	898,733
1854, . . .	411,284	980,660
1855, . . .	415,775	989,301
1856, . . .	529,650	1,104,704
1857, . . .	559,646	1,146,647
1858, . . .	546,964	1,159,707
1859, . . .	464,175	1,200,347
1860, . . .	466,415	1,172,079
1861, . . .	401,243	1,133,504
1862, . . .	357,816	1,017,317
1863, . . .	264,766	1,023,626

—Abstracts of Irish Agricultural Statistics for these years.

On this subject the *Times* very justly remarks: "We cannot regard with any pleasure or pride the conversion of Ireland into one vast pasturage, but we cannot be blind to the

thus come to be attended which renders its passing so vital an era in English history.

123. To understand how this came about, and perceive how these immense consequences are distinctly to be traced to the revolution effected in the English constitution by that great change, we have only to recollect that the old constitution which had grown up, like a code of consuetudinary law, with the wants and requirements of six centuries, was based upon the representation of classes, not numbers, and had come in the progress of time to admit all the great interests of the state to a share, and nearly an equal share, of the Legislature. The House of Peers represented, or rather was composed entirely of, the landed aristocracy, spiritual and temporal. The county members were returned by the inferior landholders, tenantry, and freeholders; the universities had their members; the boroughs afforded an ample field to the various commercial and manufacturing interests; and though the colonies were not directly represented, yet the great amount of wealth which their prosperity remitted to the mother country had enabled persons who had made their fortunes there, and whose interests and feelings were identified with those of their inhabitants, to obtain seats in the House of Commons for the rotten boroughs in great numbers. Thus the House of Commons had come to be an assembly, not of the representatives of any one class or section of society, *but of all sections and classes*; and though the influence of wealth, landed or commercial, was mainly influential in procuring the tendency which is now that way. Such a tendency cannot be stayed if we wished it ever so much; but it is fatal to a system of small farms. It is not a landlord's movement, for sheepwalks will never make the rents which in times past have been raised from the fierce competition of a half-starved peasantry, but one of those great movements brought about by force of circumstances, and wholly beyond the control of governments, of classes, or any bodies of men. We cannot even regulate it; we must only watch it, accommodate ourselves to it, and mitigate, in some small degree, its incidental ill consequences."—*Times*, 3d November 1863.

turns, yet those of talent and labour were by no means disregarded. Talent found an easy entrance through the nomination boroughs, the magnates being ever on the watch for ability to support their side in Parliament; and the potwallopers in many large boroughs returned members of their own choice, whose influence, from the noisy character of themselves and their constituents, was much greater than would at first sight have been supposed from their limited number.

124. That this was the true character of the House of Commons, and the secret of its long-continued influence and popularity, is decisively proved by its legislative acts. Every interest in society was protected by the laws or fiscal regulations which it passed, and none in such a degree as to beget the suspicion that any one had acquired a disproportioned sway in the Legislature. It was often said at this time that the landed interest was the preponderating one in the Chapel of St Stephen's; and certainly, if we consider only the heavy fiscal duties which protected its produce, we should be inclined to suppose that the opinion was well founded. But a closer examination will show that the Corn Laws were only a branch, though doubtless a most important branch, of the general system of protection established through the country, and for every branch of industry. The West Indies were equally guarded. The heavy duties on foreign sugar, and the rapid growth of those then magnificent settlements, prove that they shared to the very full in the general protective policy which prevailed. Canada was as effectually secured by the duties which were so heavy a burden on Baltic timber. The manufacturing interest shared to the very full in the benefits of the same system. There was not a branch of British industry which was not fenced in by heavy protective duties. The shipping interest was protected by the Navigation Laws; and though the direct representation of labour was inconsiderable in the Legislature, yet experience had proved that its claims were not forgotten, for

a noble fund of above six millions a-year was voluntarily imposed on themselves by the landed interest for the relief of the poor, and had been maintained inviolate during a desperate contest of twenty years' duration, which had added six hundred millions to the national debt.

125. What was equally significant of the effective representation of all classes of society under the old constitution, was the equitable manner in which the public burdens were distributed over the various classes of society. Universally it will be found that the first result of class government, whether of an oligarchy, aristocracy, or democracy, is to establish an exemption from direct taxation in favour of the dominant class. The exemption, so much and justly the subject of complaint, in favour of the Notables in France prior to the Revolution, was but an example of what all other notables, aristocratic or democratic, will do when they get the power. But in Great Britain, anterior to 1832, the burden of taxation was so equally diffused that no one could discover from that test in whose hands the government of the state was really vested. The income-tax, which during the war produced fifteen millions sterling, was paid by less than three hundred thousand of the most affluent of the community. Poor-rates, assessed taxes, and local burdens, to the amount of thirteen millions more, were exclusively paid by the landed interest, who, in consideration of that immense burden, were relieved of the succession tax, which was felt as very oppressive by the middle classes. That tax, however, has now, by the Act of 1853, been laid on the land, while not one of the exclusive burdens borne by it have been shared with the rest of the community. The working classes paid no direct taxes to Government whatever; but they contributed largely to the necessities of the state in the shape of indirect duties, which produced about half of the public revenue, and from their great number were chiefly paid by that rank of society. Thus, whatever objections there might be to

many parts of the old mixed constitution of the country in practice, it had long worked well, both for the protection of the industry and the equitable adjustment of the burdens of all classes of society; and the most odious feature of class government—unjust exemption from taxation—was unknown.*

126. The representative system may work very well in a country where the interests of the different classes of society are identical or nearly so, and no one has an interest to endeavour to enrich itself at the expense of its neighbours; but it necessarily is exposed to great hazard when these interests become separate, and each class looks to its own advantage, without regard to the other ones, in the legislative measures which it advocates. A community is like a private family: all is in general harmony in childhood and early youth, when none have a wish but that of their parents; but wait till separate interests arise, till the daughters are to get marriage-portions, and the younger sons be fitted out in the world at the expense of the elder, and the harmony is often found to cease. During the growth of the British empire, the interests of all classes were the same, for they were all engaged in or dependent on the *creation* of wealth, either agricultural or commercial. Thence the unanimity which so long prevailed in the country and the House of Commons, and the protracted continuance, with universal concurrence, of a protective policy by the Government. But this auspicious state of things was not destined for permanent endurance; and, what is very remarkable, it was at length terminated from the consequences of the very benefits which its

former existence had brought about. The mixed constitution, the representation of interests, perished from the effect of its own blessings, which, from their very magnitude, had become changed into curses.

127. The long enjoyment of peace in the British Islands, and the unexampled successes and triumphs of the war, had gradually raised up a class in Great Britain whose interests were not identical with those of production, but adverse to it. The riches made during that long contest, when the merchants and manufacturers of England enjoyed the practical monopoly of the commerce of the world, had been so immense that the holders of realised wealth had come to over-balance those engaged in its creation. The interests of the *consumer* began to be spoken of—a topic never broached in former days, when the powers of consumption were mainly dependent upon those of production. The cessation of the property-tax and the long duration of peace augmented immensely the number and influence of those who, enjoying a fixed money income from the industry and accumulation of former days, found their fortunes and consideration in society augmented by every diminution that could be effected in the cost of the principal articles of consumption. Thence the introduction of the *cheapening system*, and of a ceaseless effort on the part of the persons enjoying a fixed income to beat down the remuneration of all those engaged in the work of production. The strife, as might have been anticipated when two such powerful interests were brought into collision, was violent and long-continued; and the contraction of the currency, which lowered prices 50 per cent, was of

* BURDENS EXCLUSIVELY AFFECTING LAND IN 1847.

I. Poor-rate in 1845, a very prosperous year,	£6,847,205
II. Land-tax,	1,164,042
III. Highway Rates,	1,169,891
IV. Church Rates,	506,812
V. Police, Lunatic, and Bridge Rates, estimated,	500,000
VI. Excess of assessed taxes falling on land above personal estates, estimated,	1,500,000
VII. Stamp-duties peculiar to land,	1,209,000
	<hr/>
	£12,887,950

course the object of strenuous support from the partisans of the system of reduced prices. At length the producers were overthrown, and thence the decay of domestic agriculture, the vast increase of foreign importation of food, and the prodigious emigration of agricultural labourers from the British Islands in the middle of the nineteenth century. So naturally did this change in the policy of Government arise from the altered position of the different classes of society, in consequence of the increase of realised wealth during and after the war, that it may fairly be considered as unavoidable; and one of the means by which Providence, at the appointed time, checks the growth of aged societies, occasions the downfall of worn-out empires, and provides in fresh situations for the further dispersion of mankind.

128. The great means by which this consummation was effected was the Reform Bill; but that organic change, important as it was, is itself to be regarded as an effect rather than a cause, although, like other effects in the ceaseless chain of human events, it became a cause, and a most material one, in its turn. The more the important years which preceded the passing of the Reform Bill are studied, the more clearly does it appear that it was the discontent of the producing classes, occasioned by the immense fall in the price of their produce, which induced the cry for a change. They had petitioned Parliament over and over again for relief, but in vain; the Legislature, entrenched in the close boroughs, the citadels of realised wealth, turned a deaf ear to their complaints. Instead of expanding the currency, so as to increase the remuneration of industry, they contracted it still farther with every successive catastrophe produced by that contraction itself. The consequence was, that the producing classes, both in town and country, irritated beyond endurance by the long-continued suffering, and the disregard of their well-founded complaints, combined together to effect a total change in the constitution, and the excitement con-

sequent on the French Revolution enabled them to carry their intentions into effect. No common man, William Cobbett, said that the moment he heard in America of the passing of the bill compelling the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England in 1819, he took shipping to return to this country, convinced that parliamentary reform could not much longer be delayed; and the result has proved that he was right in his anticipations.

129. These considerations explain how it came to pass that the passion for reform, unfelt as a national feeling prior to 1820, became gradually stronger and stronger, until, in 1832, it was altogether irresistible. The feeling which produced it was the most powerful which can agitate an intelligent community, and which, when it pervades all ranks in the state, ere long acquires such force that it must obtain its entire direction. "*Deliverance from evil!*" was the universal cry. This desire, which had acquired such force and intensity as to have become a perfect passion with nearly all classes, and especially the agricultural, is easily explained, when we recollect how deeply all interests, and especially those of labour and production, had been affected by the prodigious change of prices of commodities of all sorts, from grain to cotton, which had been effected by the successive contractions of the currency in 1819 and 1826. With each of these contractions the cry for reform was revived; with the last it became so powerful as in six years wrought an entire change in the feelings, desires, and interests of all classes. It is in this reduction of prices that the explanation of the English revolution, with all its mighty effects, foreign and domestic, is to be found.

130. We have only to cast our eyes on the table below, exhibiting the change in the price of the principal articles of commerce from 1824 to 1832, to see how this was brought about. Every article of production or exchange fell gradually in price after the suppression of small notes in 1826, till it settled at about two-thirds of its

former amount.* There was no class of society, save the holders of realised wealth, which was not affected or ruined by the change. The capitalists and fundholders alone were benefited: thence the cry that the rich were every day getting richer, and the poor poorer. Under the constant decline of prices produced by the contraction of the currency, this was no senseless popular outcry; it was the simple statement of an acknowledged and undoubted fact. The organs of the moneyed interest made a boast of it, when, after the contraction of the currency had worked out its full effects, they said their measures had "made the sovereign worth two sovereigns." They had done so; and not less certainly had they made the labourer's shilling only a sixpence. They had halved the remuneration of industry when they had doubled the value of money—they had made the labourer's wage a shilling a day instead of two shillings. The two effects were consistent, for they both sprang from the same cause. This constant decline of fortunes and diminution of income in the largest, most industrious, and most important class of the community, was felt as the more galling, from the contrast exhibited at the same time by the situation of the holders of realised wealth, who were every day becoming richer, not from an increase of their incomes, but an addition to its exchangeable value. Every holder of commodities felt them every day getting cheaper: the longer he retained

them, the worse was his sale, the greater his loss on his transactions. Manufacturers and farmers found that they could not, with markets constantly falling, work to a profit except by saving every shilling in the cost of production, and lowering to the uttermost the wages of their workmen. Thence a steady fall at once in the profits of stock and the wages of labour, and the distressing recurrence of strikes and the organisation of trade-unions to arrest the decline. Thence, too, the origin of the sore and angry feeling between the employers and employed, which has never since been allayed, and has so much aggravated, in periods of distress, the dangers of our social position. All classes, save the moneyed, were suffering from the long continuance of a decline in prices; and this general suffering produced the ill-humours which, skilfully directed by the popular leaders against the nomination boroughs, produced the change of the constitution. It is no doubt true that the fall in the price of all sorts of produce to a certain extent neutralised the reduction in the profits of trade and wages of labour; but the general complaint and discontent proved that it did so only to a small extent.

131. It is seldom that a universal passion, which seizes a particular age or country in this manner, is entirely erroneous in its direction. The boroughmongers and venal boroughs were the object of general obloquy for some

* PRICES OF PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF COMMERCE FROM 1824 TO 1832.

Year.	Wheat per Winchester Quarter.		Cotton per lb.	Indigo per lb.	Iron per ton.	Silk per lb.	Sugar per cwt.	Tea per lb.	Wool per lb.
	Oct. Dec.		Jan.	Jan.	Jan.	Jan.	Jan.	Jan.	Jan.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	£ s.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1824	59 2	64 3	1 0	9 0	7 0	19 6	42 0	3 9	4 3
1825	64 6	63 0	1 0½	15 0	12 0	31 0	40 0	3 8	4 6
1826	54 5	55 8	1 0	15 0	12 0	19 1	50 0	3 7	4 6
1827	51 1	50 2	0 10½	13 0	8 0	23 8	45 0	3 5	3 6
1828	69 7	71 8	0 8½	13 0	7 10	23 6	49 0	3 3	3 6
1829	56 0	55 4	0 8½	10 0	6 10	21 8	49 0	3 5	3 0
1830	60 10	64 10	0 8½	8 9	5 5	16 5	49 0	3 2	2 9
1831	58 4	58 3	0 9½	7 8	5 5	18 2	40 0	3 6	3 0
1832	51 0	52 6	0 9	6 3	5 10	17 0	34 0	3 2	3 0

—TOOKE *On Prices*, ii. 390, 401, 405, 406, 410, 414, 416, 420.

The average price of wheat per imperial quarter for these years is given in Chap. xxi., Sec. 19, Note.

years preceding the passing of the Reform Bill; and it is no wonder that they were so, for it was in these seats that the power was intrenched which had produced the general suffering. The holders of realised capital had purchased them, or acquired their direction, and they formed a majority of the House of Commons, which not only had introduced all the new measures, but turned a deaf ear to all the suffering they had occasioned. In this way the virtual representation of interests through these boroughs, which had worked so well down to the close of the war, had not only ceased to be beneficial, but had become injurious. That representation answers very well, and is the subject of no serious complaint, as long as the interests of all classes are identical; but it turns into a serious social evil when those interests are divided, and one has acquired the power to enrich itself, by legislative measures, at the expense of the others. From that moment the representation becomes the object of general hostility; and it is no wonder it is so, for it is the cause of general suffering. When all are *making money*, their interests are the same, and the government of the many by the few is quietly acquiesced in, because measures conducive to the general benefit are alone adopted. But when one class *has made money*, and begins to forward its separate interests by forcing through measures conducive to its own advantage, by cheapening everything, and so ruining the others, nothing but the most rancorous hostility between them can be anticipated. This change took place in Great Britain between 1815 and 1830, in consequence of the immense additions made to the realised wealth of the community during those years of pacific accumulation, and thence the triumph of the Reform Bill and all its incalculable consequences.

132. The large amount of talent which found its way into the House of Commons through the nomination or venal boroughs, after this change was fully established, so far from being an alleviation of these evils, became the greatest possible aggravation

of them, because it tended only to augment the phalanx of ability by which interests adverse to those of the majority were advocated. Talent at the bar is a very good thing as long as it is exerted on our side, or equally divided between us and our opponents; but when it is *wholly enlisted against us*, we are much better without it. This was exactly what took place in Great Britain during the latter years of the war, and the first fifteen years of the peace. Ability in plenty came into the House of Commons, and nearly all through the avenue of the nomination boroughs; but when it arrived there, it was all found enrolled in the ranks of capital, and pursuing measures adverse to the interests of industry. All the able young men of the time were supporters of the contraction of the currency, the cheapening system, and free trade. It could not be otherwise, for they were all brought into the House by the interest of the millionaires either in commerce or money. The producing classes—the millions dependent on industry, all who were making money—found themselves not only outvoted by those who had made it, but silenced by the eloquence which they had enlisted on their side. This was the unkindest cut of all, for it deprived suffering industry even of the last consolation of the unfortunate—that of being heard in their defence.

133. These considerations at once explain the changes in general opinion, and even, as it at first sight appears, in the national mind, during the progress of the reform movement, and the entire transposition of classes which had taken place at its conclusion. Every successive election which occurred from 1826 to 1832 exhibited an additional number of *counties* won over to the reform interest, and of boroughs thrown open. These were considered, and celebrated at the time, as so many triumphs over the dominant oligarchy which had so long oppressed the nation: in reality, they were so many triumphs of the interests of production over those of realised wealth. The impulse given to the popular party

by the success of the French Revolution of 1830 brought the two interests, now in open hostility, to an equality, as appeared in the majority of 1 in a House of 605 for leave to bring in the Reform Bill; and the rapid growth of the popular influence, during the two years of general suffering and ceaseless agitation which succeeded, gave the popular party so great a majority in the Parliament elected in April 1831, as enabled it to coerce both the Crown and the House of Peers, and effect by forcible means an entire change in the constitution. The *counties* were nearly unanimous in favour of reform, and against the old constitution—a marvellous change from the time when they uniformly returned members who were its stanchest supporters, but easily explained when it is recollected that they depended on the interests of agriculture, the greatest branch of production, which, with the exception of three years, from 1822 to 1825, had been in a constant state of suffering since the contraction of the currency in 1819.

134. When the victory was gained, and the lower class of shopkeepers and householders within boroughs were invested with the absolute government of the empire, it was not at first that they either felt their strength or became sensible of the power with which they had been invested. The change effected by the admission of the newly enfranchised classes was so immense, that men at first could not believe in its reality. The nobleman in the vicinity of the borough, the capitalist within its bounds, was still the object of antiquated reverence and respect, after all real power had slipped from their hands. The new voters were a heterogeneous body, who had never before been united by any common bond, and many of whom were still subject to the old influences. Several elections required to intervene before they discovered their real strength, or were so united as to be able to exercise it with effect. But when questions affecting the pecuniary interests of the new electors were brought forward,

their preponderance became manifest, and a sense of their strength made them ready to exercise it. Leaders were soon found, who, discarding and even opposing the aristocratic influences which had so long been all-powerful in the boroughs, boldly cultivated the affections and stood on the support of the class to whom the Reform Bill had given a majority. At length it was discovered where the real power lay, and the aristocratic leaders who had aided the people in forcing through the Reform Bill found to their dismay that they had cut away the branch on which they themselves sat, and put themselves into Schedule A as effectually as they had done their most obnoxious opponents.

135. The producing classes both in town and country thought their ascendancy would be secured by the Reform Bill, and especially the £10 clause, which accordingly became the object of the most enthusiastic and general support by all the middle and working classes in the state. It was mainly by their exertions that the bill, with that vital clause unchanged, was carried. The cry of “The bill, *the whole bill*, and nothing but the bill!” proved, by their aid, victorious. Eighty-five out of the ninety-four county members for England and Wales were by their aid carried in the decisive election of April 1831 in the reform interest; and it was they, and the Scotch and Irish members, who formed the majority which outvoted the borough members and carried the bill. But never were expectations more fallacious than those which, from this great triumph, anticipated an addition to the legislative strength of the producing classes. It is true, the ascendancy of realised capital, which had gained possession of the majority of the close boroughs, was destroyed; but, on the other hand, a new interest, still more inimical to the interests of production, was installed in power, of which it has ever since retained possession. This was the *buying and selling class*—the interest of shopkeepers, to whom the £10 clause gave the entire command of the ma-

jority of the House of Commons, and with it of the whole empire.

136. To understand how this came about, it is only necessary to recollect that by the Reform Bill nearly *two-thirds* of the House of Commons was composed of members for boroughs. Experience has now ascertained what at the time was far from being anticipated—that two-thirds of the constituents of this majority were persons occupying premises, for the most part shops, rented from £10 to £20 a-year.* Here, then, is the governing class of the British empire under the new constitution, and in their ascendancy is to be found the real spring which has ever since directed the whole policy of Great Britain, both external and internal. The injustice of giving this class the command of the State is obvious, from the consideration that it is

* The author is enabled to speak with confidence on this point, from having presided for thirty years in the Registration Court of Lanarkshire, which includes Glasgow, and where there have never been less than two thousand, sometimes as many as six thousand, claims for enrolment in each year. From his own observation, as well as the opinion of the most experienced agents whom he consulted on the point, he arrived at the conclusion that the majority of every urban constituency is to be found among persons *paying a rent for houses or shops, or the two together, between £10 and £20, and a decided majority below £25*. But in order to make sure of the point, he has examined his note-book of cases enrolled this year (1834), and he finds that they stood thus for the burgh of Glasgow:—

Total claims,	1530
Enrolled on rents between £10	
and £20,	787
Above £20, and all other classes,	614
Rejected,	129
—	1530

As Glasgow contains within itself a larger number of warehouses, manufactories, and shops at very high rents—varying from £5 to £1500 a-year—than any other town, except the metropolis, in the empire, this may be considered as proof positive that over the whole country the majority enrolled on rents below £20 is still more decided. There is no other record but the revising barrister's or registering sheriff's notes of cases which will show where the real majority of the voters is to be found. The returns of houses paying the tax beginning at £20 will throw no light on the subject, for the great majority of voters in towns are enrolled on shops which pay no tax; and even the rating to poor-rates is not a test to be relied on, as it is often made under the real value, and in many boroughs there are no police or other local burdens at all.

a minority both in number and value. The classes in Great Britain dependent on agriculture, according to the census of 1851, were just equal to the manufacturing, each being ten and a half millions; and the land pays £3,560,000 out of the £5,300,000 of the income-tax; yet its representatives in England are only 159 to 341 for boroughs, and in the whole empire 253 to 405. This effect was not generally anticipated at the time, the attention of men being mainly directed to the democratic tendency of the much-agitated change. But even at the outset there were not awaiting those who prognosticated this result from the bill, and predicted the virtual disfranchisement of all other classes, and effective establishment of the class government of the shopkeeping interest, from the alteration; and the prediction has been so completely verified to the letter that all other consequences of the Reform Bill sink into insignificance in comparison. All the subsequent changes in the legislation, commercial policy, and foreign measures of the British Government since that time, which have given rise to such vehement feuds amongst ourselves, and such unbounded astonishment in foreign countries, have arisen from this change in the dominant class in the House of Commons. The proof of this is decisive. The leaders of the Conservatives—that is, the party of Protection—have been twice since in possession of power, once in 1841 and once in 1852; but on both occasions they have been forced to abandon what they formerly maintained: on the first, from an alleged, and probably a real, change of opinion on the part of Sir Robert Peel; on the last, from no similar change, but the ascertained strength of their opponents, elected by the trading constituencies.

137. It will belong to the future volumes of this History to trace the consequences of the entire transference of power in the British Islands from the producing to the buying and selling class, upon the whole policy of the empire—domestic, colonial, and foreign—and its effects upon the des-

tinies of the empire and of the world. In the mean time, it is material to signalise the faults on both sides committed during the course of the contest, and the errors in the formation of the constitution which were acted upon, and have produced effects now irremediable. Such a survey will give much occasion for regret in public measures, and much ground for forgiveness to individual men. The more that the operation of general causes is unfolded, the less ground does there appear for censure of particular persons; and of many who have stood forth as leaders in the strife shall we be led to say, in the words of the philosopher, "He has dashed with his oar to hasten the cataract; he has waved with his fan to give speed to the winds."

138. The Conservatives, or Protectionists as they were afterwards called, committed a grievous mistake, and they were guilty, politically speaking, of a great sin, in exerting their influence to prevent the extension of the right of returning members to the great manufacturing towns and districts. The demand for this boon on the part of the inhabitants of these great hives of industry and workshops of wealth was just and reasonable; its concession would have been equally gracious and expedient, and in perfect accordance with the ruling principle of the constitution, which was the representation of ALL classes. So strongly were the interests of realised wealth then intrenched in the Legislature, that a very small concession would have been gratefully received by the advocates of industry, then practically unrepresented, and it might possibly have postponed for a very long period, if not altogether averted, the *entire* transference of power to the buying and selling class, which by its refusal was so soon after effected. The division on the East Retford question was the first, and perhaps the most important, in the many causes which conspired to overturn the existing frame of government. The argument then so generally used and relied upon, that the constitution, with all its theoretical

imperfections, had worked well, and therefore should be continued, was a palpable sophism decisively disproved by the clamour raised for its abolition. A whole nation never concurs in demanding a change in institutions which have proved universally beneficial. As long as the nomination boroughs had proved protective of all interests, they were the objects of no obloquy; it was when they fell into the hands of those who were actuated by an adverse interest, and pursued measures destructive of the prosperity of the working classes, that the cry for their abolition arose. The constitution, it was said by some, with all its theoretical imperfections, had worked well: and so it had in bygone days; but it was now felt, from the general fall of prices, to work ill; and thence its discredit. In resisting the demand for representation on the part of the manufacturing districts, the Conservatives fell into the usual error of judging of things as they had been, not as they are. They applied the same measure to a grown man which they had found answered a boy; they kept looking for the sun in the east, because it had once risen there. Worse than this, they forgot the duties of power in the enjoyment of its sweets, and defended the nomination boroughs as if they had been their private property, not a trust for the public good.

139. What they should have done at this crisis is now sufficiently apparent. They should have acquiesced in the demand for representatives on the part of the great manufacturing towns and districts, and striven only to fix the constituency in them on such a basis as would have secured an adequate attention to their interests, and not endangered the constitution. Neglect of those interests, measures subversive of them, had occasioned the demand for reform; attention to those interests, steps calculated to promote them, were the appropriate remedy. By transferring the franchise of every borough convicted of bribery to a great manufacturing town, a mode of solving the difficulty was presented, so just as to disarm complaint, so

gradual as to remove apprehension, so frequent of recurrence as to inspire hope. No political party ever committed a greater mistake than the Conservatives did, in declining to avail themselves of this just and safe mode of adjusting an important and delicate political question, and missing the opportunity of accommodating the constitution without risk to the varying circumstances of society in the British Islands.

140. The next great mistake committed, not by the whole, but by a considerable section of the Conservative party, was in coalescing with the Radicals in November 1830, to throw out the Duke of Wellington's Administration. There might have been steps taken by that Administration of which they did not approve: the mode of carrying through Catholic emancipation might have been violent and unconstitutional; the men who did it might have been worthy, at the proper time, of parliamentary censure; but was it a fitting period to inflict such a chastisement, when the nation was convulsed by the reform movement, and the recent overthrow of the monarchy in France had roused in the very highest degree the revolutionary passions over the whole country? What was this but to expose the nation to the risk of great social and organic change, at the very time when it was most violently excited, and the example of successful revolution in the neighbouring kingdom had roused the democratic passions to the very highest pitch? To drive the Duke of Wellington from the helm at that juncture, was not to punish him or his Ministry, but themselves and their children.

141. The Duke of Wellington's famous declaration against reform, to which the Liberal party ascribe the subsequent irresistible strength of the revolutionary passion, was in one respect wise, in another unwise. It was unquestionably wise to declare against any change in the constitution, at a time when the nation was so violently excited, and when opening the door to innovation might induce revolution;

and the Duke did right to say that the King's Government would not *at that time* be a party to any such proceeding. But the result has proved that he did wrong in declaring against reform at *all times* and under all circumstances, and making the nation believe that, unless they forced it at that moment, they would never gain it at another. The necessary effect of this belief was to double the strength of the movement party at the moment, by uniting to their ranks all who thought that the changes in society, which the last thirty years had induced, required an admission, as beyond all doubt they did, of the representatives of the new interests in the state into the constitution. The Duke of Wellington spoke of land being the only sure foundation of government, and of the popular party already enjoying as large a share of it as was consistent with the wellbeing of society and security of the nation; forgetting, or rather never having been sensible of, the vast increase of the commercial classes which had arisen from the peace purchased by his own victories, and the duplication of their strength owing to the effect of the monetary measures to which he himself had been a party. It is in vain to expect that men, having attained to majority, will be satisfied with the parental rule which was cheerfully submitted to during the helplessness of infancy or the docility of youth. The cry of nature is, "Give us self-government, though it be to our own ruin." What Wellington should have said was, "This is not the time or the mode for bringing on the great question of organic change in the constitution; but when the excitement of the moment has subsided, Government will be prepared to bring forward measures which will satisfy all the reasonable wishes of the people." Whether such a promise would have satisfied the majority of Reformers may well indeed be doubted; but at least it would have thrown the responsibility of ulterior and perilous changes on them alone, and relieved Government of the reproach of having, by an ill-

timed declaration of implacable hostility, rendered the movement party unmanageable in the hands of their opponents.

142. The faults committed by the Liberal party during the progress of this great contest were still more glaring, and they may be pronounced upon with more confidence than those of their opponents, because, as they were victorious in the strife, their measures were carried into execution, and have thus been brought to the test of experience. The first wrong step which they took, and which perhaps drew after it all the rest, was bringing forward the reform question at all, at a time when the nation was convulsed with the triumph of the Barriades, and all calm discussion of the proposed change, vital as it was, had become impossible. Considered as a party advantage indeed, and as a stepping-stone by which they themselves might ascend to power, and terminate the long and hated dominion of the Tories, it was natural that the Whigs should make the most of the French Revolution; and no one can with reason blame them for having done all they could, by ordinary means, to turn it to the best advantage. They were fully entitled to do so: they did so: they supplanted the Duke of Wellington's Administration, and seated themselves in power. But having done this, they went a step further, and resolved upon a change in the constitution so vast as should for ever prevent the return of their opponents to power. What was this but setting fire to the house in which they both dwelt, in order to drive their rivals out of the wing which they still occupied? The danger was imminent that the whole edifice, as had occurred in France, would be involved in the conflagration. Mr Pitt had, at no distant period, given a memorable example of what they should have done on occasion of their triumph. In 1784, when he defeated the coalition of Lord North and Mr Fox, he terminated the reign of the Whigs, which had lasted almost without interruption for nearly a century, and the majority which he gain-

ed in the Commons (136) was just the same as Lord Grey acquired by his dissolution of Parliament in April 1831. But Mr Pitt made no change in the constitution, when the enthusiasm in his favour, and the majority he had acquired, enabled him to have done so with a certainty of success; he made no attempt to extinguish the Whig boroughs, numerous and corrupt as they were: though a reformer at that time, he abstained from reform when it might have imperilled the state. He had the strength of a giant, but he did not use it like a giant. Thence half a century of power to his party, and the glories of the Revolutionary war, and unexampled extension and prosperity to his country.

143. The next, and by far the most serious fault which the Whigs committed at this time, was in the structure of the Reform Bill itself, which was of such a kind as rendered the existence of the British empire, as it then stood, for any considerable time a matter of impossibility. The great, the irremediable error committed in this point of view, was that which, at first sight, seems its great recommendation, and what from its simplicity had, through life, recommended it to Lord Grey, viz., the *uniformity* of the borough representation. As three-fifths of the House of Commons was composed of the members for boroughs, and three-fifths of the constituents of the boroughs were persons renting tenements rented at from £10 to £20, the entire command of the country was vested in that class, a decided majority of which were shopkeepers, or persons whom they influenced. The land, the colonies, the shipping interest, were, to all practical purposes, disfranchised: because, though in part still represented in Parliament, they were in a decided minority, and consequently their complaints and their votes were alike powerless and disregarded. The ruling class, thus vested with supreme and uncontrolled dominion of the vast and varied British empire dependent on such various interests, was actuated by *one only interest, that of buying cheap and selling dear*. This thence-

forward became the governing principle of British legislation, to which every statesman, of whatever party, and whatever his principles had been or still were, was compelled to give in his adhesion. Every one soon discovered, from the temper of the House of Commons elected by the new constituencies, that he could carry on the government in no other way. This affords the key to the whole subsequent changes in the commercial policy of the British empire, and goes far to exculpate many who have stood foremost, and been most exposed to obloquy, in bringing them about. Ever since the Reform Bill became the law of the land, if we were not, as Napoleon said, a nation of shopkeepers, we have at least been a nation *governed by shopkeepers*.

144. Earl Grey was not ignorant of the preponderating strength of the boroughs in the reformed House of Commons; but he was misled in regard to the influence which would direct these boroughs, by the delusion which was then so general, and in truth was the foundation of the whole subsequent changes of the British empire. This was the blindness of an entire generation to the effects on the relative position of the different classes of society produced by the monetary bills of 1819 and 1826. These bills, in effect, withdrew the greater part of the boroughs from territorial, and brought them under moneyed or trading interests. They halved the income and doubled the debts of the landed proprietors, while in effect they doubled the income and halved the debts of the inhabitants of towns. Thence an entire change in the ruling influences in the great majority of the boroughs. They rapidly slipped out of the hands of the burdened and impoverished landlords who had hitherto held them, and fell under the direction of the moneyed or trading classes, whose fortunes had been practically so much enlarged by legislative measures. What was called the opening of these boroughs, which occurred so often before and after the Reform Bill, and was so much boasted of at the time, was in truth not an

opening, but a transference of it to a different interest in the state. The borough was still governed as much as ever it was by a clique, but it was a clique of different persons, and actuated by different interests. It was no longer composed of the squire, his factor, the parson, and attorney, in the borough, but the manufacturer, the warehouseman, and two or three of the chief tradesmen in it; it no longer met in the back parlour, but the back shop.

145. This general transference of the boroughs from the producing to the buying and selling interest, from the operation of the new monetary system, was for the first time brought into active operation when the Reform Bill gave them a real representation. When they were notoriously and avowedly venal, they did not, in reality, represent the inhabitants who dwelt in them, but the merchants, capitalists, or colonial interests by whom they were purchased. Gatton, with its ruined church, might, and often did, represent Jamaica; Old Sarum, with its green mound, millions of our sable subjects in Hindostan. It was the effective nature of the representation, which the colonies and shipping interests thus acquired, which rendered the British constitution of such long endurance, and so generally popular, notwithstanding its obvious deviation from theoretical perfection. The colonies and shipping interest were really, though not in form, represented under the old constitution; and this was done so effectually that the West Indian was for long the strongest single interest in the House of Commons; it could, during the war, command eighty votes. But when the representation of the British boroughs was rendered not nominal, but real, this state of things was entirely altered. Not only was the door, which had so long let in the real representatives of the colonial and shipping interests, closed to them, but it was opened to their opponents.

146. The shopkeepers in the small towns, generally from three to five hundred in number, turned a deaf ear

to any candidate who talked to them of colonial or maritime interests, of which they knew little, and for which they cared less; but they received with open arms any one who promised them cheap sugar, diminished cost of wood and freights, cheapened corn, tea, and coffee. Thus not only was the virtual representation of the colonies and shipping interest cut off by the Reform Bill, but the numerous seats they had formerly held, if not extinguished, were *transferred to an adverse interest*—a change which explains the whole subsequent alteration in the commercial and colonial policy of the British empire. It must therefore be regarded as the next, and perhaps the greatest error in the Reform Bill, that, while it cut off the indirect representation of the colonies and shipowners, it *did not give them a direct one*, and left them entirely at the mercy of a majority in the British Islands, composed, for the most part, of persons of limited and local information, and governed entirely by adverse interests. To produce cheap and sell dear was for their interest; to buy their produce cheap and sell it dear was for the interest of their new governors.

147. Two facts, of general notoriety and decisive importance, demonstrate the reality of these vast changes, and the unbounded influence which they must have on the future fate of the British empire. The first of these is, that, in less than a quarter of a century after the Reform Bill had given them the government of the country, the urban shopkeepers had obtained for themselves an *entire exemption from every species of direct taxation*, and laid it with increased severity upon the disfranchised classes in the state; while, at the same time, they had contrived to shake off all the indirect taxes by which they were more immediately affected. They have got the window-tax taken off, and the house-tax from all houses below £20, the line *where the ruling class begins*; and when Lord Derby's Ministry brought forward the proposal, obviously just, to lower the duty to £10 houses, they instantly expelled them

from office by a vote of the House of Commons. They kept the income-tax for long at incomes above £150, and only brought it down under the pressure of war to £100—a line which practically insures an exemption from that burden to nearly the whole of the ruling occupants of houses below £20; while a tax producing now (1854) above £10,000,000 a-year is saddled exclusively upon less than 250,000 persons in the empire.* They have got quit entirely of the tax on grain, lowered almost to nothing those on wood and meat, and signally reduced those on tea and sugar and coffee, in which so large a part of their consumption lies; while the direct taxes on the land and higher classes, not embracing above 250,000 persons, have been increased so as now to yield above £20,000,000 a-year, or £80 BY EACH PERSON on an average, in income-tax, assessed taxes, and stamps! In a word, since they got the power, the notables of England have established a much more entire and unjust exemption, in their own favour, from taxation, than the notables in France did before the Revolution—a curious and instructive circumstance, indicating how identical men are in all ranks when their interests are concerned, and they obtain power, and the futility of the idea that the extension of the number of the governors is any security whatever against the establishment of an arbitrary or unjust system of administration over the governed.

148. The next circumstance which has demonstrated the reality of the changes now described is the ruin which has, since the Reform Bill, been brought on some of our greatest colonies, and the steps evidently taking, both by Government and in the colonies themselves, to sever the connection with the rest. It is needless to

* The persons assessed for the income-tax, in 1853, under Schedule D (Trades and Professions), was only 146,000! The holders of land and funds cannot be above 100,000 more. The income-tax, at 16d. in the pound, in 1836, produced £16,000,000, paid by not above 300,000 persons. The whole assessed in Schedule D, in Great Britain and Ireland, were 263,000, of whom 120,000 were below £150.

say anything of the West Indies; it is universally known that, within the last twenty-five years, and from the effect of the Reform Bill and the measures to which it led, they have been all but ruined, and that cultivation in them is only carried on at a loss by the proprietors, to avoid the desperate measure of entire abandonment of the estates. The other colonies of Great Britain—Canada, the Cape, and Australia—have either been the scene of revolts, or become so discontented that they had to be disarmed, or given such unequivocal symptoms of alienation from the parent state that Government at home, foreseeing a severance which they can no longer prevent, is already giving them the constitutions which are to prepare them for independence, and withdrawing the troops that might maintain the authority of the centre of the empire.

149. As usual in such cases, the authors of a change, which they see has become inevitable, maintain that it is a benefit, and have long been preparing the country for a break-up of our transmarine empire, by diffusing the doctrine that it is only a burden, and that, by making the colonies independent, we might retain the benefits of their connection without the weight of their defence. Time will show whether this opinion is well founded or not; but, in the mean time, one thing is clear, that, for good or for evil, this great change in the policy of the empire is the result of the Reform Bill; because it took away the indirect representation of the colonies without giving them a direct one, and delivered over their government to the rule of urban constituencies in the dominant island, which not only had no interest in common with them, but were actuated by an adverse one. Under the rule of a popular assembly, thus constituted, a *new empire*, maintaining itself, like Holland or Venice, by an extensive commerce and flourishing manufactures, without external possessions, may possibly arise; but the preservation of the *old empire*, extending its offshoots into all the quarters of the globe, and retaining

them all in willing subjection to the heart of the state, from the experienced benefits of the connection, is for any length of time impossible.

150. Another great error committed in the construction of the new constitution was that, in the majority at least of the House of Commons, *labour* was wholly unrepresented. This cannot be disputed, when it is recollected that in the urban constituencies the franchise is fixed at payment of a £10, in the rural of a £50 rent, or a 40s. *freehold* in England, either of which is exclusive of the great body of labourers both in town and country. The retention of the freemen in a few great cities cannot be called a representation of labour; it is rather a representation of venality and corruption. Without doubt, a uniform representation, founded on a low suffrage, as household or £5 rent, is the worst of all foundations for government, because it is a *class government of labourers*—that is, of the most ignorant and irresponsible class in the community. But it is one thing to give the operatives, whether in town or country, the entire command of the state; it is another, and a very different thing, to exclude them entirely from its government, and expose them, without the means of legal resistance, to the rule of an assembly almost entirely elected by persons having an adverse interest. To beat down the remuneration of labour, both in the fields and the workshops, is the obvious interest of the employers, either in town or country, and the persons who deal in their produce, because it diminishes the cost of production or purchase; and it is soon discovered that this is most effectually done, because in the way least likely to attract attention, by a contraction of the currency, and the application of the principles of free trade to every branch of commerce. The frequency and alarming character of the strikes which have prevailed in every part of the empire since these principles were carried into practice, and the steady emigration of above 250,000 agricultural labourers for the eight years end-

ing in 1854, even in times of great prosperity, from the British Islands, prove that the effects of this class legislation have been fully felt by the working classes, and that they have sought to escape from them, either by illegal combination against the laws, or by withdrawing entirely from the sphere of their influence.

151. The last obvious defect of the new constitution was, that it as completely disfranchised intellect and education as it did labour and production. It is not meant to be asserted, in making this remark, that the reformed House of Commons has been by any means destitute of talent. Beyond all doubt, the new constituencies have sent forward many men of robust intellect and great business information, skilled in the art of guiding the multitude, and who have left indelible marks of their ability in the legislation and fortunes of the country; but still they were not the representatives of intellect and education—they are the representatives of a class interest, that of cheap production and cheap buying. All their talents and energies—and both have often been great indeed—have been directed to advance those interests for the benefit of their constituents, without any regard to the effect of the measures they advocated upon the general or unrepresented interests of the empire. Schedules A and B closed the door as effectually upon the high education and intelligence, as they did upon the colonies or shipping interest of the empire, because they barred the entrance by which alone they had hitherto obtained admission into the Legislature. The young men of talent and eloquence who had distinguished themselves at college, and got in by a nomination borough—the race of Pitt and Fox, of Burke and Sheridan, of Wyndham and Romilly, of Mackintosh and Brougham—has become extinct in the House of Commons since 1832. Such as are still there of the former race had all found an entrance under the old system by the nomination boroughs. No man who knows anything of human affairs, indeed, will assert that a legislature,

the majority of which consisted of such men, would be a good frame of government. There is probably more truth than the learned professors are willing to admit in the celebrated saying of Frederick the Great, that “if he wished utterly to ruin a province, he would put it into the hands of the philosophers;” or of Napoleon, that “if an empire were made of granite, it would soon be reduced to powder by the political economists.” But admitting all this, it is equally obvious that to give the learned professions only five seats out of six hundred and fifty-eight to themselves, and send them everywhere else to be swamped by a majority of farmers, provision-dealers, or publicans, was a very great evil, which may come eventually to affect in a most serious manner the fortunes of the empire.

152. No body of men, and least of all the Legislature intrusted with the government of the country, can emancipate itself without risk from the influence of intelligence and genius, and surrender itself without reserve to the guidance of material interests. The necessary effect of such exclusion is to produce an absence of enlarged views on general welfare, and to restrict every one to the selfish dictates of interested constituents. Independence of character, intrepidity of thought, wide views for the universal good, can hardly now obtain admission into the House of Commons. Large constituencies have an instinctive dread of such characters; they are either jealous of or hate them. Ability and eloquence, indeed, they all desire; but it is ability devoted to their interests, eloquence governed by their will. Their wish is to have, not representatives, but delegates, and no man worthy of ruling an empire will become such. Hence the House of Commons, since the passing of the Reform Bill, has been nearly deserted, so far as new members are concerned, by men of brilliant talents; and they have sought to influence public affairs by writing in the periodical or daily press, the talent in which has as much increased since the change, as that of the *new*

entrants into the Legislature has diminished.*

153. But the great and growing influence of the press is itself fraught with still greater danger, for it is necessarily one-sided. Every one reads what suits his own views, and in general little else; and thus the ability of the press tends rather to confirm preconceived opinions, and widen the breaches which divide society, than to heal divisions or produce rectitude of judgment. Of it may truly be said, what the poet has affirmed of reason,—

“Nec minus falsi pravique tenax quam
nuntia veri.”

The nomination boroughs let in independent talent, because they were either purchased or acquired by the influence of one, always less jealous than a multitude of masters. They were felt as an evil, however, because they produced a legislature at variance, on essential points, with the wishes and interests of the great urban hives of industry. What should have been done, and was not done, was to have given as many seats as were taken away, not to *one class*, the £10 householders, but to *various classes*, which might have afforded an inlet into the Legislature at once to manu-

* If the following picture of the British House of Commons, after twenty-eight years' experience of the Reform Bill, by a distinguished Whig Chancellor of the Exchequer, be just, the nation has not gained in administrative ability in the popular branch of the constitution what it has lost in statesmanlike views. Mr Gladstone stated in Parliament (see *Times* of 18th August 1860), when speaking of British administration: “Vacillation, uncertainty, costliness, extravagance, meanness, and all the conflicting vices that could be enumerated, are united in our present system. There is a total want of authority to direct and guide. When anything is to be done we have to go from department to department, from the Executive to the House of Commons, from the House of Commons to a Committee, from a Committee to a Commission, and from a Commission back to a Committee, so that years pass away. The public is disappointed, and the money of the country is wasted. I believe such are the evils of the system that nothing short of revolutionary reform will ever be sufficient to rectify it.” Pretty strong language this, but not one bit too strong.

facturing and commercial wealth, colonial industry, shipping interests, and general intelligence and superior education.

154. Perhaps the evil consequence which has been most forcibly brought before the eyes of the public by the working of the Reform Bill, is the vast *increase of corruption* which it has induced in the borough electors. This has become so obvious that it has attracted universal observation; and if any proof of it were requisite, it would be found in the fact that fifty-two petitions against returns, on the ground of bribery, were presented in the Parliament elected in 1852. Nothing approaching to this was ever heard of in the worst days of the old House of Commons; and the Legislature has been actively engaged since that time in devising various remedies for so great an evil—a sure proof that none of them have had any sensible effect. It is not difficult to see that the evil is irremediable under our present institutions; for it arises from a permanent cause of irresistible force—viz., that supreme power is vested in a class accessible to bribes. As long as this continues, bribes will be expected, given, and taken. The decisive proof of this is to be found in the fact, that though petitions against borough returns have been so frequent since the Reform Bill passed, there have been none against those for counties. The reason of this is, not that the forty-shilling freeholder is inaccessible to bribes—probably he would often as willingly take them as the freeman or ten-pounder in towns—but that that class have *not the majority* in counties, and they are not bribed, because it is no man's interest to corrupt them.

155. The Liberals do not attempt to deny the existence of this great and crying evil in the new borough constituencies, but they affirm that it would be removed by enlarging the constituencies so as to make bribery impossible, and introducing the ballot so as to render it useless. It may with confidence be predicted that the evil, so far from being diminished, would,

as in the Roman republic,* be decidedly and greatly increased by either or both of these changes. Experience has proved in America, that neither universal suffrage nor the ballot either prevent bribery, when it is for the interest of the candidate to give it, or conceal votes. It may lower the sum required to sway the electors, but that is all. Bribery will not be lessened because £5000 is divided among 10,000 electors instead of 1000; it will only be spread over a wider surface, and extend farther its demoralising influence. The transference of seats in the Legislature to a more needy class will still less obviate the evil; it will only induce the giving of bribes to those who have recourse to it, in order to open the career of fortune or avert impending insolvency. Even if the constituencies were made so large that no fortune could corrupt them, the evil would not be removed, it would only assume another and a still more dangerous form. The worst and most dangerous species of bribery is that which is practised by holding out prospects of legislative injustice and spoliation; and the nation will have little cause to congratulate itself if it escapes slipping sovereigns into elec-

tors' pockets, but induces the putting the sponge to the national debt into their hands, and untaxed spirits into their mouths.

156. These were the great errors committed by both parties in the course of this all-important debate. The faults were the greater on the part of the Conservatives at its commencement, of the Liberals at its close. This was the natural result of the alternate possession of power by those two great parties; each used it while they had it, not for the general interests of the empire, but for the maintenance or acquisition of government to themselves. But there is one step on the part of the Liberals, of a different character, and to which, now that the strife is over, and all thoughts of a return to the old system are out of the question, it is the duty of the historian to give the most unqualified condemnation: this is the way in which the Reform Bill was carried. The excitement of the people by the Liberal leaders, during the continuance of the contest, was so violent and incessant that at last they became altogether unmanageable, and the leaders were driven by their own followers to coerce the Crown, and threaten to violate the constitution, as the only means of avoiding civil war and revolution. The English revolution was effected by means as violent, though happily bloodless, as the French; the threat of marching sixty peers into the House of Lords, to overthrow that assembly, was a measure, in substance, if not in form, as thoroughly an appeal to force as the marching sixty grenadiers, on the 18th Brumaire, into the Legislative Assembly by Napoleon.

157. It is remarkable that on the only occasions in English history when such an extreme measure was thought of, it was to overthrow the greatest benefactors of their country—once in the reign of Queen Anne, when twelve peers were created to ruin the Duke of Marlborough; and once in that of William IV., when sixty were threatened, to subvert the Duke of Wellington. Such precedents, if again fol-

* "The Decemvirs had been named, and their tables were approved by an assembly of the centuries, in which riches preponderated against numbers. But the tribunes soon established a more specious and popular maxim, that every citizen has an equal right to enact the laws he is bound to obey. Instead of the centuries they convened the *tribes*; and the Patricians, after an impotent struggle, submitted to the devices of an assembly in which they were confounded with the meanest plebeian. Yet as long as the tribes passed over narrow bridges, and gave their voices aloud, the conduct of each citizen was exposed to the eyes and the ears of his friends and countrymen. The insolvent debtor consulted the wishes of his creditor, the client would have blushed to oppose the views of his patron, the general was followed by his veterans, and the aspect of a grave magistrate was a living lesson to the multitude. A new method of secret ballot abolished the influence of fear and shame, of honour and interest, and the abuse of freedom accelerated the progress of anarchy and despotism. The Romans had aspired to be equal—they were levelled by the equality of servitude, and the dictates of Augustus were patiently ratified by the formal consent of the tribes or centuries."—GIBBON, *Decline and Fall*, chap. xlv.

lowed by either party, will speedily destroy the British constitution, and not leave a vestige of real freedom in the land. Let them for ever, and by all parties, be considered as beacons to be avoided, not precedents to be followed. It is with pain that the Author feels himself compelled to pronounce this severe condemnation of a party at that time containing so many able and estimable men, and which, in the commencement of the strife, was clearly in the right. But the cause of truth is paramount to every other consideration. It will appear in the sequel whether the Whigs gained any lasting advantage, even to themselves, from this violent stretch; and it will be the more pleasing duty of the historian to award a corresponding meed of praise to their leaders, for the wisdom and moderation with which they exercised the power when they had once acquired it.

158. For a similar reason, the highest praise must be bestowed on the Duke of Wellington for the advice he gave the majority of the Peers, when a creation could not otherwise be averted, to withdraw, and allow the bill to pass. The Liberal historians, with praiseworthy candour, admit that, if he did wrong in his declaration against Reform, he atoned for that error by the advice he gave the Peers at the close of the contest.* Great as must, by all candid men of either party, be admitted to be the evil of forcing an independent branch of the Legislature, and compelling, by the threat of an unconstitutional measure, an organic change in the constitution, it is not so great as fixing a majority in the hereditary branch of the Legislature by a great creation of peers, and thus rendering one House, by an act done in a moment of excitement, and in the heat of contest, permanently at variance with what may come to be the prevailing opinion of the other branch of the Legislature and of the

country. The lesser evil was wisely accepted, to avoid the greater. If the precedent is once established of overcoming a hostile majority in the House of Peers by a great creation, it may and probably would come to be repeated, as it has been in France, on every entire change of administration, until all respect for, or consistency in, the hereditary branch of the Legislature is lost, and it becomes alternately a titled crowd of court favourites, or an obsequious mob of popular flatterers.

159. In a word, the fault of the Tories in this great debate, and it was no light one, was, that they used the political power which had grown up in their hands, as a property, not a trust, and resisted to the last those changes in the representation of the Commons which time had rendered necessary, and which were essential either to insure beneficial legislation, or to diffuse contentment and satisfaction among the people. The fault of the Liberals, which was still greater, consisted in this, that when they got the power, they introduced a reform in Parliament based on erroneous principles, which destroyed one system of class legislation only to introduce another still more at variance with the interests of the majority; and, having brought it forward, forced it through by violent excitement of the people, and unconstitutional coercion of the Sovereign. The Tories, in the last extremity, in a great measure expiated their fault by the praiseworthy self-sacrifice which they made at the call of patriotic duty. The Whigs, in the moment of triumph, materially redeemed theirs, by the moderation with which they used the unlimited powers acquired by victory.

160. If the buying and selling class had constituted in Great Britain, as they did in Athens, Holland, or Venice, the majority in number or importance of the entire empire, no one could have blamed the Liberals for framing a constitution which gave them the command of the country; for it is the fundamental principle of all popular governments that the ma-

* "If the Duke committed a blunder on the 4th November, when he declared against all reform, he nobly redeemed his error on the 17th May, by yielding to the popular demand."—ROEBUCK, vol. ii. p. 336, note.

majority in number and value must rule the minority. But what rendered the new constitution peculiarly unsuited to the British empire, and aggravated the fault of the Whigs in forcing it through, was, that the class in whom it vested supreme power was *very far indeed from being a majority either in number or wealth of the whole* inhabitants, and owed its ascendancy entirely to the command it had accidentally got of the boroughs. Out of the 29,000,000 who now inhabit the British Islands, 18,000,000 are directly or indirectly dependent on land for their support, and only 11,000,000 on all the branches of commerce and manufactures put together. Of the income-tax at 7d. in the pound, in 1859, £2,700,000 was paid by the land, and not £1,700,000 by trades and professions.* Two-thirds of the inhabitants are dependent on the producing interests; two-thirds of the direct revenue is paid by them: but nevertheless they are deprived of all real influence in the Legislature; and the minority, intrenched as the boroughmongers formerly were in the boroughs, have been enabled to carry through a series of measures destructive of their best interests. If the colonies, wholly unrepresented by the Reform Bill, are considered as distant provinces of the empire, this disproportion will appear still greater; and less than a half in number, and a third in wealth, actuated by an adverse interest, have got the command of both.

161. It must be considered as a decided set-off to these manifold evils that the Reform Bill has obviously and greatly strengthened Government as a government, irrespective of the divisions of party. So nearly balanced, indeed, are the two parties into which the country is divided, that great weakness of *administration* in the House of Commons has in general been the characteristic of the times since it became law; but this is quite a different thing from any weakness

of the Government itself. It has afforded rather a proof of the truth of De Tocqueville's observation, that the danger of democracy is not its weakness, but its tremendous strength. The frequent conspiracies which took place between 1815 and 1830, and which had for their object to overturn the Government by violence, have been almost unknown since the Reform Bill passed. Even the terrible storm of 1848 failed to shake the steady fabric of the British monarchy. Queen Victoria put down the efforts of factions in 1848 without firing a shot, when all the Continental monarchies were falling around her. No man can affirm with confidence that this auspicious result would have taken place had the old government of the nomination boroughs been still in force. It is one thing to weaken the rule of two or three hundred holders of seats in the House of Commons; it is another, and a very different thing, to overthrow nine hundred thousand electors, practically and really wielding the powers of government. Their number renders the attempt hopeless; their ranks embrace those who would have been the most formidable leaders of revolution. The chief forces of democracy are turned over to the other side.

162. The risk, however, has been changed rather than wholly removed by this alteration. There is little danger now, comparatively speaking, that our monarchical frame of government, resting on the basis of so numerous and influential a mass of electors, will be overthrown by a violent convulsion; but great, that one portion of these electors, having the majority, may use their power to advance their own interests, without any regard to the effect their measures may have upon those of the minority of the electors, or the immense majority of the unrepresented portion of the community. This, accordingly, is what has taken place since the Reform Bill

	1850.	1851.	1862.
* Real property tax, at 9d. in the pound,	£4,532,570	£5,136,623	£5,044,665
Occupancy of do.,	549,509	614,929	587,738
Trades and professions, "	3,012,927	3,402,836	3,331,502

became the law of the land. The middle classes have made no movement to advance further in the career of reform since they obtained it; they are satisfied with the power they have got, as well they may, since it has enabled them to rule the state. But they have set themselves sedulously and energetically to improve their victory to their own advantage by fiscal exemptions and legislative measures, and they have done this so effectually as to have created a sullen state of hostility between the employers and the employed, which breaks out at times, like the flames of a volcano, in ruinous strikes, and has often driven in one year above two hundred and fifty thousand labourers, chiefly rural, into exile. The danger is no longer to the Government, but to a large portion of the governed; it is to be found, not in the streets, but the senate-house: not in insurrections, but in the ruin of entire classes, by laws passed, without a struggle, with the concurrence of King, Lords, and Commons. But great as this danger is, and clearly as its reality has been demonstrated by the history of the last twenty years, it is much less than that arising from a successful revolution, which at once destroys all liberty, and establishes the reign of unbridled violence. At all events, it is the state of things suitable for an advanced state of society. It is the price which civilised man pays for the incalculable blessings of general freedom and internal peace.

163. It appears, at first sight, not a little surprising how a change of this sort could by possibility have been brought about in a free country, in opposition to influences formerly so strongly seated as those of production were in the old constitution. But a little consideration must show how it was that this came to pass. In the first place, the monetary system and free-trade measures, in which the persons depending on that interest had, without perceiving the effect of their own measures, so cordially concurred, had halved their own fortunes and doubled those of their opponents; had rendered labour worth a shilling a-day instead

of two shillings, and one sovereign worth two sovereigns. This had both entirely altered the relative strength of the two parties, and induced such discontent among those interested in production, as rendered them in their desperation ready for any change. In the next place, the best informed statistician* has shown that, since the peace, the savings of the nation have been on an average £50,000,000 a-year, by far the greater part of which accumulated in the hands of the trading and middle class in towns, who lent great part of it out in mortgages to the declining landlords, who could not otherwise maintain their former establishments, and would not reduce them. The strength and importance of the moneyed class was thus as much increased as that of the producing was diminished.

164. In the third place, the same respectable authority has shown that the sum annually spent by the working classes in Great Britain in beer and spirits is £50,000,000 a-year—a state of things which keeps them in a condition of constant practical vassalage to their employers, and deprives them of all influence in the state, excepting that arising in periods of excitement from the terror of their aggregate numbers. These facts at once explain how political power and the rule of the state has slipped from the hands of both these classes. It is not upon the amount of revenue enjoyed or produce created by a class that its political importance in the long run depends, but upon the proportions of the income enjoyed by it which is clear of debt, and of realised capital, which can at once be rendered available in a contest, either by swaying seats in Parliament or influencing the press.

165. As this ascendancy of the moneyed class in Great Britain is obviously the result of the magnitude of our realised wealth, and that again has arisen from the liberty and prosperity we have so long enjoyed, and the unexampled success with which the war was attended, a very curious and in

* Mr Porter, Secretary to Board of Trade.

some respect melancholy consideration presents itself. Is this change, and the check to the interests of industry thence arising, the effect of a general and irresistible law of nature, applicable to all times when similar circumstances arise, or is it the result of a casual combination of events in the British Islands during the last half-century? Is the transference of power from the land to the boroughs in England analogous to and produced by the same causes as that which removed power from the Roman senate, the stronghold of the patricians, to the Dictator, the representative and idol of the urban multitude? and is the clamour for cheap bread, which in our times has changed the whole policy of the empire at bottom, the same as the cry, "*Panem et Circenses!*" which ruled the government of the Cæsars, and in the end, by destroying the rural population in its heart, subverted the Roman empire? If so, are we to rest in the mournful conclusion that the seeds of mortality are indelibly implanted in nations as well as individuals; that these seeds are quickened into life equally by victory and defeat, and that to both the lines of the poet are precisely applicable—

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that virtue, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike the inevitable hour:
The paths of glory lead but to the grave?"

166. Without pronouncing decidedly on this deeply interesting question, upon which the world is as yet too young to form a conclusion that can be relied on, there is one truth which has been completely demonstrated by the constitutional experience in the last times, both of France and England, of permanent importance to mankind, and which will largely benefit the future generations of men. This is, that a *uniform representation is but another name for class government, and that the governing class will always be found, in a state so constituted, in that which is immediately above the lowest line of the suffrage.* In France, when the line, under the Restoration, was drawn by the payment of £12 a-year of direct taxes, that ruling class was

found in sixty thousand of the richest proprietors in the country, but the poorest in the enfranchised class—those paying from £12 to £20 direct taxes, who were two-thirds of the ninety thousand electors. In England, by the Reform Bill, supreme power was vested in persons in boroughs paying from £10 to £20 rent; that is, the buying and selling class, interested chiefly in beating down the cost of production.

167. Thence a rigid system of protection in the former country, which produced such discontent among the urban consumers as overturned the governments both of the elder and younger branch of the house of Bourbon; thence an amount of suffering in the producing classes in the latter, that has sent above three hundred thousand of the working class, for a course of years, annually out of the kingdom, stopped the growth of its population, and caused its colonial provinces to take open steps to effect their independence. These events will not be lost upon posterity. The ruin of constitutional freedom in France, the dissolution of the colonial empire of Great Britain, terrible evils as either would be, will be cheaply purchased if they impress upon mankind the eternal truths, that a real representation in government is the essential need of civilised man, and can never be refused without imminent danger; that uniformity in the suffrage inevitably induces class government; that the ruinous nature of such government is in the direct proportion of the number admitted into the class; and that *the only way to avoid these evils is CLASS REPRESENTATION.* The Roman system of giving every citizen a vote, but a vote only in his own century, and ruling the state by the votes of the *centuries, not the citizens*, was the nearest approach to perfection in popular government ever yet made by man, and, beyond all doubt, gave them the empire of the world.

168. The true cause of the difficulties which have been felt as so embarrassing, both in the British and French empires, in the late stage of

their political life, when the formation of a new constitution in both was set about, is the operation of a great law of nature, intended to limit the growth of empires, and promote the dispersion of mankind. This law is the simple fact, that whatever is plentiful becomes cheap, and money the very first of all things. The necessary effect of this is, that labour becomes dear in the rich and old state, and the necessities of life are raised at a more costly rate than in poor countries, where money is more scarce, and labour is cheap.* The reciprocity system, the contraction of the currency, free trade, were all efforts on the part of the moneyed classes to elude the operation of this law of nature—to render production cheap, when the circumstances of society had rendered it dear. The effect of this difference of price between the cost of raising provisions in the old and young state is, that if the country has the majority, a strict system of protection is established, to keep out the cheap food; if the towns,

* This remark applies to the necessities of life and agricultural produce only. In *manufactures* the case is different. There the effect of the application of capital to machinery is such that production is cheapened to an immense extent;—insomuch that the old and wealthy state will always undersell the young and poor one in manufactured articles, although it will be undersold by it in agricultural produce.

free trade and the cheapening system is introduced, to let it in.

169. In either case a limit is imposed, when this difference of price has become considerable, to the growth of the state and the extension of its population: in the one case by the check given to the industry of towns by dear corn, in the other to the inhabitants of the country by cheap; in the former case by the rivalry of foreign manufacturers, in the latter by that of foreign cultivators. France has recently exhibited an example of the former; Rome in ancient, and Great Britain in modern times, are instances of the latter: and the prodigious transference now going on of the Anglo-Saxon race to America, attended by such vast effects to both hemispheres, is an illustration of the all-powerful agency of this cause upon the fortunes of mankind. However much we may be disposed to regret this when our own country alone is considered, we shall regard it in a very different light when the general progress of the species is taken into view, and look upon it as the great means by which Providence, at the appointed season, arrests the growth of aged nations, transfers the seeds of prosperity to distant lands, provides an outlet to over-peopled communities, and lays the foundations in present suffering of the general dispersion and happiness of mankind.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FRANCE AND EUROPE, FROM THE ACCESSION OF LOUIS PHILIPPE IN 1830
TO THE OVERTHROW OF THE KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS IN THE
SAME YEAR.

1. As great popular movements, such as the first French Revolution, or the Reform passion in England, never arise but from the experience of serious public evils, so they never fail to terminate, when successful, in the removal

of what appeared to have been the cause, and generally was so, of the public suffering. The insurrection of 1789 was occasioned by the pride of the noblesse, and directed against the distinctions of rank; and it termi-

nated in their destruction. The reform movement of England was induced by the selfish policy of the holders of realised wealth, and it was directed against the borough proprietors, through whom their power had been exercised; and it led to their abolition. The Revolution of 1830 was occasioned by the dread of Jesuitical usurpation, and was meant to assert the freedom of thought; and it was directed against Charles X. and Prince Polignac, who were conceived to be the instruments in the hands of that party. They accordingly were overthrown, and the throne of France remained open, exposed to become the prize of some fortunate soldier, some audacious demagogue.

2. But it is by no means equally certain that a successful revolution will remove the real evils which afflict society, or that, even if it does really eradicate those which have previously been experienced, it may not induce others still more widespread and irremediable. The remedy is sometimes worse than the disease. The warmest partisans of the Revolution now admit that it has done little for the real causes of human distress, and that under another name, and belonging to a different class, the oppressors of mankind have reappeared with undiminished power on the theatre of human events. The guillotine of the Committee of Public Salvation, the confiscations of the Convention, the revolutionary law of succession, had destroyed the great proprietors, and rendered impossible the reconstruction of their estates; but they had done nothing for the condition of the workmen, or the interests of the twenty-five millions (including their families) of rural cultivators. On the contrary, their condition had become greatly worse than it was before the convulsions began; for the destruction of capital had deprived industry of support, the division of income had halved its market. Nothing remained to the poor but the cultivation of their little bits of land, for the most part unequal for the support of a family, and the

fruits of which were wrenched from them by the ruinous land-tax, often amounting to 20 per cent, but which was altogether irremovable, for it had become the main-stay of the revenue of the state.

3. In the general confusion produced by the destruction of mercantile and the confiscation of landed property, one class only had prospered, and exhibited the signs of general prosperity, amidst the penury with which it was surrounded. All the little wealth that remained in the provinces had been amassed in the hands of the merchants and shopkeepers; and in Paris the bankers and bourgeois class had been immensely enriched by the effects of the very pacification which to the nation generally had been the occasion of such bitter mortification. The bankers of the *Chaussée d'Antin*, the jewellers of the *Palais Royal*, the dressmakers of the *Rue St Honoré*, had for the most part made large fortunes from the expenditure of foreigners, chiefly English and Russians, who had flocked to Paris during the Restoration. Nor was this prosperity in that class confined to the metropolis; it had extended also to the principal commercial and manufacturing towns. The silk-manufacturers of Lyons, the wine-merchants of *Epernay* and *Bordeaux*, the cotton-spinners of *Rouen*, had been enriched by the increasing demand for their various productions springing from the long peace of the Continent, and the growth of wealth which had in consequence taken place both in France and the adjoining states. In a word, the bourgeoisie of France had risen into wealth and importance during the peace; an importance arising not less from its own prosperity, than from the contrast afforded by the general penury with which it was surrounded.

4. But from this very prosperity had arisen another evil, which shook the very foundations of society, and induced a series of causes and effects that embittered and at length terminated the reign of the succeeding sovereign.

The bourgeois in towns, thus powerful by means of their wealth, their sway in elections, and their influence with the press, of which they were the chief, often the sole, readers, had no interests in common with labour; on the contrary, their interests were adverse to it. Living by trade in goods or money, their interest was to buy cheap and sell dear; the very reverse of the workman, whose interest was to produce dear and buy cheap. Their chief, often their only purchasers, were found among the dwellers in towns: the six millions of peasants, living on freeholds which yielded them from £2 to £10 each, took little or nothing off their hands in the way of purchases. Hence the policy which the Government pursued to please the one, necessarily gave dissatisfaction to the other. The working classes, trusting to the promises of the popular leaders and the representations of the press, generally supported the movement which overthrew Charles X., and acquiesced in the installation of the Citizen King. But they soon discovered their mistake, and long and bitter were the regrets which the discovery occasioned. The reign of Louis Philippe was nothing but a long contest between labour and capital—between the interests of production and those of money or consumption; and the animosity between these different classes in the end became so great that it overturned his throne, gave a brief ascendant to Socialist principles, and for a season established the sway of “*Liberté, Egalité, et Fraternité*” in its stead.

5. This direful social contest, the most widespread which can agitate any community, was rendered the more violent in France at this period from the effect of the immense discoveries which they were compelled to adopt from their industrious neighbours. Steam was then altering the face of the world; the discovery of Watt was changing the destinies of mankind. However much the powers of that mighty agent and the multiplication of machinery may augment the industrial capabilities of a nation, and add to the sum total of its wealth, it is in

vain to assert that in the first instance at least it is not a very great drawback to the interests of labour. If one man or woman can be brought by the aid of machinery to do the work of fifty men, what is to become of the remaining forty-nine, especially in a country which has no colonies or external outlets for its industry? The entire produce may be greatly increased by such application, but it never can be so in anything like the proportion in which the demand for labour is diminished. The common-sense and experience of mankind have everywhere taught them the sophistry of the hackneyed arguments put forth on this subject by the economical writers on the side of the capitalists, whose interest is cheap production; and thence the constant hostility of the working classes in every country to the introduction of the machinery by which their labour is to be supplanted. Perhaps in the end the rival interests of capital and labour may be adjusted, and the workmen thrown out by machinery in one line may find employment in another; but this can only be the work of time, and of a very gradual absorption of industry, attended with great present suffering, even under the most favourable circumstances. And in France the circumstances, so far from being favourable, were just the reverse; for the Revolution had at once destroyed the capital, swept away the colonies, and all but ruined the commerce of the country. All the various vents which might take off the displaced labour of the nation were awanting. Hence the eighteen years from 1830 to 1848 were a period of almost ceaseless industrial distress in France, and the animosity of the working classes against the government of Louis Philippe was, almost from its very commencement, far greater than it had been against that of Charles X.

6. The same circumstances, however, which so fearfully augmented this general discontent amongst the working classes, increased in a still greater degree the strength of the Government to resist it. As long as the monarchy stood on the remnant of the

nobility and the increasing *Parti-prêtre*, as it did during the reign of Charles X., it rested on a flimsy foundation; the pyramid of society was based on its head. But when the numerous and opulent ranks of the bourgeoisie were admitted into the administration, and interested in its preservation, a very different state of things presented itself. Government now stood upon a much wider basis, and could calculate on the support of a more numerous and energetic body of men. The dense and thriving ranks of the bourgeoisie, interested in power because they shared its spoils, gave it their cordial support; their wealth was poured into its coffers; their youth filled the ranks of its National Guard; their influence gave it the command of the legislature.

7. But this very circumstance, while for long it secured their ascendancy, in the end exposed it to ruin. A class of society which had come to monopolise, in return for its support, the whole patronage of Government, ere long became the object of envy. Louis Philippe experienced the truth of the old saying, that every place given away made three discontented and one ungrateful. Even the commissions in an army soon raised to 400,000 men, an expenditure increased from 900,000,000 francs (£36,000,000) to 1,500,000,000 francs (£60,000,000), and the 130,000 civil offices in the gift of the Tuileries, could not suffice for the wants of a nation in which Government employment had become, from the effects of the Revolution, the sole means of advancement. The rule of the bourgeoisie was overthrown in the end in France, from the same jealousy of those excluded from its emoluments which had proved fatal in the first Revolution to the aristocracy, and recently to that of the borough-holders in England. Influence—in other words, corruption—became the great engine of administration; M. Guizot avowed and vindicated it upon the ground that, as all other influences were gone, that of selfish motives alone remained to uphold the Government. But their mode of proceeding, however effective for a time, could not durably continue; for no

system can be permanent which is founded on class influence or interest.

8. When the government of Charles X. was overthrown, and he himself driven into exile, three parties remained in France, and divided society between them. So equally were they balanced, and so narrowly were the chances of each poised, that it was hard to say with whom, in the scramble for power, the supreme authority would ultimately rest. Most formidable from their resolution, and the command which physical strength gave them of the metropolis, the REPUBLICANS stood foremost on the stage, and, to all appearance, were destined to carry off the prize. They had made the Revolution; it was their spirit which had animated the masses, and thrown a hundred thousand armed workmen on the streets of Paris; to all appearance, the crown and the government were at their disposal. Perhaps, if they had possessed a leader of greater ambition or resolution, they might have secured it, and a new republic have restored, for a brief season, the reign of anarchy in France, to be speedily supplanted by the vigour of despotism. But great as the chances of this party were, it had to contend with as great difficulties. The recollection of the Convention, the Reign of Terror, weighed like an incubus on its energies. The working classes, especially in the great towns, were nearly unanimous in its favour; but it is not by that class alone that a change of government ever has been or ever can be effected. Leaders are required to direct its strength, capital to support its efforts, general concurrence to sanction its undertakings. These were all wanting to the Republicans of 1830. The bankers had not risked their capital to let the fruits of the straggle be reaped by the *prolétaires*; the journalists were not disposed to cede their places in the Cabinet to the workmen; the shopkeepers dreaded a stoppage of their sales, and the termination of the lucrative purchases of the English, from the establishment of a Republic. All these classes were extremely willing to use the workmen as auxiliaries, and to take advantage of their courage and

numbers to overthrow the Bourbons; and they landed, on every occasion, their valour and patriotism to the skies. But they had no intention of sharing the fruits of victory with them.

9. The next party which stood prepared to dispute the palm with the Republicans was the NAPOLEONISTS; but their chances at that period were decidedly inferior. They had, indeed, in their favour the mighty name of the Emperor, and the magic of his glorious exploits; but though they spoke powerfully to the imagination of the young and ardent part of the people, their influence generally was by no means so great as it has since become. The reason was, these events were too near; distance had *not* "lent enchantment to the view." All men of middle age could recollect the double capture of Paris; a third visit of the Cossacks was present to every full-grown imagination. Add to this, that the King of Rome, sunk down into the modest title of Duke of Leuchtenberg, was absent, under Austrian influence, in whose service he held a regiment, and no visible member of the Imperial family was at hand to direct or encourage its partisans. The party of the Republicans was based on a principle, but that of Napoleon II. was rested on a man; and without the man a personal party can seldom make any successful effort.

10. If the Napoleonists wanted a head and wealth to sustain their exertions, this could not be said of the ORLEANISTS, who had both the one and the other. The Duke of Orléans had obtained, from the generous munificence of Charles X., the entire restoration of the immense estates of the family; and his expenditure, though great, was still within his ample income. Throughout all the phases of the Revolution, a considerable party had adhered to this family, and it had been much increased on the Restoration, from the apparent stability of the throne, and the obvious chances of succession which they enjoyed from the precarious life of the infant Duke of Bordeaux, who alone stood between them and its acquisition. To this party the unwise proceedings of Charles X.

and the *Parti-prêtre* had long been the subject of close observation and intense interest, and his fall seemed, as the death of the Duke of Bordeaux would have done, at once to open the crown to their ambition. The Duke himself was irresolute, and undecided between the attractions of a diadem and the perils with which it was environed. But no similar terrors or qualms of conscience paralysed his adherents, who, relieved of all responsibility consequent on the change of government, expected only to enjoy its rewards. M. Lafitte, and the chief bankers and capitalists of Paris, belonged to this party, from the very obvious reason, that, by placing the Duke of Orléans on the throne, they would be placing themselves in the administration. They had powerful support from M. Guizot, M. Thiers, and other able journalists, who also hoped to share in the spoils of victory, and, in truth, saw no other mode of escape from the distracted state of the country. The example of England spoke powerfully to the historic intellects of this influential class of politicians; and it seemed to them almost an indication of providential will, that when the elder branch of the Bourbons, like the Stuarts, had lost the throne by the ambition of the Romish party, a younger branch should remain to open to France a future of freedom and prosperity.

11. During these anxious days, big with the fate of France and of Europe, the Duke of Orléans remained in privacy and obscurity in the neighbourhood of Paris. He was neither at the Tuileries, where honour and duty called him to stand by his sovereign and benefactor in the hour of danger, nor at the Hôtel de Ville, where ambition and selfishness might possibly open to him the path to a throne by the overthrow of that benefactor. Accurately informed by M. Lafitte and his other partisans of everything that was going forward in the capital, he yet kept aloof from its stirring scenes, and seemed anxiously only, in his elegant retirement of Neuilly, to detach himself from the political struggles in which, more than any human being in

existence, he was himself interested. In this there was no affectation; he really felt the wish to abstain from the strife which his conduct indicated. He was consumed with anxiety, fearful to take any decided step, and desirous to receive the impress of events rather than impress his signet-mark upon them.

12. On the morning of the 30th July, when the contest was obviously decided, and it was necessary to fix upon a government, M. Glandevès, the Governor of the Tuileries, waited on M. Lafitte, when the following conversation took place between them. "Sir," said the baron to the banker, "you have now been master of Paris for twenty-four hours—do you wish to save the monarchy?" "Which monarchy, sir—that of 1789 or 1814?" "The constitutional monarchy." "To save it, only one way remains, which is to crown the Duke of Orléans." "The Duke of Orléans! The Duke of Orléans—but do you know him?" "For fifteen years." "Well, but what are his titles to the crown? That boy whom Vienna has educated can at least invoke the memory of his father's glory; and it must be admitted the passage of Napoleon has written his annals in characters of fire upon the minds of men. But what prestige surrounds the Duke of Orléans?—do the people even know his history? How many of them have heard his name?" "I see in that a recommendation, and not a disadvantage. Destitute of all influence over the imagination, he will be the less able to emancipate himself from the limits within which a constitutional monarch must confine himself. His private life is free from the scandalous immoralities which have disgraced so many other princes. He has respected himself in his wife; he has made himself respected and loved by his children."

13. "These are mere domestic virtues, which are not to be recompensed by a crown. Are you ignorant that he is openly accused of having approved the homicidal votes of his father, and associated himself, in the evil days of our history, with projects calculated to ex-

clude for ever from the throne the direct heirs of the unfortunate Louis, and of having preserved a mysterious attitude in London during the Hundred Days, which has given rise to strange suspicions? Since 1815 he has alternately caressed all parties, been at once the humble servant of the Court and the secret fomentor of all intrigues. Louis XVIII. restored to him his vast estates; Charles X. made it a personal request to the Chambers to secure them to him by a legal and irrefragable right; he conferred upon him the title of 'Royal Highness,' so long coveted. Overwhelmed by gifts and kindnesses from the elder branch, how can he seize upon their inheritance?—and could he even permit others to light the conflagration which must in the end consume his own family?" "It is not in the personal interest of the Duke, baron, but in that of the country threatened with anarchy, that I speak. I do not ask if the situation of the Duke of Orléans is painful to his own feelings, but whether his accession to the throne is desirable for France. What prince is more free from the prejudices which have occasioned the ruin of Charles X.? What prince has more openly professed liberal sentiments? and to the combination which would crown him, what other is preferable?"

14. Such, put in a dramatic form, after the manner of the ancient historians, were the ideas which at this crisis were fermenting in the minds of the most influential men in France. M. de Talleyrand inclined to the opinion of M. de Chateaubriand, which was, that the only way to reconcile the conflicting interests of order and democracy in France, would be to respect the right of the Duke of Bordeaux, who was entirely free from his grandfather's fault, and to intrust his education, with the lieutenant-general of the kingdom, to the experienced wisdom and popular sentiments of the Duke of Orléans. But this arrangement, which was that which honour and ultimate interest prescribed, was far from meeting the views of the journalists and literary men, who looked

to the triumph of a public party as the means of gratifying private ambition, and the fall of a dynasty as the elevation of a fortune. M. Béranger, despite his strong prepossessions in favour of the Napoleonists, and his indignant acerbities against the Bourbons, became the decided partisan of the Orléans party, and promised them the aid of his heart-stirring songs and immense popularity; while M. Thiers, Mignet, and Laréguy, put at their disposal the equally important contribution of their business talent and statesmanlike experience.

15. By these three journalists a proclamation in favour of the Duke of Orléans was drawn up, which was published in the *National*, *Courrier Français*, and *Commerce*. When placarded, and distributed in and around the Bourse, it excited no enthusiasm, and was very coldly received. Meanwhile M. de Lafayette, seated on a huge arm-chair at the Hôtel de Ville, was a prey to the most cruel anxieties. The Duke de Chartres, eldest son of the Duke of Orléans, had been arrested at Montrouge, and the old general hardly knew whether to maintain his arrest or order his liberation. After much hesitation he was prevailed on to do the latter. But at this crisis the Orléanists, presided over by M. Lafitte, were rapidly proceeding to action; they had the immense advantage over their adversaries of order, arrangement, and decision. At ten o'clock a meeting of the leaders of this party took place at the hotel of M. Lafitte, when a proclamation, skilfully drawn, was agreed to, recommending the Duke of Orléans to the vacant throne, and M. Carrel was despatched to Rouen to gain over that important city to the same interest.* Shortly

after, General Dubourg, on the part of the Republicans at the Hôtel de Ville, presented himself to the meeting: they refused to receive or even to see him, so quickly had the pretensions and ideas of government advanced since the resolution to establish a republic had been taken!

16. While matters were advancing so rapidly in his favour in Paris, the Duke of Orléans remained at Neuilly with his whole family. In his immediate vicinity, at Puteaux, was a body of troops, a squadron of which could with ease have made them all prisoners. But so little suspicion was entertained at that period of their fidelity, that no precaution against them was taken by the royal family, nor did a feeling of anxiety on this subject ever cross their minds. M. Lafitte, the evening before, wrote a letter mentioning that the crown was to be offered to him, and that, in case of refusal, it would be represented that it was essential to the tranquillity of the capital and the country that he should be conveyed to a place of safety in the metropolis.* This note instructed his partisans in Paris in the course which they should pursue; and accordingly, soon after, M. Thiers and M. Scheffer, preceded by M. Sébastiani, arrived at Neuilly to offer the Duke the crown. He him-

self carried a tricolor flag; no other can carry it. We will have no other.

"The Duke of Orléans has not yet pronounced himself. He awaits the expression of our wishes. Let us proclaim them, and he will accept the Charter, as we have always expected and wished. It is from the French people that he will receive his crown."—LOUIS BLANC, vol. i. pp. 305, 306.

* "Le Duc d'Orléans est à Neuilly avec toute sa famille. Près de lui à Puteaux sont les troupes royales, et il suffirait d'un ordre émané de la cour pour l'enlever à la nation, qui peut trouver en lui un gage puissant de sa sécurité future. On propose de se rendre chez lui au nom des autorités constituées convenablement accompagnées, et de lui offrir la couronne. S'il oppose des scrupules de famille ou de délicatesse, on lui dira que son séjour à Paris importe à la tranquillité de la capitale et de la France, et qu'on est obligé de l'y mettre en sûreté. On peut compter sur l'infailibilité de cette mesure. On peut être certain en outre que le Duc d'Orléans ne tardera pas à s'associer pleinement aux vœux de la nation."—LOUIS BLANC, i. 307, 308.

* "Charles X. can never again enter France; he has caused the blood of the people to flow.

"The Republic would expose us to frightful divisions, and embroil us with all Europe.

"The Duke of Orléans is a prince devoted to the cause of the Revolution.

"The Duke of Orléans has never fought against us; he was at Jemappes.

"The Duke of Orléans is a citizen-king.

"The Duke of Orléans carried in fire the

self was absent, but they were received by the Duchess of Orléans, and history may well record the conversation which took place between them.

17. "Sir," said the Duchess, in a voice trembling with emotion, after the purpose of his mission had been explained by M. Scheffer, "how could you undertake such a mission? That M. Thiers should have charged himself with it, I can understand. He little knew us; but you, who have been admitted to our intimacy, who knew us so well—ah! we can never forgive it." Stupefied by a reception they had so little anticipated, the two envoys remained silent, and a pause ensued, during which Madame Adélaïde, the Duke's sister, entered the apartment, followed by Madame de Montjoie. Penetrated with the dangers which surrounded them on all sides, and appreciating with masculine intelligence their extent, she immediately said, "Let them make my brother a president, a commander of the National Guard—anything, so as they do not make him a proscribed." "Madame," rejoined M. Thiers, "it is a throne which we come to offer him." "But what will Europe think?" rejoined the Princess. "Shall he seat himself on the throne from which Louis XVI. descended to mount the scaffold? What a panic will it strike into all royal houses! The peace of the world will be endangered!" "These apprehensions, Madame," replied M. Thiers, "are natural, but they are not well founded. England, full of the recollection of the banished Stuarts, will applaud a *dénouement* of which her history furnished the example and the model. And as to the absolute monarchies, far from reproaching the Duke of Orléans for fixing on his head a crown floating on the storm, they will approve a step which will render his elevation a barrier against the unchained passions of the multitude. There is something great and worth saving in France; and if it is too late for legitimacy, it is not so for a constitutional throne. After all, there remains to the Duke of Orléans only a choice of danger; and, in the existing

state of affairs, to fly the possible dangers of royalty is to face a republic and its inevitable tempests."

18. These energetic words made no impression on the Duchess of Orléans, in whose elevated mind the chivalrous sentiments were paramount to all considerations of ambition or expedience. But Madame Adélaïde, vividly impressed with her brother's danger, was more accessible to them. "A child of Paris," she exclaimed, "I will intrust myself to the Parisians!" It was agreed to send for the Duke, who had fled to Raincy; and he soon after set out, preceded by M. de Montesquiou, for the capital. Before they reached it, however, the Duke turned about and again returned to Raincy as fast as his horses could carry him. Irresolute and timid, he had neither courage enough to seize the crown which was offered to him, nor virtue sufficient to refuse it. His life, for many years, had been passed in meditating on the crisis which had now arrived, and when it came he proved unequal to it. Temporisation was his entire policy—to escape danger, by flying from it, his great object. His system was, never to appear to court popularity, but to preserve such a demeanour as might compel others to seek him, not bring him forward as seeking them. He would gladly have declined the crown, if he had been sure of retaining his estates. The most powerful argument for accepting it was, that only by doing so could he save his property. The decisive moment did not appear to him to have yet arrived, and his old irresolution continued.

19. Meanwhile everything had been prepared at Paris by his partisans for the expected arrival of the Duke, and M. Lafitte had already spread the report that all was ready for his installation; that he was the man of the age, and could alone prevent the return of despotism, and put a bridle on the passions of democracy. A meeting of the deputies took place at the Hôtel Bourbon, at which he was chosen president by acclamation. M. Hyde de Neuville was alone seen on the benches reserved for the Royalists,—

so completely had terror mastered all minds, and banished the most resolute courage. The Peers, on their side, met in the Luxembourg, and their benches exhibited a fuller attendance. While the deputies were still assembled, news arrived that fifteen hundred troops from Rouen were marching on Paris, and had already reached the heights of Montmartre, which they had occupied with several pieces of cannon. Terror immediately seized every breast; and at this very moment M. de Sussy entered, bearing in his hand the last ordinances of Charles X., which recalled the former one that had excited so much animosity, and dismissed the Polignac Ministry. The alarm of M. Lafitte was evident. If read, they would have been hailed with acclamation, and at once destroyed the hopes of the Orléanists. Anxiety and irresolution were general, when the deputies sent to Neuilly returned with the account of their gracious reception by the Princess. They then drew up the following resolution, which with some difficulty was adopted and sent off to the Duke: "The deputies at present at Paris conceive that it is essential to pray his Royal Highness the Duke of Orléans to come immediately to Paris, to exercise the functions of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and to express the universal wish that the tricolor flag should be resumed. They feel also the necessity of assuring France, without delay, in the approaching session of the Chambers, of the adoption of such measures as may afford the guarantees essential for the full and entire execution of the Charter."

20. Meanwhile, at the Luxembourg, more elevated sentiments were uttered by the few peers who in that crisis were worthy of their dignity. Chateaubriand arrived there surrounded by an enthusiastic crowd, and carried aloft by ardent youths, who expected to see in the intrepid defender of the freedom of the press the vehement assailant of the monarchy. They little knew the constancy and fidelity of his character. Seated apart from his colleagues, silent and contemplative, he seemed a

prey to the melancholy thoughts which oppressed him. Suddenly he rose up, and said, in an animated voice, "Let us protest in favour of the ancient monarchy. If needs be, let us leave Paris; but wherever we may be driven, let us save the King, and surrender ourselves to the trust of a courageous fidelity. Let us reflect on the liberty of the press. If the question comes to be the salvation of legitimacy, give me a pen and two months; I will restore the throne." Vain illusion! In a few minutes the deputies of the bourgeois entered and demanded the lieutenant-general—in other words, the crown—for Louis Philippe, and scarce any voices were raised among the peers of France in behalf of their ancient monarchs! In a corrupted age, decay first appears in the most elevated stations: if fidelity is to be looked for, it is among those who have not been exposed to their temptations.

21. But while the peers and deputies were in this manner disposing of the supreme government of France, a formidable opposition was arising among the Republicans, and the chances of success were almost equally balanced on both sides. A meeting of ardent Jacobins sat in permanence at the Restaurateur Lointier's in the Rue St Honoré, and they were prepared to adopt the most audacious resolutions. Knowledge, fortune, reputation, resources, all were wanting to them, but that was the very thing which constituted their strength. They had arms in their hands and courage in their hearts: prepared for death, they were not less so for command. In vain Béranger and the Orléans agents strove to win them over to their side. They steadily resisted the seduction, and a ferocious debate ensued, in the course of which a pistol was discharged at an Orléanist orator, which wounded him in the cheek. At length the following address was agreed to, and sent by a deputation to the provisional government at the Hôtel de Ville: "The people yesterday have reconquered their rights at the price of their blood. The most precious of these rights is that of choosing their

form of government. It is necessary to take care that no proclamation should be issued which designs the form even of the government which may be chosen. A provisional representation of the nation exists; let it continue till the wishes of the majority of Frenchmen are known."

22. The deputies, after making their way through the crowd which filled the Place de Grève, were admitted to General Lafayette. The veteran general, who was himself undecided what course to pursue, received them with a long and studied harangue, in which he spoke, with the garrulous vanity of an old man, of America, the National Guard of 1789, and the part he had borne in the first Revolution. He was still descanting on his former services to the cause of freedom, when M. de Sussy was introduced with the new ordinances of Charles X., which had been refused admittance at the Chamber of Deputies. No sooner was their import disclosed by the veteran general, than a cry arose, "We are betrayed! What! new ministers named by Charles X.! No, no; we are done with the Bourbons." Such was their fury, that one of the Republicans, M. Bastide, flew at M. de Sussy, and tried to throw him out of the window. "What are you doing?" cried M. Trélat, holding him back—"a negotiator!" Trembling for the consequences, M. de Lafayette invited M. de Sussy to withdraw and go to the Municipal Council in the same edifice, which he accordingly did. A frightful tumult arose as he withdrew, and the last words which reached his ears were, "Carry back your ordinances: we are done with Charles X." A proclamation was soon after read, amidst general applause, which had been proposed at the Municipal Council, and expressed in clear terms the wishes of the extreme Republican party.*

* "France is free: it will have a constitution. It awards to the provisional government only the right of consulting it. In the mean time, until its will is expressed, the following principles must be recognised:—

"No more royalty.

"Government exercised solely by the representatives of the nation.

23. But while these measures were adopted by the most violent of their partisans, M. de Lafayette was still a prey to anxiety and indecision, and he addressed a letter to M. de Mortemart, the courtesy and diplomatic ambiguity of which strangely contrasted with the precision and courage of the Republican Address.* Meanwhile, the alarm having spread among the Republicans, deputations rapidly succeeded each other at the Hôtel de Ville, whose vehemence and audacity differed widely from the irresolution of the chief. Among the rest there arrived one from the scholars of the Ecole Polytechnique, who had distinguished themselves so much during the insurrection; and at their instigation a proclamation was prepared, to be addressed to a regiment stationed at La Fère. M. Mauquin began to write it, when he was interrupted by M. Odillon Barrot, who said, "Let them do it; they understand it better than you." When the proclamation was written, it was presented to General Lobau to sign, but

"The executive government confided to a temporary president.

"The concourse, mediate or immediate, of all the citizens in the election of deputies.

"The liberty of worship: no national religion.

"The forces by sea and land secured against arbitrary dismissal.

"The establishment of national guards over all France, and the preservation of the constitution intrusted to their arms.

"The principles for which we have shed our blood we are willing, if necessary, to support by legal insurrection."—LOUIS BLANC, vol. i. p. 322.

* "I have received the letter which you did me the honour to send me, with all the sentiments which your personal character has long inspired. M. de Sussy will give you an account of the visit which he has paid to me. I have fulfilled your intention in reading what you addressed to me to the persons by whom I was surrounded. I asked M. de Sussy to withdraw to the Municipal Council, then thinly attended, which was sitting in the Hôtel de Ville. He has seen M. Lafitte, who was there with several of his colleagues, and I will give to General Gérard the papers which you have intrusted to me, but the duties which retain me here render it impossible for me to wait on you. If you come to the Hôtel de Ville, I will have the honour of receiving you, but without advantage as to the object of this conversation, since your communications have been made to my colleagues."—LAFAYETTE to M. DE MORTEMART; LOUIS BLANC, vol. i. p. 323.

he refused. "He will sign nothing," said M. Mauguin; "he has just refused to sign an order for the seizure of a depot of powder." "He recoils, then!" exclaimed one of the deputies. "Nothing is so dangerous in revolution as those who recoil; I will have him shot." "Shot!" said M. Mauguin—"shoot a member of the provisional government!" "Sir," said the young man, leading him to the window, and pointing to a hundred men who had fought the preceding day at the Caserne de Babylone, "there are men who, if ordered by me to shoot God Almighty, would do it!" M. Mauguin signed the proclamation in silence.

24. While the scales of fortune thus hung equally poised at the Hôtel de Ville, the able men who directed the affairs of the Orleanists, at Lafitte's, were improving the time to the uttermost in furthering the interests of their chief. Two young men, MM. Ladvoeat and Dumoulin, thought at first of proclaiming the Empire; but Thiers and Mignet persuaded the first to desist from the attempt, and the latter, having gone in uniform to the great hall in the Hôtel de Ville, was invited to walk for consultation into an adjoining apartment, where he was disarmed and made prisoner. The great name of Napoléon—that name which had so lately resounded through the world, and was still worshipped in secret by so many hearts—was scarcely heard in those eventful days, when the crown he had worn seemed offered as the prize of the first audacious enterprise. Singular revolution in the wheel of fortune, to have occurred in so short a time, and rendered still more remarkable by what took place in after days, on a similar scramble for the crown in the same city!

25. But while so many circumstances conspired to facilitate the ascent of the throne by the Duke of Orléans, it was all but lost by his own timidity and irresolution. Anxiously expected at the Hôtel Lafitte, where the crown was to be tendered to him, he did not make his appearance. Hour after hour elapsed after that at which the deputies had promised his

arrival, and still he was not visible. Anxiety first, then alarm, was painted on every visage. Had he declined the crown? Did he want courage to seize it? These questions were present to every mind; and as evening approached, and he still did not arrive, they began to be cautiously whispered in Lafitte's crowded ante-chamber. Messengers were sent to the Palais Royal, to inquire if any tidings had been received of his royal highness. They returned with intelligence that nothing was known, that he had not been heard of, and that a few domestics, in evident alarm, alone occupied the sumptuous residence. It was soon whispered that they were removing the most valuable effects from the Palais Royal, and that Béranger had been very ill received by the assembly at Lointier's. The word REPUBLIC was heard in the saloons of the great banker. Instantly a universal panic took place. Every one found some pretext for leaving the hotel. In a few minutes the rooms were empty; it was the counterpart of the desertion of Napoleon at Fontainebleau. By eleven o'clock no one remained with Lafitte but M. Adolphe Thibaudeau and M. Benjamin Constant. When they were about to separate, the Duke de Broglie entered, followed by M. Maurice Duval, but still they could give no intelligence of the Duke. "What will become of us to-morrow?" said Lafitte. "We shall be hanged," replied Benjamin Constant, with the look and accent of despair.

26. This alternative, which at that juncture was more than probable, however, was prevented by what soon after occurred. At one in the morning, Colonel Heymès came and announced the arrival of the Duke of Orléans at Paris. In effect he had set out at eleven at night, on foot, from Neuilly, disguised in a bourgeois dress, accompanied only by three persons similarly equipped. Worn out with anxiety and fatigue, he passed the barrier a little after midnight, and traversed the streets, amidst the cries of the Republicans, to which he was obliged to respond in order to make his way

through the throng. M. de Mortemart was introduced soon after his arrival. He found the Prince stretched on a mattress in one of the apartments of the Palais Royal, bathed in sweat, undressed, and covered only with an old coverlid. He began immediately to protest, with the utmost volubility, his strong attachment and unalienable fidelity to the elder branch of his family. While he was still doing so, cries of "Vive le Duc d'Orléans!" were heard in the streets. "You hear that?" said M. de Mortemart; "it is you that they design." "No, no," replied the Duke, with energy; "*I would die rather than accept the crown!*" Yesterday evening a crowd invaded Neuilly, and asked to see me in the name of the deputies. On being informed by the Duchess that I was abroad, they declared that they would take her to Paris with all her children, and keep them there prisoners till the Duke of Orléans made his appearance. The Duchess, terrified at her position, and trembling for her children, wrote me an urgent note to return as soon as possible. That letter was brought me by a faithful servant. Upon receiving it, I no longer hesitated to return to save my family, and they brought me here far on in the evening." And seizing a pen, he wrote a letter, full of protestations of fidelity, to Charles X., which M. de Mortemart enclosed in his neckcloth, and sent off. It was that letter which inspired such cruel confidence in the falling monarch, and caused him to repose with fatal security on the fidelity of his insidious and vacillating kinsman. While this was passing at Paris, in the palace of the Duke of Orléans, Charles X., the Duchess de Berri, and the royal infants were on their way, at midnight, from St Cloud to Trianon, bathed in tears, and under the escort of a slender detachment of the body-guard.

27. At eight on the following morning, M. Sébastiani, with a deputation, arrived at the Palais Royal. They entered the Duke's apartment, contrary to all custom, without being announced, and stated the object of their visit, which was to pray the

Duke to accept the lieutenancy-general of the kingdom. The moment was solemn; a crown or a scaffold were the alternatives which were presented. A stronger mind than that of the Duke of Orléans might have quailed under the responsibility of decision under such circumstances; and his indecision was increased by the knowledge that Charles X., at the head of twelve thousand men, was only a few leagues from Paris, and by intelligence of the efforts which the loyal spirit of the Duchess had made to retain him in the path of honour and duty. His embarrassment was visible on his countenance, scarcely disguised by a forced smile on his lips. For some time his indecision continued; he still strove to await the course of events, and to gain time for them to declare themselves: the usual resource of feeble minds in presence of danger. Seeing him thus irresolute, and divining, perhaps, through all these studied evasions, his secret wishes, the deputies assumed higher language, and pointed out the dangers which threatened the country and himself if a decision was any longer delayed. The Duke prayed for a few minutes longer, and retired to his cabinet, followed by General Sébastiani, who was immediately despatched to M. de Talleyrand's in the Rue Saint Florentin. Sébastiani found the "knocker-down and setter-up of kings" dressing, and soon returned with a sealed letter, in which were written the words "Qu'il accepte." The Duke hesitated no longer, but re-entered the large saloon, and announced his acceptance of the lieutenancy-general, which was immediately announced in a skilful proclamation to the inhabitants of the capital.*

* "Inhabitants of Paris!—The Deputies of France, at this moment assembled at Paris, have expressed a wish that I should repair to that capital to exercise the functions of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. I have not hesitated to share your danger, to place myself in the midst of that heroic population, and to make every effort to preserve you from civil war and anarchy. On entering the city of Paris, I bore with pride those glorious colours which you have resumed, and which I myself have long borne. The Chambers are about to assemble; they will consider the

28. The address was received with loud acclamations by the Chamber; but it was felt to be indispensable to publish an exposition of the principles on which the government was to be conducted, and the form which it was to assume. The duty of framing it was intrusted to the skilful hands of M. Guizot, and it was signed by ninety-one deputies. In it are to be found the leading principles of constitutional government, indeed, but enveloped in generalities very different from the clearness and precision of the Republicans at the Hôtel de Ville, and on that account more likely to occasion heats and animosity in the capital. Nothing was to be found in it of a lowering of the qualification of electors, of a republic, or of universal suffrage, but much of the development of institutions and progressive improvement, which they well knew in reality meant nothing.* Accordingly, the address was extremely ill received at the Hôtel de Ville, and in all the crowded parts of the city; and one of the agents who was distributing it in the Rue Jean Jacques Rousseau, owed his life only to the intervention of an armed body of the Ecole Polytechnique. "Where was the Duke of Orléans when we were fighting in the streets? When did he

means of assuring the reign of the laws, and the maintenance of the rights of the nation. A charter shall henceforth be a reality.

"LOUIS PHILIPPE D'ORLÉANS."

—*Moniteur*, Aug. 1, 1830.

* "Français, la France est libre. Le pouvoir absolu levait son drapeau. L'héroïque population de Paris l'a abattu. Paris attaqué a fait triompher, par les armes, la cause sacrée qui venait de triompher en vain dans les élections. Un pouvoir usurpateur de nos droits, perturbateur de notre repos, menaçait, à la fois, la liberté et l'ordre. Nous rentrons en possession de l'ordre et de la liberté. Plus de crainte pour les droits acquis, plus de barrière entre nous et les droits qui nous manquent encore!

"Un gouvernement qui, sans délai, nous garantisse ces biens, est aujourd'hui le premier besoin de la Patrie. Français! Ceux de vos députés qui se trouvent déjà à Paris, se sont réunis, et, en attendant l'intervention régulière des Chambres, ils ont invité un Français qui n'a jamais combattu que pour la France, M. le Duc d'Orléans, à exercer les fonctions de Lieutenant-Général du royaume. C'est à leurs yeux le moyen d'accomplir promptement, par la paix, le succès de la plus légitime des forces.

"Le Duc d'Orléans est dévoué à la cause

enter Paris? On the 30th, when the victory was gained, and it remained only to bury the dead! A friend of the court, his place was beside the King—a supporter of the people, why was he not at our head in the Hôtel de Ville, in the Marché des Innocents, at the Porte St Denis, at the façade of the Louvre? What guarantee does his address or that of the Chambers hold out? None but a few vague phrases which in reality mean nothing, and are consistent with the most complete despotism that ever disgraced humanity." Words such as these were in every mouth among the working classes of the citizens, and it was evident to all that, if a government was not immediately established, the chances were that a republic could no longer be averted.

29. These considerations led the Orléanists to accelerate the visit of the Prince to the Hôtel de Ville, where he would meet his most formidable antagonists face to face, and an end might be put to the state of uncertainty which prevailed concerning the government. Already they had been preparing for his reception there; night and day Lafayette was besieged with representations from the Duke's partisans, that

nationale et constitutionnelle. Il en a toujours défendu les intérêts et professé les principes. Il respectera nos droits; car il tiendra de nous les siens. Nous nous assurerons, par des lois, toutes les garanties nécessaires pour rendre la liberté forte et durable.

"Le rétablissement de la Garde Nationale, avec l'intervention des Gardes Nationaux dans le choix des officiers.

"L'intervention des citoyens dans la formation des administrations municipale et départementale.

"Le Jury pour les délits de la presse.

"La responsabilité légalement organisée des ministres, et des agents secondaires de l'administration.

"L'état des militaires légalement assuré.

"La réélection des députés promus à des fonctions publiques.

"Nous donnerons à nos institutions, de concert avec le chef de l'état, les développements dont elles ont besoin.

"Français! Le Duc d'Orléans lui-même a parlé, et son langage est celui qui convient à un pays libre. Les Chambres vont se réunir pour les détails. Elles aviseront aux moyens d'assurer le règne des lois et le maintien des droits de la nation. La charte sera désormais une vérité."—*Moniteur*, Aug. 1, 1830; *Ann. Hist.* 1830, p. 174.

the recognition of him as sovereign was the only possible way of avoiding the dangers which threatened the country. He was still a prey to indecision, when it was announced that the Duke of Orléans, with such of the Chamber as had signed the address to him, was coming to visit him in the Hôtel de Ville. The deputies, in coming to the Palais Royal, had been so ill received by the crowds which filled the streets that they trembled for their lives. The procession set out amidst loud acclamations, however, from the Palais Royal;—the Duke on horseback; M. Lafitte, who had been hurt on the leg, carried by Savoyards in a litter. The acclamations continued as they passed the Carrousel, but they sensibly lessened as they went along the quays; and when they approached the Place de Grève, appearances were quite threatening. An immense crowd filled the square, the grave and menacing aspect of which augured ill to the new reign which was about to commence. Everything was prepared to give him a hostile reception by the Republicans who crowded the Place, and assassins were even ready with loaded firearms to kill him on the spot. Hardly were Benjamin Constant and Béranger able to restrain them. Nor were these sentiments shared only by the humbler classes. "He is a Bourbon!" cried General Lobau; "I am not for him more than the rest." The crowd was anxious and agitated, and the swell and fall were visible among them which betoken an approaching storm.

30. At length the Duke approached, grave and anxious, but without any visible perturbation. When he alighted from his horse and ascended the steps of the Hôtel de Ville, a loud rolling of drums was heard in the interior of the building, and Lafayette came to the top of the stair to receive him. The Duke of Orléans was deadly pale. Lafayette advanced to him with the studied politeness of the old school. The ceremony commenced with the reading the declaration of the Chambers. When they came to the words, "Jury trial for the offences of the press," the Duke leant forward to La-

fitte and said, loud enough to be overheard, "There will be no longer any offences of the press." When the reading was finished, the Duke rose up, and said with a loud voice, "As a Frenchman, I deplore the evils inflicted on the country; as a prince, I am happy to contribute to the happiness of the nation." The deputies loudly applauded these words; the Republicans gnashed their teeth with indignation. General Dubourg then advanced, and, pointing to the square filled with armed men, said, "You know our rights; should you forget them, we will remind you of them." General Lafayette then led the Prince out on the balcony of the window, and, as the tricolor flag waved over their heads, embraced the Prince in the presence of the people. Loud applause followed the dramatic scene. "Vive Lafayette! Vive le Duc d'Orléans!" was heard on all sides. "The part of the people," says the Republican historian, "was played out; the reign of the bourgeois commenced."

31. After the Duke had retired, a programme was written out, which contained, as it were, the "social contract" between the King and people. It was then the famous expression was used, "What France requires *is a throne surrounded with republican institutions.*" M. Lafayette brought it to the Palais Royal for the Duke's signature, but, with the trust of a man of honour, he was satisfied with the Duke's words, and did not require his subscription. Lafayette was afterwards warmly reproached for his negligence on this occasion; but he partook the illusion, at that period common among all the philosophic Liberals, as to the possibility of uniting the reality of a republic with the forms of a monarchy. "Good God! is it then true," said the old Abbé Grégoire, "we are thus to have both a Republic and a King!"

32. The reign of the Bourgeoisie was now constituted; but there remained the difficult task of reconciling the people to any government in which a Bourbon bore a part. To obviate the unfavourable impression thus produced, the Orléans committee prepared and placarded over all Paris a

proclamation—not a little surprising, considering that M. Mignet and M. Thiers were members of it—“*Le Duc d'Orléans n'est pas un Bourbon ; c'est un Valois.*” A memorable assertion to be made by historians of a lineal descendant of Henry IV., and of the brother of Louis XIV. ! At the same time, the utmost pains were taken to discredit the Republicans in every possible way, and represent their ascendancy as the immediate precursor of pillage, violence, and a second reign of blood. These efforts were eminently successful; the recollection of the former revolution was too recent not to speak powerfully to every rational mind. M. Thiers, M. Guizot, M. Mignet, and the other able writers who at that period directed the Liberal press, did their utmost to encourage these views; and as they coincided with the ideas of the great majority of the citizens, and of nearly all possessed of property, the Republicans were soon reduced to a fraction of society, viewed as a whole, though they had a decided majority in Paris, but guided by the most ardent and intrepid men. To win over these leaders was the great object, and to bring it about a meeting was arranged between them and the Duke of Orléans.

33. “To-morrow,” said M. Boinvilliers, the spokesman on the occasion—“to-morrow you will be King.” At these words the Duke shook his head and said, “I have never aspired to the crown, though many persons have pressed me with ardour to accept it.” “But,” resumed M. Boinvilliers, “if you should become King, what are your ideas upon the treaties of 1815? Observe, it is not a *liberal* revolution, it is a *national* one, which has taken place in the streets. It is the sight of the tricolor flag which has raised the people, and it would be more easy to drive Paris to the Rhine than St Cloud.” “I am no partisan of the treaties of 1815, but we must avoid irritating foreign powers.” “What is your opinion on the peerage? It has no longer any roots in society; the new law, by dividing properties, has stifled it in its cradle, and the aristocracy has

lived out its day.” “In hereditary aristocracy,” replied the Duke, “is the best basis of society; but it is an open question; and if the hereditary peerage cannot maintain itself, I am not the man who will endow it. I was once a Republican, but I have lived to be convinced it is inapplicable to such a country as France.” “In the interest of the crown,” interrupted M. Bastide, “you should convoke the primary assemblies.” To this the Duke made no other answer, but pointed to paintings of the battles of Valmy and Jemappes, at which he had assisted. He then condemned in violent terms the proceedings of the Convention. “You forget,” said Cavaignac, “that my father was a member of the Convention.” “And mine also!” cried the Duke; “and I never knew a more respectable man.” Finding they could make nothing of him, the Republicans retired. “You will return to-morrow?” said the Duke, in a flattering voice. “Never,” replied one of their number. “Never!—that is a word which should never be uttered,” said the Duke; and they parted. “He is nothing but one of the two hundred and twenty-one,” said M. Bastide, as they regained the street.

34. While the Chamber of Deputies was thus substantially disposing of the crown, by conferring on the Duke of Orléans the Lieutenantcy-General of the kingdom, the Chamber of Peers was also assembled; and the concluding days of the monarchy were illustrated by one of those dignified scenes, that heroic sentiment, which, like the last rays of the sun, sometimes illuminate, ere it sets in darkness, the declining day. “A King,” said Chateaubriand, in the House of Peers, “named by the Chambers or elected by the people, will ever be, whatever pains may be taken to disguise it, a novelty in France. I suppose that they wish liberty—above all, the liberty of the press, by which, and for which, they have gained so astonishing a victory. Well, every *new* monarchy, sooner or later, will be obliged to gag that liberty. Was Napoleon himself able to admit it? Daughter

of our misfortunes and slave of our glory, the liberty of the press cannot live in safety but under a government which has struck its roots deep into the hearts of men. Will a monarchy, the bastard child of a bloody night, have nothing to fear from the independence of opinion? If one party preaches up a republic, the other a more modified system, will you not be speedily driven to have recourse to laws of exception, against which no charter can afford any guarantee? What, then, friends of regulated liberty, will you gain by the change which is proposed? Of necessity you will fall into a republic, or a system of legal servitude. The monarchy will be inundated and carried away by the torrent of democratic laws, or the monarch by the movement of faction. In the first moment of success, you imagine that all is easy—that you can satisfy all exigencies, all humours—that every one will put aside his separate interests for the general good—that the superiority of intelligence, and the wisdom of government, will surmount all difficulties; but before a few months have elapsed, experience will demonstrate the futility of such expectations.

35. "A republic is still more impracticable. In the existing state of our morals, and in our relations with the adjoining states, such a government is out of the question. The first difficulty would be to bring the French to any unanimous opinion on the subject. What right have the people of Paris to impose a government by their vote on the people of Marseilles? What right have they to constrain any other town to receive the rulers whom they have chosen, or the form of government which they have adopted? Shall we have one republic or twenty republics?—a federal union, or a commonwealth, one and indivisible? Do you really suppose that, with your manners and ideas, any president, let him be as grave or authoritative as can be figured, will be able, for any length of time, to maintain his authority, except by force? Must he not soon be reduced to the necessity of making himself a despot or resigning? He

will neither inspire the confidence which is necessary to the security and the prosperity of commerce, nor possess the power requisite for the maintenance of domestic tranquillity, nor the dignity essential in intercourse with foreign states. If he has recourse to coercive measures, the republic will soon be odious at home; if he gives it full licence abroad, it will become the object of terror, and bring Europe to our gates. A representative republic may perhaps be the destined future of the world, but its time has not yet arrived.

36. "Iniquitous ministers have sullied the Crown: they have supported the violation of the law by murder; they have made a laughing-stock of oaths, and of all that is sacred upon earth. Strangers! you who have twice entered Paris, learn the secret of your success. You presented yourselves in the name of legal power. If you now hastened to the support of illegal usurpation, do you suppose that the gates of the capital of the civilised world would so speedily be opened to you? The French nation has grown major since the departure of your armies, under the reign of constitutional laws: our children of fourteen are giants to what they were; our conscripts of Algiers, our scholars of Paris, have revealed to us the sons of the conquerors of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena, but the sons fortified by all that liberty adds to glory. Never was cause more sacred than that of the people of Paris. They have risen, not against the law, but for the law. So long as their rights were respected, they remained quiet; neither insults, provocations, menaces, nor bribes, have been able to shake their loyalty. But when, after having kept up the system of deceit to the last moment, the signal of slavery was suddenly sounded, they became prodigal of their blood. When a terror of the palaces, organised by eunuchs, pretended to replace the terror of the Republic founded in blood, or the terror of the Empire radiant with glory, then the people stood forth armed with their intelligence and their courage; then

they showed that the shopkeepers were not afraid of the smell of powder, and that it required more than a corporal and a few soldiers to subdue them. A great crime has been committed; it has produced a mighty explosion: but what we have now to consider is, whether we are constrained by this crime and its moral expiation to violate the established order of things.

37. "Charles X. and his son are dethroned, or have abdicated, as you have heard; but the throne is not thereby vacant. After them a child is called to the succession, and who will venture to condemn his innocence? What blood cries for justice? No one ventures to say *his* father has shed it. Alas! it was shed by an assassin, in the name, though against the wishes, of the people. The orphan he has left, educated in the schools of the country, in the ideas of the constitution, and abreast of his age, might become a king with all the requirements of the future. It is to the guardian of his youth that you may commit the oath by which he is to reign: arrived at majority, he will renew that oath in his own person. That combination removes every obstacle, reconciles every advantage, and perhaps may save France from the convulsions which attend too frequently violent changes in the state. I know that in removing that child it is said you establish the principle of the sovereignty of the people: the new sovereign or president can hold only of the people. Vain illusion, the offspring of the old school, which proves that in the march of intellect our old democrats have not made greater advances than the partisans of royalty. Absolute government is nowhere to be found: liberty does not flow from political right, as was supposed in the eighteenth century; it flows from natural right, which is the same under all forms of government. It were easy to show that men may be as free, and freer, under a monarchy than a republic, were this the time or the place to deliver a lecture on political philosophy.

38. "All Europe has for ages re-

cognised the superiority of a hereditary to an elective monarchy. The reason is obvious; it stands in need of no development. You choose a king to-day; who is to prevent you from choosing another to-morrow? The law will do so. You have made the law; you can unmake it. You have conquered and dethroned the Bourbons, and you will maintain what you have gained. It is well. You proclaim the sovereignty of force: be sure you keep it well; for if in a few months it escapes you, you will have no title to complain of your own overthrow. At the moment when the abominable abuse of power has broken the sceptre in the hand of him who wielded it, are you prepared to seize the fragments and do the same with them? Dangerous fragments! they will wound the arm which has seized them even before those against whom they are directed. The idolatry of a name is ended. Monarchy is no longer a worship; it is a simple form of government, preferable at this crisis to any other, because it can alone reconcile order with liberty.

39. "A disregarded Cassandra, I have fatigued the throne and the peerage enough with my prophecies; it remains for me only to seat myself on the ruins of a shipwreck which I have so often predicted. I recognise in misfortune every power except that of liberating us from our oaths of fidelity. I am bound to render my life consistent. After all I have said, done, and written for the Bourbons, I should be the basest of the human race if I denied them when, for the *third and last time*, they are directing their steps towards exile. I leave fear to those generous Royalists who have never sacrificed a penny or a place to their fidelity, who formerly reproached me with being a renegade, an apostate, a revolutionist. Instigators of the *coup d'état*, where are you now? The noble colours which decorated your bosoms could not conceal their baseness. In speaking thus openly, I am not doing an act of heroism; these are not the times when an opinion costs a life; if it were so, I should speak a hundred

times more openly. We have no reason to fear a people whose moderation is equal to their courage, or that generous youth whom I admire, and for whom, as for my country, I wish honour, liberty, and glory. Far be it from me to wish to sow divisions in my country; it is for that that I have stilled in my speech the voice of the passions. If I had the right to dispose of the crown, I would willingly place it at the feet of the Duke of Orléans; but I see vacant only a tomb at St Denis, and not a throne. Whatever may be the destinies of the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, I shall never be his enemy, if he contributes to the happiness of the country; for myself I ask only liberty of conscience, and the right to die where I shall find independence and repose."

40. This noble conduct was too elevated for the French nobility of the nineteenth century, or perhaps for any but a few lofty minds in any age. A few peers adhered to M. de Chateaubriand, but the great majority went with the tide, and the Chamber, by a majority of 89 to 10, voted the address to the Duke of Orléans to accept the throne. All had not the magnanimity of that chivalrous relic of the olden time, and his disinterestedness will not be duly appreciated unless it is known what, at the very moment when he made this declaration, he had been refusing. The Duke of Orléans, who was extremely apprehensive of the effect likely to be produced by the indignant speech of the poetic orator, had recently before sent for him, and offered him the situation of minister of foreign affairs if he would send in his adhesion to his government. The request was supported by the tears of the Duchess of Orléans and the masculine eloquence of Madame Adélaïde—but in vain. Chateaubriand resisted alike their offers and their solicitations: he preferred rather poverty, exile, and honour. He resigned all his situations under Government, sold off his whole effects, and withdrew from France with 700 francs (£28), the sole residue of all his for-

tune.* "*Semper bonæ mentis soror est paupertas.*"

41. At length this well-acted dramatic scene, on the part of the Duke of Orléans, drew to a close. The Republicans made immense efforts for

* Chateaubriand has left, in his *Mémoires d'Outre Tombe*, an extremely interesting account of his conversation with the Duchess of Orléans, the Princess Adélaïde, and Louis Philippe, on this decisive occasion: "Madame la Duchesse d'Orléans me fit asseoir auprès d'elle, et sur-le-champ elle me dit, — 'Ah! Monsieur de Chateaubriand, nous sommes bien malheureux. Si tous les partis voulaient se réunir, peut-être pourrait-on encore se sauver. Que pensez-vous de tout cela?' 'Madame,' répondis-je, 'rien n'est si aisé. Charles X. et Monsieur le Dauphin ont abdiqué. Henri est maintenant roi. Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans est Lieutenant-Général du royaume. Qu'il soit régent pendant la minorité de Henri V., et tout est fini.' 'Mais, M. de Chateaubriand, le peuple est très-agité; nous tomberons dans l'anarchie.' 'Madame, oserai-je vous demander quelle est l'intention de M. le Duc d'Orléans?' Acceptera-t-il la couronne si on la lui offre?' Les deux princesses hésitèrent à répondre; Madame la Duchesse d'Orléans répartit après un moment de silence, — 'Songez, M. de Chateaubriand, aux malheurs que peuvent arriver. Il faut que tous les honnêtes gens s'entendent pour nous sauver de la République. A Rome, M. de Chateaubriand, vous pourriez rendre de si grands services, ou même ici, si vous ne voulez plus quitter la France.' 'Madame n'ignore pas mon dévouement au jeune roi, et à sa mère?' 'Ah! M. de Chateaubriand, ils vous ont si bien traité.' 'Votre Altesse Royale ne voudrait pas que je démentisse toute ma vie.' 'Monsieur de Chateaubriand, vous ne connaissez pas ma nièce. Elle est si légère — Pauvre Caroline! Je vais envoyer chercher M. le Duc d'Orléans, il vous persuadera mieux que moi.' La princesse donna des ordres, et Louis Philippe arriva au bout d'un demi-quart d'heure. Il était mal vêtu, et avait l'air extrêmement fatigué. . . . 'Madame la Duchesse d'Orléans a dû vous dire combien nous sommes malheureux.' Et sur-le-champ il fit une idylle sur le bonheur dont il jouissait à la campagne, sur la vie tranquille et selon ses goûts qu'il passait au milieu de ses enfants. Je saisis le moment d'une pause entre deux strophes pour prendre à mon tour respectueusement la parole, et pour répéter à peu près ce que j'avais dit aux princesses. 'Ah! s'écria-t-il, 'c'était-là mon désir! Combien je serais satisfait d'être le tuteur et le soutien de cet enfant! Je pense tout comme vous, M. de Chateaubriand; prendre le Duc de Bordeaux serait certainement ce qu'il y aurait de mieux à faire. Je crains seulement que les événements ne soient plus forts que nous.' 'Plus forts que nous, Monseigneur! N'êtes-vous pas estimé de tous les pouvoirs? Allons rejoindre Henri V. Appelez auprès de

some days, after the display at the Hôtel de Ville on the 31st August, to get up a democratic agitation, and bands of young men, with whom the police and military did not venture to interfere, paraded the streets, incessantly calling on the people to assert their rights, and not suffer the crown to be disposed of by a clique at Lafitte's, without their knowledge or consent. The club at Lointier's even went so far as to prepare and placard a proclamation, in which they refused to recognise the Lieutenant-General of the Duke of Orléans, and insisted that the provisional government, with Lafayette at its head, should remain in possession of power at the Hôtel de Ville till the sense of the nation had been taken upon the form of government to which it was inclined. But it was all in vain. Leaders, organisation, money, were all wanting on their side, as much as they were in affluence in the ante-chambers of Louis Philippe; and these in the long run, and after the first burst of popular enthusiasm is over, are all-powerful in civil as well as in all other conflicts. From the 1st to the 6th August, the Chambers were

vous hors de Paris les Chambres et l'armée. Sur le seul bruit de votre départ, toute cette effervescence tombera, et l'on cherchera un abri sous votre pouvoir éclairé et protecteur.' Pendant que je parlais, j'observais Louis Philippe. *Mon conseil le mettait mal à l'aise. Je lus écrit sur son front le désir d'être roi.* 'Monsieur de Chateaubriand,' me dit-il *sans me regarder*, 'la chose est plus difficile que vous ne le pensez; cela ne va pas comme cela. Vous ne savez pas dans quel péril nous sommes. Une bande furieuse peut se porter contre les Chambres aux derniers excès, et nous n'avons rien encore pour nous défendre. . . . Croyez-le bien c'est moi qui retiens seul une foule menaçante. Si le parti royaliste n'est pas massacré, il ne doit sa vie qu'à mes efforts.' 'Monseigneur,' répondis-je, 'j'ai vu des massacres; ceux qui ont passé à travers la Révolution sont aguerris. Les moustaches grises ne se laissent pas effrayer par les objets qui font peur aux conscris.' . . . Madame la Duchesse d'Orléans désira me voir encore une fois. . . . 'Je supplie madame,' dis-je, 'd'excuser la vivacité de mes paroles. Je suis pénétré de ses bontés; j'en garderai un profond et reconnaissant souvenir, mais elle ne voudrait pas me déshonorer. Plaignez-moi, madame, plaignez-moi!' Elle se leva, et, en s'en allant, elle me dit, *'Je ne vous plains pas, Monsieur de Chateaubriand, je ne vous plains pas.'*—CHATEAUBRIAND, *Mémoires d'Outre Tombe*, vol. ix. pp. 352, 362.

occupied with the preparation of the constitution; and on the 9th, a deputation from the two Chambers waited on the Duke of Orléans with the constitution which had been agreed upon, and made him a formal offer of the throne, which he at once accepted.

42. The ceremony of accepting the constitution took place with great pomp in the Chamber of Deputies. "Gentlemen, Peers and Deputies," said the Duke, after the reading of the constitution had terminated, "I have read with great attention the declaration of the Chamber of Deputies and the adhesion of the Peers, and I have weighed and meditated upon all its expressions. I accept, without restriction or reserve, the clauses and engagements which that declaration contains, and the title of KING OF THE FRENCH which it confers upon me, and I am ready to swear to observe them." He then took the oath, which was in these terms: "In the presence of God, I swear to observe faithfully the constitutional charter, with the modifications contained in the declaration; to govern only by the laws, and according to the laws; to render fair and equal justice to every one, according to his right, and to act in everything in no other view but that of the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the French people." He then ascended the throne amidst cries of "Vive le Roi! Vive Philippe VII.!" but he finally took the title of LOUIS PHILIPPE, and the cortège returned in the same pomp with the new King to the Palais Royal. Thus was the Revolution of 1830 consummated, and thus did a small minority, not exceeding a third of either Chamber, at the dictation of a clique in the ante-chambers of the Duke of Orléans, dispose of the crown to a stranger to the legitimate line, without either consulting the nation, or knowing what form of government it desired! In revolutions, as in all other matters, the many are in reality governed by the few, on one side or another; and victory remains with such of the few as can most skilfully arrange the passions and efforts of the many in support of their separate interests.

43. Considering the extreme violence with which, by a well-concerted urban tumult, the throne of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon had been overturned, the changes made in the constitution were by no means so considerable as might have been expected, and they went far to vindicate Louis Philippe's assertion, that his acceptance of the crown was a conservative act in the interest of order in every European state. The leading articles of the charter of Louis XVIII. were agreed to, with the exception of the famous 14th clause, conferring a dictatorial power in certain extreme cases on the King, which had been founded on by Charles X. as the authority for the ordinances of Polignac, and the *coup d'état* which accompanied them. The age of electors was fixed at twenty-five, that of deputies at thirty-one. The creations of peers made during the reign of Charles X. were all declared null; but the important question of the hereditary character of the peerage was reserved for future discussion. The duration of the Chamber of Deputies was fixed at five years, and the annual removal and renewal of a fifth abolished. No change was, in the mean time, made in the money qualification of voters, which remained at 300 francs, or £12, of direct taxes; so little were even the victorious revolutionists aware of the vital importance of any regulation on that subject. They contented themselves with declarations on the responsibility of ministers; the trial of charges for alleged crimes of the press by juries; the re-election of deputies who had accepted office; the annual vote of the expenses of the army; the establishment of a National Guard; the pay of officers by sea or land; the municipal and departmental institutions; the public education and the liberty of instruction. These were all-important objects in the formation of the *details* of a free constitution; but even taken together, they yielded in importance to the vital point of the qualification of electors, an alteration in which, two years afterwards, changed the destinies of the British people.

44. A few peers of the Royalist party, who preferred poverty to dishonour, gave in the resignation of their seats in the House of Peers. Their disinterestedness in doing so will not be duly appreciated, unless it is recollected that many of them, like Chateaubriand, had no other means of existence but the pension allotted to peers, which was 10,000 francs, or £400 a-year. The names were—the Duke de Montmorency, the Vicomte Dambray, the Marquis Latour-Maubourg, Latour-Dupin, the Dukes d'Arvay and de Croi, the Vicomte de Chateaubriand, the Marquis de Pérignon, the Duke de Damas-Caux, Auguste de Talleyrand, and the Marquis de Saint-Romans. History may well preserve their names; her pages will not be overcharged with similar lists of disinterested fidelity. Some honourable Royalists, as the Duke de Noailles, M. de Mortemart, and M. de Martignac, took the oaths without reservation, as the only means, in existing circumstances, of saving the country; a few, as M. de Fitzjames, with the addition of half-a-dozen unmeaning words of qualification. On the other hand, there was not wanting a phalanx of rising talent, partly aristocratic, partly plebeian, which clustered round the throne of Louis Philippe. It was chiefly found among the editors or contributors to newspapers, who had been so instrumental in contributing to his elevation. By an ordinance of 11th August, M. Dupont de l'Eure was made Keeper of the Seals and Minister of Justice; Count Gérard, Secretary at War; Count Molé, Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Count Sébastiani for the Marine; the Duke de Broglie for Public Instruction, and President of the Council (Premier); Baron Louis, Secretary for the Finances; M. Guizot, Secretary for the Interior; M. Lafitte, M. Casimir Périer, M. Dupin aîné, and Baron Bignon, were ministers without any fixed appointments. This list was a great change upon the aristocratic cabinet of Charles X., but still it was not nearly so popular as the democratic retainers of the Duke of Orléans desired; and thence the commencement

of a feeling of jealousy fraught with numberless difficulties to the Government of Louis Philippe, and which in the end proved fatal to his throne.

45. But while everything at Paris, so far as the Government was concerned, was proceeding smoothly, distress, the invariable attendant on social convulsions, was spreading rapidly among the people; and the working classes were taught by bitter experience the eternal truth, that whoever gains by revolutions, they, in the first instance at least, are sure to lose. Before the songs of triumph were silent, or the discharges of musketry had ceased in the streets, a frightful amount of distress had spread among the people. In vain the Government placarded a proclamation through the capital: "Brave workmen! return to your workshops." They did so; but they found no work there. As a natural consequence of successful revolution, capital disappeared, and capitalists, the most timid of created beings, concealed instead of bringing forth their wealth. The consequences were disastrous in the extreme. "All the connections of industry," says the Republican annalist, "were interrupted; every musket-shot during the three days produced a bankruptcy. The Bank of France, though instituted expressly to ward off great crises, diminished its discounts with a cruel prudence, and sentinels watched over the doors of its treasures in a city filled with poor. Every day added to the distress of the people, attested by innumerable facts. The greatest of the printing-offices in the capital employed, when the Revolution broke out, two hundred workmen, who earned each from four to six francs a-day; after the Revolution the premises were entirely closed during eight or ten days, at the end of which only ten or twelve workmen were re-employed. Even after the lapse of six months, not more than twenty or twenty-five were employed by any office, and they earned, not five francs a-day, but twenty-five or thirty sous. Yet was the trade of printing less depressed than others. This may give an idea of the immen-

sity of the disasters which were universally experienced. To give one example among many others which might be cited: In the quarter of Graviilliers, a lodging-house, let to two hundred workmen for 17,000 francs, suddenly fell to 10,000, and ten years afterwards it had only risen to 14,000 francs." When such were the reality of the evils which the working classes endured, it was little consolation to them to be told they were the most brave and heroic of men, and that their praises were celebrated in a new *Marseillaise*, which was sung at all the theatres.

46. So completely, by the results of the first Revolution, had the yoke of Paris been affixed round the neck of all France, that, after the capital had fairly declared itself, all resistance ceased in the provinces. But before the Revolution was known, or the telegraph had announced to the obedient departments who was to be their master, very serious disturbances took place, and the great manufacturing towns exhibited on a smaller scale the conflicts in the streets of Paris. The explosion was electrical and unanimous in all the great cities of France, and, as in the capital, it was mainly determined by the defection of the military. Lyons, in particular, was immediately convulsed upon the receipt of the intelligence from Paris of the publication of the ordonnances. The news arrived there on the 29th July, and instantly all business was suspended, groups were formed in the streets, and crowds assembled, in which resistance, or at least protestation, was openly discussed. No sooner, however, did intelligence arrive of the fighting in the streets of Paris, than an insurrection began under the command of Lieut. Zindel and M. Prévost. Barriades began to be thrown up, and the National Guard turned out; but bloodshed was prevented by the defection of the military, who withdrew to their barracks amidst cries of "*Vive la charte! Vive la liberté! A bas les Bourbons!*" The news from Paris speedily completed the victory of the insurgents, and Lyons received the

Government of Louis Philippe without having fired a shot. It was the same at Bordeaux, Rouen, and Marseilles; and although the western departments were longer in giving in their adhesion, yet ere long they too became convinced that farther resistance was hopeless; and before a fortnight was over the dynasty everywhere was changed, and all France had acknowledged the sceptre of the Citizen King.

47. But although all France had thus confirmed the Parisian change of dynasty, yet it was still a different matter how far Europe would acquiesce in it, and for a considerable time it was more than doubtful whether it would not rekindle the flames of general war. In England, indeed, it could not be doubted how the change would be received. The child of revolution, her Government could not disclaim revolution; passionately enamoured of liberty, her people could never regard with indifference a people who had drawn the sword in defence of freedom. This had uniformly been her policy: she had never intervened in any instance to put down free institutions in any country in the world; happy would it have been for her if she had never intervened on the other side, to lend her countenance and aid to the cause of revolution. The Duke of Wellington had very recently, in the case of Portugal, given proof at once of his determination to shield the allies of England from external aggression, and to abstain from any interference with their internal dissensions. The very first step of Louis Philippe, accordingly, was to despatch General Baudrand on a special mission to the Court of St James, in order to obtain a recognition of his crown by the King of Great Britain. He made the journey in two days, and was enthusiastically received in passing along the road to London. In a private audience of the Duke of Wellington, he was assured by that statesman, "that England had had no share in the administration of Prince Polignac; that the throne of Charles X. had fallen from his own acts; that Great Britain, without waiting the answers of the Powers with

whom England was allied by the treaties of 1815, would at once recognise the King of the French, and would, if necessary, explain the events of Paris to the other Powers of Europe, to whom they might be an object of suspicion and alarm." A few days afterwards, General Baudrand was formally admitted as the envoy of the King of the French by William IV., from whom he received the most gracious reception.

48. But although Louis Philippe was thus early and formally recognised by the nearest neighbour and most powerful ally or enemy of France, yet a more doubtful and difficult task remained to procure a similar recognition from the Continental sovereigns. The great point was to obtain it from the Emperor of Russia, as there could be little doubt that, if that was once effected, the Cabinets of Vienna and Berlin would soon follow the example set by the Court of St Petersburg. The King of the French, accordingly, early despatched a long and very able letter to the Emperor Nicholas, which is a valuable historical document, as containing the most authentic and best statement of the reasons which induced him to accept the crown.* General Athalin was despatched to St

* "Monsieur mon Frère,—J'annonce mon avènement à la couronne à votre Majesté Impériale, par la lettre que le Général Athalin lui apportera en mon nom; mais, j'ai besoin de lui parler avec une entière confiance sur les suites d'une catastrophe que j'aurais tant voulu prévenir. Il y a longtemps que je regrettais que le roi Charles X. et son gouvernement ne suivissent pas une marche mieux faite pour répondre à l'attente et au vœu de la nation. J'étais bien loin pourtant de prévenir les suites prodigieuses des événements qui viennent de se passer; et je croyais même qu'à défaut de cette allure franche et loyale dans l'esprit de la charte et de nos institutions, qu'il était impossible d'obtenir, il aurait suffi d'un peu de prudence et de modération pour que le gouvernement pût aller longtemps comme il allait. Mais depuis le 8 Août 1829, la nouvelle composition du ministère m'avait fort alarmé. . . . C'est dans cette situation, sire, que tous les yeux se sont tournés vers moi; les vainqueurs eux-mêmes m'ont cru nécessaire à leur salut. Je l'étais plus, peut-être, pour que les vainqueurs ne laissassent pas dégénérer la victoire. J'ai donc accepté cette tâche noble et pénible, et j'ai écarté toutes les considérations personnelles qui se réunissent pour me faire désirer d'en être dispensé, parceque j'ai senti que la

Petersburg with it; but before he arrived the way had been prepared by the secret despatches of Pozzo di Borgo from Paris, who gave the most favourable account of the conservative disposition and determined acts of Louis Philippe—the last barrier against the flood of democracy which threatened to deluge Europe. The French envoy accordingly met with a cordial reception at St Petersburg; and though the Emperor avoided any express recognition of the revolutionary principle of the right of the people to change their governors, yet he accepted Louis Philippe as a necessary compromise, and the best thing which, under existing circumstances, could be admitted. His autograph letter left no room for doubt that, as long as the French monarch persevered in a conservative course, he would meet with the support of the Continental sovereigns.*

49. Ere this decisive recognition had taken place at the Court of St Petersburg, General Belliard, who was despatched to Vienna, had met with a more amicable reception than could have been anticipated from the Aus-

moindre hésitation de ma part pourrait compromettre l'avenir de la France, et le repos de tous nos voisins."—LOUIS PHILIPPE à l'Empereur NICHOLAS, Aug. 10, 1830; CAPEFIGUE, vol. ii. pp. 456, 457.

* "J'ai reçu, des mains de Général Athalin, la lettre dont il a été porteur. Des événements à jamais déplorables ont placé votre Majesté dans une cruelle alternative. Elle a pris une détermination qui lui a paru la seule propre à sauver la France des plus grandes calamités, et je ne prononcerai pas sur les considérations qui ont guidé votre Majesté; mais je forme des vœux pour que la Providence divine veuille bénir les intentions et les efforts qu'elle va faire pour le bonheur du peuple Français. De concert avec mes alliés, je me plais à accueillir le désir que votre Majesté a exprimé d'entretenir des relations de paix et d'amitié avec tous les états de l'Europe, tant qu'elles seront basées sur les traités existans, et sur la ferme volonté de respecter les droits et les obligations, ainsi que l'état de possession territoriale qu'ils ont consacrés. L'Europe y trouvera une garantie de la paix si nécessaire au repos de la France elle-même. Appelé, conjointement avec mes alliés, à cultiver avec la France, sous son gouvernement, ces relations conservatrices, j'y apporterai, de ma part, toute la sollicitude qu'elles réclament."—CAPEFIGUE, vol. ii. p. 471.

trian Cabinet. Prince Metternich, who ruled it, was as well aware as any man of the necessity of bending to circumstances, and not insisting for the full carrying out of a principle when a compromise had become alone practicable. He received the French envoy, accordingly, with these words: "The Emperor Francis II., so honourable a man, has already manifested his supreme disdain for the breach of faith on the part of Charles X., and he is prepared to recognise the new Government which France has adopted. What sympathy can Austria feel for that elder branch, which has thrice compromised the peace of Europe by its faults and follies? All that she desires of France is respect for existing treaties, the maintenance of engagements, and especially the suppression of that strange spirit of propagandism which the revolutionary faction may spread over Europe by the hands of M. de Lafayette."

50. It was sufficiently plain, from this ready recognition at the Court of Vienna, which exceeded the most sanguine hopes of the partisans of Louis Philippe, that its Cabinet was no stranger to the secret negotiations which had been going on between the ministers of Charles X. and those of the Emperor Nicholas for the resumption of the frontier of the Rhine by France, in return for its acquiescence in the designs of Russia against Constantinople. The same knowledge extended to the Cabinet of Berlin, whose Rhenish provinces were more immediately threatened by these designs of Chateaubriand and the Polignac Ministry. The recognition of the King of the French by Frederick-William, accordingly, was more prompt and cordial than that even of the Cabinet of Vienna. Count Lobau, who was sent to Berlin, met with the most friendly reception, at the very time when General Baudrand was receiving the same at the Court of London; and all that was asked in return was the faithful observance of the treaties of 1815.

51. LOUIS PHILIPPE, who thus, by the force of circumstances, and the influence of dissimulation and fraud,

obtained possession of the throne of France, is, of all recent sovereigns, the one concerning whose character the most difference of opinion has prevailed. By some, who were impressed with the length and general success of his reign, he was regarded as a man of the greatest capacity; and the "Napoleon of peace" was triumphantly referred to as having achieved that which the "Napoleon of war" had sought in vain to effect. The prudent and cautious statesman who, during a considerable portion of his reign, guided the affairs of England,* had, it is well known, the highest opinion of his wisdom and judgment. By others, and especially the Royalists, whom he had dispossessed, and the Republicans, whom he had disappointed, he was regarded as a mere successful tyrant, who won a crown by perfidy, and maintained it by corruption, and in whom it was not easy to say whether profound powers of dissimulation, or innate selfishness of disposition, were most conspicuous. And in the close of all, his conduct belied the assertions, and disappointed the expectations of both; for, when he fell from the throne, he neither exhibited the vigour which was anticipated by his admirers, nor the selfishness which was imputed to him by his enemies.

52. In truth, however, he was consistent throughout; and when his character comes to be surveyed in the historic mirror, the same features are everywhere conspicuous. His elevation, his duration, and his fall, are seen to have been all brought about by the same qualities. He rose to greatness, and was so long maintained in it, because he was the man of the age; but that age was neither an age of heroism nor of virtue, but of selfishness. He was the Octavius of the French Revolution; and, like him, he succeeded its Caesar by bringing into play, and himself possessing, the ruling qualities which invariably, after a long period of social convulsions, become predominant in the public mind. Those qualities are prudence and selfishness. The generous passions which

commenced the conflagration have been burnt out, or become extinct by disappointment. The noble, the chivalrous, the high-minded on all sides have perished in the conflict, as the boldest knights, the bravest regiments, disappear after a protracted warfare. The multitude alone remained, and the ruling principle with the multitude always is, in the long run, selfishness. They are capable of great and heroic efforts during a period of excitement; but with the first lull the sway of the selfish feelings invariably recommences. This was the character of the age of Augustus; this was the character of that emperor himself: this was the character of the age of Louis Philippe; and this was the character of the Citizen King.

53. His leading characteristic was prudence, his ruling principle selfishness, his great power dissimulation, his chief weakness irresolution. Personally brave, and capable of heading a charge of cavalry or mounting a breach, he was, like many other men similarly endowed with physical courage, timorous in the extreme when it became necessary to take a decided line. His long-continued indecision, when the crown was tendered to him, was the exact counterpart of the timidity with which, in the end, he shrank from an encounter for its preservation. In the interval between the two, he always exhibited firmness and consistency of government, and occasionally decided proofs of personal resolution; but that was because he was not required then to take a line; *the line was chosen, and he had only to follow it out.* Prudent and discerning in his estimate of others, he selected able men for his advisers; but, by the native powers of his understanding, he always preserved the ascendant over them, and imprinted a steady and consistent character on his government, though nominally directed by many different Cabinets. His intellectual powers were his own; but the consistency and stability of his government are known to have been mainly owing to the influence and counsels of his sister, the princess Adélaïde—a lady endowed with uncommon

* Sir R. Peel.

moral courage and strength of mind, to whose advice he was chiefly indebted for his elevation to the throne, and whose loss was at once discerned in the facility with which he was precipitated from it.

54. The vicissitudes of his life had exceeded everything that romance had figured, or imagination could have conceived. The gallery of portraits in the sumptuous halls of the Palais Royal exhibited him with truth, alternately a young prince basking in the sunshine of rank and opulence at Paris, a soldier combating under the tricolor flag at Valmy, a schoolmaster instructing his humble scholars in Switzerland, a fugitive in misery in America, a sovereign on the throne of France. These extraordinary changes had made him as thoroughly acquainted with the ruling principles of human nature in all grades, as the misfortunes of his own house, the recollection of his father guillotined, had with the perils by which, in his exalted rank, he was environed. Essentially ruled by the selfish, he was incapable of feeling the generous emotions; like all egotists, he was ungrateful. Thankfulness finds a place only in a warm heart—the generous only feel gratitude. He was long deterred from accepting the crown by the prospect of the risk with which it would be attended to himself, but not for one moment by the reflection that, in taking it, he was becoming a traitor to his sovereign, a renegade to his order, a recreant to his benefactor. His hypocrisy, to the last moment, to Charles X., was equalled only by his stern and hard-hearted rigour to his family, when he had an opportunity of making some return for their benefactions. His government was extremely expensive; it at once added a third to the expenditure of Charles X., as the Long Parliament had done to that of Charles I.; and it was mainly based on corruption. This, however, is not to be imputed to him as a fault, further than as being a direct consequence of the way in which he obtained the throne. When the “unbought loyalty of men” has come to an end, government has no hold but of their selfish desires,

and must rule by them; and when the “cheap defence of nations” has terminated, the costly empire of force must commence. As a set-off to these dark stains upon his moral character, there are many bright spots on his political one. He was the decided and consistent friend of peace, and on many occasions preserved it by his single efforts when no one else could have done it. He stood between Europe and the plague of revolution, and, by the temperance of his language and wisdom of his measures, at once conciliated the absolute Continental sovereigns, when they might have been expected to be hostile, and overawed the discontented in his own country when they were most threatening. He was humane and just in the direction of Government, so far as individuals were concerned, and had inherited from the horrors of the first Revolution a genuine aversion to the shedding of blood.

55. But although Louis Philippe was thus universally acquiesced in, in France, and received, in a manner beyond all hope, favourably by the whole sovereigns of Europe, yet was his situation at home full of danger; and he was called to a task which the greatest abilities and the most consummate wisdom might have despaired of accomplishing. A revolutionary monarch, he was called to coerce revolution; raised to the throne under the shadow of the tricolor flag, he was obliged to restrain the desires which the sight of it awakened; a king elevated by the bourgeoisie, he was under the necessity of greatly augmenting the national expenses, and thwarting the passion for economy which is the ruling principle of that class. Indebted for his throne to the heroes of the barricades, he could not maintain it but by continually disappointing their expectations. His whole reign, accordingly, was a constant denial of its origin; all his efforts, and they were many and able, were directed to restrain the passions by which he had been elevated, and extinguish the party to which he owed his greatness. Government could not, by possibility, be established on a more insecure basis, and, accordingly,

the rancour with which he soon came to be regarded much exceeded any which had been manifested to Charles X. If the weight of these circumstances is considered, it will not appear extraordinary that Louis Philippe was in the end overturned; but the wonder will rather be that he succeeded in maintaining himself so long upon the throne.

56. The thorns were not long of showing themselves. In the Cabinet itself dissension was soon apparent. M. Lafitte, accustomed, by his previous intimacy with the Orléans family, to the language and manners of courts, was measured and respectful in his language; but M. de Lafayette had the utmost difficulty in coercing the violence and rudeness of his Republican allies. M. Dupont de l'Eure, in particular, distinguished himself by the vehemence of his democratic ideas, and his constant prophecies of disaster if his projects were not all carried into execution. The Republican journals loudly proclaimed that "the country was ruined" whenever he had not succeeded in carrying anything before him in the Council. Every day Lafayette was besieged with deputations from the National Guards of all the principal towns of France. Most of them were not yet dressed in uniform, but appeared in the republican blouse, ornamented only with a bunch of tricolor ribbons. Though worn out with cabinet councils of four or five hours' duration, Louis Philippe was obliged to receive these rude deputations, some of which showed by their haughty manner that they regarded themselves as masters, rather than servants, of the crown.

57. An incident occurred at this time which powerfully tended to depopularise the Government, and increase the sinister rumours which already began to circulate concerning its head. For many years past the old Duke of Bourbon, who united in his person the honours of the two most noble families in France, had lived in retirement at St Leu, the mansion-house on one of his vast estates. Profoundly afflicted by the mis-

fortunes of his family, the last and most deserving of which had been murdered by Napoleon at Vincennes, he lived alone, "between," as has been finely said, "the ancient tomb of his ancestors in the vaults of St Denis, and the recent grave of his son in the fosse of Vincennes." The only companion of his solitude was the Baroness de Feuchères, an artful and unprincipled courtesan, who had acquired the ascendancy over him which youth and beauty so easily do over the feeble decrepitude of age, and who, to much of the talent which sometimes distinguishes, united all the cupidity which in general disgraces women, in whatever rank, of her profession. Nothing was more natural than that the childless old man of seventy should choose an heir out of the illustrious house of Orléans, with which he was closely connected, and thereby prevent that division of his estates among his heirs-at-law, if he died intestate, which would otherwise have taken place. If he had done so in the ordinary way, and died a natural death, though it might have awakened some envy, it could have excited no surprise. But a mournful tragedy rendered the matter the subject of deep interest, painfully aggravated by the mystery with which it was and still continues enveloped. The Duke of Bourbon, on the morning of the 27th August, was found dead in his bedroom, strangled by a silk handkerchief suspended from a nail in his chamber. The Baroness de Feuchères was the only person above the rank of a domestic in the house at the time, and her bedroom communicated by an interior passage with that of the prince when the catastrophe occurred.

58. The conduct of the Duke had been strange for some time, and a letter is said to have been written shortly before his death, indicating a feeling of approaching dissolution.* On the

* "St Leu et ses dépendances appartiennent à votre roi, Louis Philippe. Ne pillez, ni ne brûlez le château ni le village. Ne faites de mal ni à mes amis, ni à mes gens. Ou vous a égaré sur mon compte,

other hand, the appearance of the body when discovered, and in particular the extreme tightness with which the handkerchief was tied round his neck, were such as to militate strongly against the idea of suicide. Madame de Feuchères vehemently supported the latter opinion, and advanced all she could in its support. Opinions, as usual in such cases, were much divided, and the public mind was strongly excited by so deplorable a termination of a long and illustrious line, when an entirely new current was given to the affair, and it assumed a political aspect, by the announcement that the whole movable property of the deceased, amounting to 4,000,000 francs (£160,000), was left to the Baroness de Feuchères, and his immense landed estates to the Duke d'Aumale, fourth son of Louis Philippe. There was no evidence, direct or indirect, to connect the new sovereign with the magnificent bequest; but people recollected the maxim of Macchiavelli—"If you would discover the author of a crime, see who is to profit by it;" and the suspicions afloat on the subject were much increased by the magnificent reception which Madame de Feuchères soon after publicly received at the Tuileries. The people, ever credulous of the marvellous, and thirsting for the horrible, put all these things together; and the report spread by the Republicans soon received general credit, that the prince had been assassinated, and that those who shared the succession were the parties implicated in it.

59. A more serious subject of disquietude for the Cabinet of the new monarch arose from the attitude and proceedings of Lafayette. He had been declared Commander-in-chief of the National Guards of France, as a reward for his acquiescence in the advancement of Louis Philippe to the

throne; but it was soon doubtful whether his position in that capacity would not soon overshadow that of the sovereign on the throne. Night and day he was beset with deputations from the National Guards of Paris and the neighbouring provinces, most of them of a highly democratic and even republican character, with whom he entered into familiar conversations eminently threatening to the new-born dynasty. "We must," said he, "let the government go on, appreciate it, and judge it. The people, in the last resort, always remain sovereign, and nothing is more easy than to undo what we have done." To counteract this dangerous influence, the King had a grand review of the National Guard of Paris, sixty thousand strong, to whom he presented their colours. In a letter to General Lafayette as their commander, couched in the most flattering terms, he declared that the legions he had witnessed were superior to the forty-eight battalions raised in 1792, and which had so powerfully contributed to the deliverance of France at Valmy. But notwithstanding these cordial appearances in public, it was already apparent that the seeds of irremediable jealousy were already sown between the King and the Commander-in-chief of the National Guard, and that, if the former was to maintain his throne, the latter must be dismissed from his command.

60. Already also appearances had assumed a threatening aspect at Paris. Thousands of workmen, thrown out of employment, and who had come to experience in all their bitterness the effects of revolution, crowded the Prefecture of Police, the hotels of the Ministers, and the Palais Royal, demanding bread or work, in terms so menacing as scarcely to admit of a refusal. So threatening did they become that it was ere long necessary to get M. de Lafayette, as commander of the National Guard, to issue proclamations urging them to disperse, and promising employment. Great uneasiness also was experienced from the arrest of M. de Polignac, the ex-minister of Charles X., at Grandville, M. de

je n'ai qu'à mourir en souhaitant bonheur et prospérité au peuple Français et à ma patrie. Adieu pour toujours." Sign. L. H. J. DE BOURBON, Prince de Condé.—"P.S. Je demande à être enterré à Vincennes auprès de mon infortuné fils."—CAPEFIGUE, vol. iii. p. 23; L. BLANC, vol. ii. p. 65.

Peyronnet, M. de Chantelauze, and M. de Guernon Ranville, at Tours, who were brought to Vincennes under a powerful escort of national guards, and, by the excitement which their presence occasioned, seriously increased the embarrassments of the Government.

61. The legislative measures of the new Government evinced the cautious spirit with which it was animated, and the desire felt to render the Revolution productive of as few organic changes as was consistent with the excited temper of the people. Two of the most obnoxious laws of the Restoration—that of 12th January 1816, defining, with numerous exceptions, the general amnesty which had been proclaimed for the events of the Hundred Days, and that of 1825, annexing the punishment of death for the crime of sacrilege, or theft in churches—were repealed. The strength of parties under the new regime was evinced by the division for the choice of a President of the Chamber of Deputies, on the resignation of M. Casimir Périer. M. Lafitte obtained 245 votes out of 256—a majority so great as to prove that the Revolution had produced its usual effect of extinguishing independence of thought, and that the debates of the legislature had become mere form.

62. A more important subject of discussion arose soon after in the Chamber of Deputies, regarding the adoption of the electoral system proposed by the Government, which was the same as that agreed to in the modification of the constitution before the crown was offered to Louis Philippe. The project of the Ministry was carried by a majority of 234 out of 246 votes, which sufficiently indicated how strongly the Chamber was disposed to support the throne. But the tone of the debate, and the language used by several orators, pointed to a change at no distant period in the Electoral Law, and may be regarded as the precursor of the important alterations in the composition of the Chamber in the succeeding year.

63. But more important interests soon came to occupy the new Govern-

ment. The state of the finances was the most pressing; for the Revolution had enormously augmented the demands on the Treasury, while it had proportionally diminished its receipts. The expedition to Algiers, too, however glorious, had been attended with a very heavy expense, which was by no means entirely provided for by the previous votes. To meet the deficit, Ministers asked and obtained a supplementary vote of credit for 67,490,000 francs (£2,560,000). The receipts of the year were estimated at 979,787,000 francs (£39,200,000), and its expenditure 1,050,116,000 francs, or £42,100,000, which rendered the vote of credit necessary. But events were now approaching which threatened to embroil the new Government of France with the European powers, and, by rendering a great increase of the army necessary, involved it in a series of financial embarrassments which drew after it a vast addition to taxation, and from the effects of which it never recovered.

64. The popular societies soon became formidable; and it was evident that the most difficult contest of Ministers would be with their own supporters rather than the Royalists, whom they had overthrown. On the 21st September a great procession took place in the Place de Grève, to commemorate the execution of Borier and three other young men, who had suffered death there some years ago, for their accession to the conspiracy of Rochelle. Such was the alarm felt on this occasion, that all the shops were shut in the districts through which the procession passed, and a large body of national guards were under arms to preserve the public peace. It passed over without any disturbance; and by a singular and striking coincidence, a petition for the abolition of the punishment of death was prepared, and unanimously agreed to, on the very spot, and at the table on which these gallant and unfortunate young men had suffered. This event, however, gave Government an opportunity of stating their views on these societies, in the course of a discussion on a petition presented by some commissaries on the subject. They were

dencounced in the loudest terms by the Ministers, as being the real cause of the alarm which existed, and the consequent stagnation of commerce and distress of the working classes.

65. "What," said the Minister of the Interior, "are the characteristics of the revolutionary régime? If I do not deceive myself, the most remarkable are a disposition to call everything in question, an immense mass of indefinite pretensions and continual appeals to force. All these features are united in the popular societies. There is no longer debates on vague theories or philosophical questions among them. It is the very foundation of government which is continually brought under discussion: the necessity of revolution, a new distribution of property, the law of succession. Thus numbers are kept in a state of continual and increasing fermentation, which is the worst enemy of real political reform. There is a constant appeal to force, as the ultimate umpire of all disputes; a continual war against all the powers of society, and all ideas which do not completely accord with their own. We, too, wish for progress; but it is such a progress as may be durable, not such as can end only in destroying itself. They speak of the wishes of France; but the desires they express are not those of France—they belong only to a knot of revolutionists at Paris, who desire to elevate themselves by keeping the country in a state of permanent revolution." Wise counsel, undoubtedly! but not very palatable to those who had just achieved a revolution, and beheld others in the quiet enjoyment of its fruits. The Chamber supported Ministers almost unanimously; but the societies were not discouraged, and a few days after, that of *les Amis du Peuple* violated the laws so flagrantly in their hall in the Rue Pellier that they were dissolved by force, and the president brought before the police tribunals.

66. The news of the French Revolution, which excited so powerfully the revolutionary party all over the world, early attracted to Paris a crowd of refugees from all countries, and espe-

cially Spain, who immediately formed a committee there, the object of which was to revolutionise the kingdoms of the Peninsula, as they had done that of France. M. Mendizabal, Isturiz, Calatrava, San Miguel, the Duke de Rivas, Martinez de la Rosa, Count Torreno, and other Spanish Liberals, who had been banished from their country since the re-establishment of the absolute government of Ferdinand VII. by the invasion of the Duke d'Angoulême in 1823, formed its principal members. With them were united the leading French Liberals—in particular M. Dupont de l'Eure, Viardot, Etienne Arago, Garnier Pagès, and others, who entered cordially into the plan, subscribed considerable sums, and prepared arms and troops for carrying their designs into execution. The Spanish Government, aware of what was going forward, refused to recognise that of Louis Philippe, and both parties openly prepared for hostilities.

67. It was of the utmost moment to the Spanish revolutionists to secure the countenance, however indirect, of the French Government, and they were not long of obtaining it. General Sébastiani alone of the Ministers opposed the intervention; all the others supported it. "Tell those who sent you," said M. Guizot to M. Louis Viardot, who appeared on the part of the revolutionary committee, "that France committed a great political crime in 1823; she owes to Spain a striking reparation, and that reparation shall be made." When introduced by M. Odilon Barrot to the King, his Majesty received the deputation in the most gracious manner. He admitted that France was menaced with a war on the Rhine; that a storm might any day break on her from the north, and that it was of the last importance that it should be secured from any other attack. He admitted that the protection given by Ferdinand VII. to the Carlist refugees in the south was alarming, and that it behoved them to see that there was no longer any Pyrenees. "As to Ferdinand VII.," he added, "you may hang him if you please; he is the greatest scoundrel that ever ex-

isted." Finding the dispositions of the King and his ministers thus favourable, the deputies of the committee ventured to propose to him their views, which were to dethrone Ferdinand VII., offer the crown to the Duke de Nemours, second son of Louis Philippe, who was to espouse Donna Maria, the heiress of Spain, and secure the lasting influence of France to the south of the Pyrenees, by effecting a similar revolution in Portugal, and annexing it to the crown of Castile. How agreeable soever these projects might be to the real wishes of Louis Philippe, he dreaded too much embroiling himself with the northern powers to espouse them openly, and he contented himself, therefore, with promising them his secret support, and sending 60,000 francs to Bayonne by M. Chevallon, and 40,000 to Marseilles by Colonel Moreno.

68. Secure thus of the secret support of the French Government, the Spanish revolutionists commenced active measures for effecting the dethronement of the house of Bourbon at Madrid. The persons engaged in the enterprise were secretly furnished with arms by M. Montalivet, the Minister of the Interior, and M. Guizot, and despatched by twos and threes, so as not to excite suspicion, to Bayonne. General Mina, who was in Paris, had a private interview with Marshal Gerard, who assured him of the warm sympathy, and promised him the secret support of the French Government. "Take care, however," he added, "to hazard nothing: set out without delay for Bayonne; but swear to engage in no enterprise till France is relieved of all anxiety on the side of Europe." But this advice was too wise and judicious to suit the disposition of the Spanish revolutionists, who, like all refugees, were credulous and sanguine in the extreme, and impatient for the moment of terminating their painful suspense. Despite all counsels to the contrary, accordingly, they commenced preparations for crossing the Bidassoa, and in the middle of October the attempt was made by a body of five hundred men. But experience had taught the Spanish troops the real tendency

of revolutionary government, and it ended in a signal defeat. A small band of the boldest, under Chapalangarra, was first struck down by a volley from a Spanish outpost, which killed the leader, and dispersed his band. This disaster, like most first defeats in civil conflicts, proved fatal to the whole enterprise. Valdez, with another body, was speedily surrounded at Vera, and if not rescued was sure to perish. To effect his deliverance Mina set out from Bayonne, and, having collected a considerable force, made himself master of the important town of Irun. But there terminated his success. The Spanish Royalists accumulated round them on all sides; Valdez, defeated in an attack on a fortified convent near Vera, was obliged to fly across the French frontier, with the loss of three-fourths of his forces; Vigo, who commanded a third band of two hundred men, was shut up at Maulian; and Mina himself, surrounded by ten thousand Royalists, was driven from the heights of San Marcial, where he had taken post: his followers dispersed; and he himself only escaped, severely wounded and covered with blood, after having walked thirty-eight leagues in forty-two hours, through the thick woods and rugged ridges of the Pyrenees. Similar attempts on the side of Catalonia proved equally unfortunate; and in the beginning of November the revolutionary bands were defeated on all sides, and tranquillity restored along the whole French frontier.

69. This check to the propagandists excited little discouragement in France, in consequence of the signal success which attended at the same time their efforts in another quarter. BELGIUM was the point upon which the chief hopes of the revolutionists were fixed. This beautiful country, the richest and most favoured by nature of any in Europe to the north of the Alps, long dissevered by religious dissension and the atrocious cruelty of Philip II. and the Duke of Alva, had at length been reunited, and the most signal prosperity had attended the reunion. The old seventeen provinces,

the garden of northern Europe, united under one paternal government, had been eminently prosperous since the Kingdom of the Netherlands had been established in 1814. Even the desperate inroad of Napoleon, closed by the disaster of Waterloo in the succeeding year, had only given a temporary check to their prosperity. The taxes were moderate, and sufficient for the expenses of government; a respectable army, and the guarantee of the allied powers, secured the national independence; the frontier fortresses towards France had been put in the best possible state of defence, chiefly at the expense of Great Britain, which had assigned to that important object the whole of the share which its Government received of the indemnity levied on France by the second treaty of Paris. And although, as is always the case on a union, there were several points in dispute between Holland and Belgium, especially in regard to the mode of levying the taxes; and the inhabitants of the former country lamented the loss of the seat of government, and those of the latter complained that, in the allocation of burdens, too large a portion of the public debt had been laid upon them, yet, upon the whole, there was great external prosperity, and, to appearance, great internal contentment, among the inhabitants of the united kingdom.* A system of representation, neither aristocratic nor oligarchical, secured a due attention to the interests of the various branches of industry in the country, and the deliberations of the Chambers had, of late years, been distinguished by a remarkable concordance on objects of general good. This unanimity had been in an especial manner conspicuous during the last session of the Chambers; and the Minister of the Interior, in closing them on June 2, had only expressed the general voice when he said, "that the session had

been remarkable for the extent of its labours and the divergence of its opinions, crowned by the most happy accordance between the throne and the representatives of the people, on the subjects of the greatest interest to both."

70. But vain are all attempts to establish a real concord among men, how loudly soever called for by their material interests, when their hearts are kept asunder by any of the master passions which agitate and disturb mankind. The two most powerful of these were in secret fomenting discord among the inhabitants, and renewing, even under the paternal sceptre of one monarch, the ancient jealousies of the Flemings and the United Provinces. These passions were religious jealousy and democratic ambition. It is remarkable that the hereditary animosity of the Catholics and Protestants nowhere in Europe, save in Ireland, existed in more rancour at this time than between the long-severed inhabitants of the seventeen Provinces. The clergy of Flanders, in their cathedrals, their palaces, had all the pride, and not a little of the persecuting disposition of the Duke of Alva; those of the United Provinces were animated by the indomitable spirit of Count Egmont or William of Nassau. Reconciliation was impossible between persuasions animated by such discordant feelings; and the attempt of the Government to reconcile both parties by an equitable arrangement and entire toleration, ended only, as is often the case, in irritating both, and reconciling neither.

71. In addition to this, the democratic passions in Flanders, violently excited by the successful result of the Revolution in Paris, contributed also, in the most powerful manner, to bring about a convulsion, and sever the union between that country and Holland. In Brussels and the other great cities of Flanders, the democratic spirit had for centuries been strong; and this disposition had been much strengthened in later times by the desire for French connection, and the number of interests which had been affected by the

* The greatest subject of discord was the uniform mode of levying the taxes. Belgium, a manufacturing and commercial country, wished to place the burdens on articles of export and import; while Holland, to spare its commerce, wished to impose them on real estate.

severance of the union with that country, and the breaking up of the imperial sway. When men's minds were in this excited state, no amount of general prosperity and material wellbeing could appease them, and little was wanting, at any time, to blow the discontent, at least among some classes, into a flame. This little was at once furnished by the French Revolution. The clubs of Paris, who possessed an influence in France equal, and in the adjoining states superior, to Louis Philippe, immediately sent several agents to excite the revolutionary passions in Belgium. They were received with open arms by the clubs of Brussels, Ghent, and Antwerp, and measures were quickly concocted for following the example of Paris, and dethroning the King of the Netherlands. In this attempt they relied with reason upon the support of the whole democratic party in the Flemish towns, and on that section of the community which, without being inclined to introduce a republican form of government, was desirous of severing the connection with Holland, and establishing a regime in which the Protestant faith was no longer to be tolerated, and the Catholic might be reinstated in exclusive power and pristine grandeur.

72. Matters were brought to a crisis at Brussels by the revolutionists on the 25th August, just a month after they had commenced at Paris. After leaving the theatre, where the play of *La Muette* had been performed, which contained several sentiments eagerly caught at and loudly applauded by the popular party, a number of enthusiastic young men collected in the streets, singing revolutionary songs, and the cry was heard among them, "*Imitons les Parisiens.*" Suited the action to the word, they immediately proceeded to attack and plunder the printing-office of a ministerial journal, break open several armourers' shops, and provide themselves with the weapons they contained; while several huge tricolor flags were suddenly unfurled, and excited in the highest degree the enthusiasm of the multitude. They then proceeded to set fire to the hotel

of the Minister of Justice, M. Van Maanen, which was speedily reduced to ashes. General Wauthin, the commander of the town, who tried to arrest the disorders with a detachment of troops, was surrounded and made prisoner.

73. With the rapidity of lightning these disorders were imitated at Ghent, Liege, Antwerp, and all the chief towns of Flanders. The royal troops made very little resistance; so completely did the movement assume a national aspect, and run from the first into an effort to separate Belgium from Holland. The bourgeois in the great towns supported this movement, though they endeavoured to detach it from the cause of revolution, to which they were very little inclined. The populace, however, especially in Brussels and Ghent, were by no means inclined to halt midway in their career, but openly endeavoured to overturn the government by force, and establish a republic in its stead. At Brussels at five in the morning of the 26th, the troops were drawn out, volleys of musketry were heard in the Place des Sablons, and the people began to cut down trees in the park, and unpave the streets to form barricades. The troops were too few in number to make head against the insurgents, who now began to show themselves in all quarters of the city, and overawed the soldiers as much by the spectacle of unanimity as they overwhelmed them by their numbers. Ere long the hotel of the Minister of Police, and of the governor of the capital, fell into their hands, and the work of destruction commenced. Several steam-machines were destroyed, many shops pillaged, and symptoms of the war of labour against property, of the proletaires against machinery, began to appear. Alarmed at this turn the affair was taking, the shopkeepers turned out, and formed a large Burgher Guard, 8000 strong, which in a manner interposed between the contending parties, and, by the respect which they inspired on both sides, suspended hostilities.

74. The Burgher Guard, which was most anxious to terminate the dispute, and recover the lost nationality

of the Belgians, without endangering the crown on the head of William of Nassau, presented, in the midst of these disorders, a petition to the King, in which they prayed him "to dismiss the minister Van Maanen, so odious to their national feelings, and give a *separate administration to Belgium*, hitherto devoted to the house of Nassau, of which they did not wish to break the sceptre." The King returned for answer, "That he would abide by the text of the compact—that is to say, by the law; that his resolution would depend on a vote of the Estates; that if that assembly determined on a separation of the kingdom, he would conform to it; and that, for that purpose, the Estates should be immediately convoked." At the same time, he ordered the Prince of Orange, the heir-apparent of the crown of the Netherlands, to repair to Brussels, in order to ascertain the sentiments of the bourgeoisie, and see what would really satisfy them. Emboldened by this success, the burghers next demanded that he should come alone, without an escort, and without uniform or arms. This also was conceded, so anxious was the Government to pacify the people by every imaginable concession; and on the 1st September the Prince, one of the heroes of Waterloo, arrived at Brussels in plain clothes, and without an escort. He was received with respect by the Burgher Guard, which escorted him into the city under the guarantee of safety to his person, and liberty to depart, if he could not succeed in effecting an accommodation.

75. The Prince, in passing through the streets, was received with cries of "*Vive le Prince! Vive la liberté! Abas Van Maanen!*" but he beheld on all sides convincing proofs of the serious nature of the insurrection. Barricades required to be passed in many places; the cross-streets were all blocked up, and armed men at the windows gave fearful proof of the murderous warfare which awaited the troops if hostilities were resumed. Even before he arrived at the Hôtel de Ville, it had become evident that an accommodation on the basis of preserving the union

was impossible. The deputations, which succeeded each other with rapidity at that central point, expressed their wishes clearly; the word "separation" was heard, but no wish was expressed to unite with France; and the Prince of Orange returned on the 4th to his army at Vilvorde, with the hope that he might still retain his throne. The yellow cockade was everywhere abandoned; but there was no disposition evinced to break finally with the house of Nassau. Soon after, a deputation waited on the King with a formal and concise statement of their grievances and demands; and for a brief period the hope was entertained that he might retain both crowns, on the condition, as in the case of Austria and Hungary, of an entire separation of offices and administration.* But these hopes were soon found to be fallacious. The desire for a separation from Holland was so generally expressed that it was obviously irresistible; and the Prince carried back the mournful conviction that the union could no longer be maintained.

76. The Estates of the kingdom were convoked for the 13th September, and on that day they assembled from all quarters at the Hague; and the session was opened with great pomp by the King in person, accompanied by the Prince of Orange. It was impossible to imagine a more august or solemn occasion; for the assembly was

* The demands of the Belgian revolutionists were: "1. L'exécution entière, franche et sincère, de la loi fondamentale, mais sans restrictions ni interprétations au profit du pouvoir, soit par arrêtés circulaires ministériels ou rescrits du cabinet. 2. L'éloignement du ministre de l'intérieur et de l'odieux Van Maanen. 3. La suspension provisoire de l'abatage jusqu'à la prochaine session des états généraux. 4. Un nouveau système électoral établi par une loi, où l'élection soit plus directe par le peuple. 5. Le rétablissement du jury. 6. Une loi nouvelle de l'organisation judiciaire. 7. La responsabilité pénale des ministres établis par la loi. 8. Une loi qui fixe le siège de la haute cour dans les provinces méridionales. 9. La cessation des poursuites intentées aux écrivains libéraux. 10. L'annulation de toutes les condamnations en matières politiques. 11. Qu'il soit distribué à tous les ouvriers infortunés du pain pour subvenir à leurs besoins jusqu'à ce qu'ils pussent reprendre leurs travaux."—*Ann. Hist.*, vol. xiii. p. 546.

to deliberate, not only on the fundamental laws of the kingdom, but on the maintenance of the connection with Holland, as fixed by the Congress of Vienna. The speech of William was dignified and moderate, and in every respect worthy of the occasion. "To go back," said the monarch with emotion, "to the causes of the past, to scrutinise them with your high nightinesses, to seize their true character, is less urgent than to seek the means of re-establishing the authority of the laws, so violently shaken by the late commotions. But in the midst of the shock of ideas, and of the clash of conflicting opinions, it is no easy matter to reconcile my wishes for the happiness of my subjects with the duties which I have contracted towards all, and which I have consecrated by my oaths. I earnestly implore, therefore, your firm and calm consideration, in order that, fortified by the opinions of the national representatives, I may adopt such measures as the safety of the country demands. One party contends for a revision of the fundamental law of our union, and even the separation of the provinces. This can only be done, you are aware, in the form prescribed by the fundamental act of our constitution. I pray only that you may approach it with the deliberation and caution which its importance deserves. Entirely disposed to satisfy all reasonable wishes, I will accord nothing to the spirit of faction; I will never consent to measures which may sacrifice the interests and prosperity of the nation to the passions and to violence. Reconcile, if you can, all interests; that is the sole wish of my heart."

77. Nothing could be more judicious or conciliatory than this language; but the time was past when it could command any attention. The passions of the populace were so strongly roused by the prospect of the successful revolution in Paris, of the clergy and burghers by the hope of an approaching severance from Holland, that the voice of reason and patriotism had no longer a chance of being heard. The working classes, thrown by thousands

out of employment by the public convulsions, and who, by the force of numbers, had got possession of Brussels, Ghent, Liege, and other towns, had already proceeded to acts of pillage; disorders in the streets were frequent; and the burghers, whose representatives formed the great majority, were dreadfully alarmed at the prospect of the destruction of their property or the cessation of their profits. To terminate these dangers, the King, on the recommendation of the Chambers, gave the command of the army at Vilvorde to Prince Frederick, a brave soldier, who justly possessed the confidence of the troops, with instructions to advance to Brussels, re-establish the authority of Government, protect property, and leave the national representatives at liberty to deliberate in safety on the important matters waiting their determination. Having published a proclamation, accordingly, explaining his views and the orders he had received, he moved his troops towards Brussels.*

78. The approach of the Prince at the head of nine thousand men, twenty-six guns, and two howitzers, on the road from Antwerp towards Brussels, produced the utmost excitement in the latter city. The French emissaries and

* "Tandis qu'avec un zèle et une activité dignes des plus grands éloges, vous veillez à la défense des propriétés publiques et particulières, un petit nombre de factieux cachés parmi vous excite la populace au pillage, l'armée au déshonneur; les intentions royales sont dénaturées, les autorités sans force, la liberté opprimée. Conformément aux ordres du Roi, nous venons apporter à cet état des choses qui ruine votre cité, et éloigne de plus en plus, pour cette résidence royale, la possibilité d'être le séjour du monarque, et de l'héritier du trône, le seul remède véritable et efficace, le rétablissement de l'ordre légal. Les légions nationales vont entrer dans vos murs, au nom des lois, et à la demande des meilleurs citoyens, pour les soulager tous d'un service pénible, et pour prêter aide et protection. Une sage amnistie s'étendra sur les fautes et les démarches irrégulières que les circonstances ont produites. Les auteurs principaux d'actes trop criminels pour espérer d'échapper à la sévérité des lois, des étrangers qui, abusant de l'hospitalité, sont venus organiser parmi vous ce désordre, seront seuls et justement frappés. Leur cause n'a rien de commun avec la vôtre.—FREDERICK. 21st Sept. 1830.—CAPEFIGUE, vol. iii. p. 79.

democratic leaders, who were openly denounced in the proclamation by which his advance was preceded, were indefatigable in their efforts to rouse the populace; they had no longer any hope but in the most determined resistance. The tocsin sounded from all the steeples, the *générale* beat in all the streets. Old men and women, age and childhood, were to be seen at the barricades, which were erected at the gates and across the principal entrances. The utmost enthusiasm and courage pervaded the working classes, who by this time had become all armed; the burghers, in silence, and trembling for their shops, fell into the ranks, obeying mechanically a movement which they had originally raised, but of which they had now entirely lost the direction. Some guns, placed at the gates of Schaarbeck and Louvain, opened a fire upon the troops of the Prince of Orange when they first came within range; but the Dutch guns were immediately hurried to the front, and by their superior fire quickly silenced that of the insurgents. The entrance being thus cleared, the soldiers advanced, and without much difficulty occupied the gates of Schaarbeck and Louvain, with the whole boulevards between them, and established themselves in force in the Park, the highest quarter of Brussels, and, in a military point of view, giving the entire command of the city.

79. But while these successes, to all appearance decisive, were gained by the royal troops, the insurgents in Brussels were not idle. Guided by the numerous French refugees then in the city, and who possessed the skill and information on military matters by which that gallant people are pre-eminently distinguished, they intrenched themselves strongly in the quarters adjacent to the park, and filled all the houses looking into it with musketeers. The Dutch troops might easily have forced the city to capitulate, by bombarding it from the park, which commanded it in every part; but the Prince of Orange was reluctant to proceed to such extremities with his own capital, and with reason apprehended that it

was a hopeless thing to attempt to conciliate a hostile kingdom by burning its metropolis. He confined himself, accordingly, to a combat of musketry, the effect of which would not reach beyond those engaged; and the entrance into the Place Royale from the park continued through the whole of the 24th to be the theatre of as warm a fire as ever was witnessed in street conflicts. The insurgents, however, bravely stood their ground, and, notwithstanding the most vigorous efforts, the Dutch troops were unable to dislodge them from the houses commanding the entrances of the parks. During the night they received great reinforcements from Liege, Ghent, and other towns, which had espoused the same cause, and this so encouraged them that, on the morning of the 25th, they assumed the offensive, and commenced a vigorous attack on the Royalists in the park at all points. Success was for some time pretty nearly balanced; but reinforcements having come up in great numbers during the day, the insurgents, towards evening, gained decided advantages, dismounted a battery which the Dutch had established in front of the palace of the Prince of Orange, and forced them into the extremity of the Madeleine, where they succeeded in maintaining themselves. But as they were now evidently over-matched, and had a whole nation on their hands, the royal troops were withdrawn early in the morning of the 26th, and took the road to Antwerp. The revolutionary chiefs, amidst shouts of triumph, immediately appointed a provisional government, which forthwith pronounced the dethronement of Frederick-William from the Hôtel de Ville of Brussels, as Lafayette had done that of Charles X. from the Hôtel de Ville of Paris.

80. This decisive victory of an insurgent populace over a considerable body of regular troops, armed with a powerful artillery, and headed by a prince of the blood, produced, as well it might, very great sensation in Europe, and stimulated the revolutionists everywhere to imitate the example of the Parisians and Belgians, and over-

turn the existing authorities by a well-concerted urban tumult. The whole provinces of Flanders followed the example of the capital, and declared for the provisional government and the separation from Holland. The Estates, by a majority of 55 to 43, decided for the separation; and ordered a national congress, where all interests should be represented. Meanwhile the fortresses, still remaining in the hands of the Dutch, being without ammunition or provisions, were all obliged to capitulate except Antwerp, Maestricht, and Luxembourg, which, with the province of Limburg, held out for the house of Nassau, and at the first of which the Prince of Orange had established a sort of counter-government, from which orders, as for the whole of Flanders, were issued. At length even Antwerp was wrested from them, with the exception of the citadel, which, with a garrison of seven thousand men, was held by a resolute veteran, GENERAL CHASSÉ. On the 27th October, the Prince of Orange left the town for the Hague, and he was no sooner gone than symptoms of insurrection appeared. Encouraged by a body of troops which approached from Brussels, and who were stealthily admitted within the gates, the people broke into revolt, surrounded and disarmed several isolated soldiers and detachments, and gradually wrested from the Dutch all the gates, while the garrison retired to the citadel. Emboldened by this success, the insurgents ventured to measure their strength with the citadel, and fired some shots at the sentinels on the ramparts. Chassé replied by a vigorous fire from two hundred pieces of artillery, which speedily set the town on fire in several places, and destroyed property to the amount of 5,000,000 florins (£400,000). Menaced with total ruin, the popular party were too happy to accede to a convention, by which a suspension of hostilities was agreed to, on condition of the city remaining in their hands, and the citadel, arsenal, and squadron in those of General Chassé.

81. It was not to be expected that

GERMANY, the land of ardent feelings, heroic courage, and lofty aspirations, as the tone of its contemporary literature and the deeds of its gallant sons demonstrate, was to escape the influence of the electric shock of the French Revolution. It was felt there, accordingly, and only with the more vehemence that the people were unaccustomed to the exercise of political rights, and that to them the land of freedom was the fairy region of imagination, not the theatre of actual experience or observation. The feelings of a large portion of the people had been deeply wounded by the failure, on the part of the greater powers, to perform the promises which, under the pressure of danger in the war of liberation, they had made to give representative institutions to their people. This theme, so vast and important, will form the subject of an ample disquisition in a future chapter, when Germany comes prominently forward, and the causes which led to the general outbreak of its inhabitants in 1848 require to be recounted. At present, as the disturbances which occurred were only partial, and of ephemeral duration, though not ephemeral consequences, it is sufficient to observe, that though representative institutions had been established in Wirtemberg, Baden, and several of the lesser states, subsequent to 1814, yet they were either wholly wanting, or existing only in form, in Austria and Prussia, and that a deep though smothered feeling of indignation pervaded the middle class over all Germany, at what they justly regarded as a deliberate breach of faith on the part of their governments in this vital particular. When men's minds were in this indignant and agitated state, a spark was sufficient to produce an explosion; and the French Revolution was too important an event not at once to induce it.

82. The train took fire first in the great commercial and manufacturing towns, the centres, in all ages and countries, of independent thought and united action. No sooner did the disturbances, accordingly, break out in Brussels, than they extended to Aix-

la-Chapelle and Cologne, in both of which cities the workmen assembled in tumultuous crowds, and began to pillage shops, break machines, attack manufactories, and deliver prisoners from jail in order to swell the ranks of the disaffected. These disorders excited the utmost alarm all along the Rhine, in all the principal cities on which river symptoms of agitation appeared; and it was only by the general turning out and firm countenance of the burgher militia that they were prevented from breaking out into open insurrection. Greatly alarmed, the Government of Berlin in haste moved forward several veteran regiments of the old monarchy into the Rhenish provinces; and Prince William of Prussia, on September 9th, addressed a letter to the authorities there, expressing his resolution not to interfere with the internal affairs of France, or the form of its government, but to defend the Prussian dominions from attack, and maintain the provinces on the Rhine to the last extremity.*

83. From the banks of the Rhine the agitation was communicated like an electric shock through all the cities of the north of Germany, though the success which attended the attempts at insurrection was very various, according to the vigilance and strength of the Government in different places, and the fidelity which the troops evinced when brought into contact with the people. Enough, however, appeared to indicate what the events of 1848 so fully confirmed, that the stability of existing institutions in the Fatherland

rested entirely upon the strength and fidelity of the armed force; that in the midst of feudal manners, institutions, and traditions, though repressed by an enormous military establishment, there existed a deep and widespread spirit of discontent in the industrious and highly-educated middle classes; and that, if the time should come when the regular troops were no longer, as in France, to be relied on in a conflict with the people, or were openly to espouse the popular side, society would be shaken to its centre, and the most dreadful convulsions might be anticipated.

84. In all the cities where the Teutonic race was predominant, even the military capital of Bavaria, and the distant metropolis of Denmark, disturbances or symptoms of disorder appeared on intelligence being received of the events in Brussels; but they assumed the most formidable aspect in Leipsic, Dresden, Brunswick, and Hesse-Cassel. In the first of these cities, extensive mercantile transactions, a considerable spread of knowledge, and the vast concourse of strangers during the fair, had greatly strengthened the desire for popular institutions. In the second, in addition to the general desire for freedom, there was united the discontent of a population generally Protestant at a royal family still Catholic. In Leipsic, the disturbances, which originated with the students of the university, were repressed without any serious consequences at the end of two days; but at Dresden the populace for a time gained the ascendant. The Hôtel de Ville and the Hôtel de la Police were both burned, and the King was obliged to fly from his capital, and take refuge in the impregnable fortress of Königsstein, so celebrated in the wars of Frederick the Great and Napoleon. At Hesse-Cassel—where the people, in addition to the other causes of German discontent, were irritated by the absence of the Elector, who lived, apart from the Electress, a scandalous life at his palace of Wilhelmshöhe, in which his presence was signalled only by arbitrary decrees or acts of oppression

* "Le Roi m'a chargé de témoigner à sujets des provinces Rhénanes combien il regrettaient de ne pouvoir se rendre au milieu d'eux. Les événemens survenus en France nécessitent sa présence dans sa capitale. Cependant le Roi est fermement résolu de ne s'immiscer en rien dans les affaires de ce pays, et de laisser le volcan se consumer dans son intérieur. Mais si les Français attaquaient nos frontières, alors le Roi rassemblerait toutes ses forces pour les combattre. Les travaux qui ont été exécutés à Coblenz et qui en font un boulevard puissant de la monarchie, prouvent l'importance que sa Majesté attache à la possession des provinces Rhénanes, et sa ferme résolution de les défendre à toute extrémité.—GUILLAUME. Coblenz, 9 Septembre 1830.—*Ann. Hist.*, xiii. 93, note.

against his subjects—the disorders were not less serious, and were only put down by four thousand of the Burgher Guard and four hundred regular troops.

85. Still more alarming were the occurrences in Brunswick. On the 6th the populace rose, and, disregarding sixteen pieces of cannon placed around the palace of the reigning sovereign, but which were never discharged, surrounded the ducal residence, which was soon committed to the flames. The whole pictures and furniture were broken to pieces, or thrown out of the windows, and the superb pile reduced to ashes. The Duke fled in disguise during the darkness of the night, and escaped to London, where he was coldly received by the English Government, which was aware of the indiscretions and faults on his part which had occasioned so violent an explosion. Meanwhile the Estates of the duchy conferred the government, provisionally, on his brother Prince William, in the character of regent, and as a matter of necessity he was recognised by the Courts of London, Berlin, and Vienna. Even the distant capital of Vienna felt the shock. Assemblages were formed in the streets which defied the whole power of the police, and were dispersed only by the appearance of the cuirassiers; and the dawn of that spirit already appeared, destined at no distant period to threaten with dissolution the whole Austrian monarchy.

86. SWITZERLAND did not escape the general contagion; and though the shepherds of the valleys, in possession of full democratic privileges, remained tranquil, the burghers of its cities, who were not equally endowed, were violently agitated. The Federal Diet was sitting at Berne in perfect tranquillity when the news arrived of the revolution of July in Paris; and the excitement immediately became so violent that it was evident the demand for more popular institutions could no longer be withstood. Wisely resolving to yield to a storm which they could not resist, the cantons in which aristocratic institutions still existed,

themselves took the lead in making the changes which were demanded. Zurich was the first which did so. On the 27th November the local legislature of that city passed a resolution fixing the representation of the Council at 212 members, of whom a third were to be returned by the city, and two-thirds by the landward part of the canton, fixing the qualification for representatives at twenty-nine years of age, and a fortune of 5000 francs (£200). This Council was to appoint a smaller body, which was to form a constitution, the basis of which was to be popular sovereignty, and an equal division of the public burdens. Similar organic changes, in effect like the Reform Bill in England, amounting to revolution, were brought about in Lucerne, Soleure, Argovia, St Gall, and Turgovia, not without, in some, serious popular disorders which disgraced the land and cause of freedom. Berne itself, the most aristocratic of all the cantons, underwent its revolution. The petitions praying for reform and an extension of popular rights, presented to its Council of State, were so numerous that at length they could no longer be resisted, and in the beginning of December a meeting of the great Council, which consisted of 217 members, was held, at which it was unanimously resolved to put the whole militia of the country on a war footing, and to appoint a committee of eleven to revise the constitution. So great, however, was the public agitation, that these measures would not suffice, and the central committee of government accordingly convoked a general assembly of the representatives of all the cantons to meet at Berne on the 23d December. It decreed the levy of sixty thousand men, to cause the external independence of the confederation to be respected; but wisely abstained from interfering with the internal constitutions of the cantons, which were left to their separate legislatures.

87. ITALY also felt the shock, and, from the more ardent temperament of its inhabitants, and the circumstance of their having so long been unaccustomed to the exercise of any of the

rights of freemen, with more violence than in the colder latitudes of the Alps. In Lombardy and Piedmont the extreme vigilance of the police, and the presence of an immense Austrian force, the fidelity of which could perfectly be relied on, prevented any open convulsions; but the impression was not the less decided, and the public passions, long and rigorously repressed, only acquired the greater strength from being brooded over in silence. The fermentation was extreme in Bologna and Modena, the two cities of the peninsula most warmly attached to the new institutions; but it was repressed with rigour, and in Florence overawed by the influence of Austria. In Rome the effect was very great at first, but it was ere long superseded by the election of a new Pope, in consequence of the death of Pius VIII., which took place on the 30th November. He was succeeded by Cardinal Capellari, elected to the pontifical chair on February 2d, who took the title of Gregory XVI.

88. But these events, important and startling as they were, yielded in ultimate importance to an occurrence which took place in this year in Spain, and proved the source of unnumbered calamities to both the kingdoms of the Peninsula. This was the CHANGE IN THE ORDER OF SUCCESSION to the Spanish crown, as it had now been established for a hundred and twenty years, with the concurrence of all the powers of Europe. This order, which strictly excluded females from the crown, was an innovation on the old law of Spain, which admitted them; but it had been established by a decree or pragmatic sanction on 10th September 1713, on occasion of the accession of Philip V. to the throne, and subsequently ratified by all the powers of Europe, and in particular by France and England, by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1714. It had ever since regulated the succession to the Spanish crown, and was regarded as a fundamental point in the public law and fixed policy of Europe. The object of it was not so much any peculiar necessity for the male succession in the

Spanish monarchy beyond other states, but considerations of the highest moment for the general balance of power. The bequest of the crown of "Spain and the Indies" to the Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV., in 1700, by the King of Spain, had lighted up the flames of the War of the Succession in Europe, which burnt fiercely for thirteen years, and were very imperfectly laid by the Peace of Utrecht in 1714. This treaty was thought by the Tories to have averted the danger of a union of the crowns of France and Spain on the same head, by entailing the crown of the latter kingdom on the male line. Bolingbroke and Harley, who made that treaty, did not perceive, what the event ere long demonstrated, that it was not the union of the *crowns*, but the alliance of the *kingdoms*, which was the real object of danger; that a "family compact" founded on family connection might prove as formidable as a union of kingdoms; and that, if the English fleets were outnumbered, and blockaded in their harbours, as they often were in the course of the century, by those of France and Spain together, it were of little moment whether it was in virtue of a united government or a family alliance.*

89. An opportunity now occurred which enabled the Liberals of Spain to lay the foundation for a revival of their hopes, which had been so signally blasted by the universal burst of indignation against their rule that appeared on the invasion of the Duke d'Angoulême in 1823. The King, now advanced in years, had married in the close of the preceding year CHRISTINA, daughter of the King of the Two Sici-

* In every one of the wars of England against France, in the course of the eighteenth century, subsequent to 1714, the Spanish Government took part with the French, and their united navies always considerably outnumbered the English. This was particularly the case in the American War and the War of the Revolution, in the former of which the French and Spanish fleets, numbering forty-seven sail of the line, blockaded the English, of twenty-one sail, in Plymouth; while, at the outset of the latter, their combined fleets outnumbered those of Great Britain by forty-four line-of-battle ships.—See ALISON'S *Life of Marlborough*, vol. ii. p. 474, 3d edit.

lies; and the fêtes consequent on the marriage, which was graced by the presence of the royal parents of the bride, had been of so magnificent a character as to have recalled the pristine days of the monarchy, and in some degree reconciled even the Liberals to the sway of "*El Rey Absoluto*." In the spring of this year the Queen was discovered to be with child; and as the sex of the infant was of course uncertain, and DON CARLOS, the King's immediate younger brother, was, failing male issue of the marriage, the heir-apparent of the monarchy, and the avowed head of the despotic party, the Liberals resolved upon a device, which was attended with entire success, for altering the order of the succession, and establishing it in favour of the King's issue, *whether male or female*. By this means they hoped to ingraft a war of succession on a war of principles, and gain for themselves an ostensible and visible head—a matter of importance in all civil wars, but especially in one in Spain, where the people were much more inclined to attach themselves to persons than to things.

90. By the united influence of the young Queen and the old father-confessor, the King was won over in his old age to this intrigue, and the decree accordingly appeared calling females as well as males to the succession of the throne. To render the device the more plausible, it was stated in the decree that it was no new order of succession which was thereby established, but that it was a mere transcript of a former decree made by the late King, Charles IV., in 1789, on the requisition of the Cortes. Neither the alleged old decree, however, nor the requisition of the Cortes, were ever produced to give authority to the innovation, and it was done without the privity or concurrence of any of the powers in Europe which had been parties to the Treaty of Utrecht, by which the crown had been entailed on the male line. This, however, soon came to be of little moment; for in due time the Queen gave birth to a daughter, ISABELLA, the present sovereign of

Spain, and although the irregularities of the mother's conduct gave rise to serious doubts as to the infant's legitimacy, yet she was immediately adopted as the head of the Liberals, and the dependants of the Crown united with the partisans of free institutions in making THE QUEEN the war-cry of their united party. It will appear in the sequel what important consequences followed this circumstance, what mournful tragedies it occasioned in all parts of the Peninsula, and how completely it had the effect of nullifying, for a long course of years, Spain in the general balance of power in Europe.

91. Thus, within less than six months after the Revolution of 1830 broke out, and Charles X. had been dethroned, was the whole face of affairs in Europe changed. Distrust had everywhere succeeded to confidence, apprehension to security, convulsion to stability. In vain had Louis Philippe assured the Continental sovereigns, and with sincerity, that he was inclined to abide by existing treaties, to check the spirit of revolution, to stand between them and the plague. Events had proved that, whatever his intentions were, his power to carry them into effect was extremely circumscribed. It was evident that there were two governments in Paris, one in the Tuileries and one in the clubs, and that the latter was more powerful for evil than the former was for good. The spirit of propagandism, nursed in France, and quadrupled in strength by its victory there, was now spreading over the adjoining states, and had already achieved the most signal triumphs in foreign nations. The Conservative administration had been overturned in England, and a party installed in power, based on popular support, and pledged to organic changes, with a democratic tendency in the constitution; the Kingdom of the Netherlands had been revolutionised, the King dethroned at Brussels, and Belgium to all appearance irrevocably severed from Holland; the barrier of Europe against France had been converted into the outwork of France

against Europe; Germany had been convulsed, and a reigning sovereign dethroned; Switzerland subjected to democratic change, and brought under the influence of the clubs in Paris; and in Spain the order of succession changed, and a visible head given to the democratic party in the Peninsula, in the person of the heiress to the throne! A conflict of three days' duration in the streets of Paris had obliterated

the whole effect of the victories of Marlborough and Wellington, overturned the barrier in Flanders to revolutionary power, and annihilated in Spain the last remnant of security against French influence becoming predominant in the Peninsula! To all appearance the prophecy of Lafayette, forty years before, was about to be realised; the tricolor flag was to make the tour of the globe.

CHAPTER XXV.

FRANCE, FROM THE OVERTHROW OF THE KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS IN OCTOBER 1830 TO THE ABOLITION OF THE HEREDITARY PEERAGE IN SEPTEMBER 1831.

1. THE events which have been recounted in the end of the last chapter entirely altered the position of France and Louis Philippe with reference to the European powers, and had an important effect, both externally and internally, on its future history. The Government of July was now placed in a state of antagonism with Europe. The cordial feelings with which the envoys of Louis Philippe had been received by the northern powers on his first accession to the throne, as a fortunate necessity and valuable barrier against evil, had given place to an alarming anxiety and incipient distrust. Without doubting the sincerity of his professions of an ardent desire to coerce revolution and restrain propagandism, they had seen enough to have the most serious apprehensions of his ability to do either the one or the other. The English Government evinced, not without reason, great disquietude at the events in Flanders, and the extension of revolutionary influence to the mouth of the Scheldt. The speech from the throne at the opening of Parliament openly expressed that feeling. The Prussian Cabinet was equally alarmed at the revolutionary move-

ments in Northern Germany, and the obvious danger to which their Rhenish provinces were exposed, from the vicinity of the Flemish states in which the government had been overthrown. The Cabinet of Vienna, under the cautious guidance of Prince Metternich, was still more apprehensive at the democratic fervour in Switzerland and the excitement in Northern Italy, which their huge army and vigilant police had the utmost difficulty in repressing. Even the distant Court of St Petersburg took the alarm, and, well aware of the sympathy of feeling between Paris and Warsaw, began to direct forces, to be prepared for any event, in great numbers, to the banks of the Vistula. The Prussians sent troops as rapidly as possible to their Rhenish provinces, and Austria did the same to Northern Italy. Everywhere on the Continent were to be seen armaments and heard the sound of marching men. England alone, secure in her sea-girt isle, and entirely engrossed with domestic questions, made no warlike preparations, and regarded the distant din on the Continent as the precursor of a conflict with which she had no immediate concern.

2. This great change of necessity induced a corresponding alteration in the French Cabinet. The original government, formed by a coalition of the three parties—the Doctrinaires, headed by the Duke de Broglie and M. Guizot; the burgher interest, by Count Molé and M. Casimir Périer; and the Republicans, represented by M. Dupont de l'Eure—soon underwent the fate of all administrations formed by a combination of interests, not a union of principles. Dissensions of the most violent kind speedily appeared; the debates and recriminations were as tumultuous at the council-board as at the tribune; and it soon became evident that the differences of opinion were so great that anything like united action was impossible. In truth, each of these sections of the Cabinet was the representative of a party in the state, the passions or apprehensions of which had become so violent that they could no longer be restrained. The Republicans in the clubs, the press, and the streets, loudly proclaimed the necessity of instantly establishing the sovereignty of the people, installing the citizens in possession of real power by a great reduction of the suffrage qualification, receiving with open arms the friends of freedom in other countries, and regaining the frontier of the Rhine, and all that had been lost by the treaty of Vienna, by accepting the proffered amalgamation of Belgium with France. The burghers, whose strength, always great, had been doubled by their forming the greater proportion of the National Guard, both in the metropolis and the provincial towns, were mainly set on the maintenance of order and the preservation of general peace, and dreaded alike any foreign demonstration which might revive the hostile alliance of 1815, and any domestic innovation which might restore the internal sway of the Jacobins in the state. And the Doctrinaires, to whose enlarged and philosophic ideas the sagacious and experienced mind of the sovereign was most inclined, earnestly inculcated the principles that the Government, to be stable, must be one of progress and of order; that measures must be taken

to coerce the extravagance and restrain the influence of the clubs; and that the only lasting security for internal freedom was to be found in the maintenance of external peace.

3. With such discordant opinions agitating both the Cabinet, the Chamber, and the people, it was impossible that the Government could long hold together; but an event which strongly roused and agitated the nation, induced its dissolution even earlier than might have been anticipated. This was the trial of Prince Polignac and the other ministers of Charles X., who, by the officious zeal of inferior functionaries rather than the real wishes of the Government, had been arrested in various places and brought to Vincennes, where they awaited the determination of the Cabinet and Legislature on their fate. Had it been practicable, Louis Philippe and the majority of his Cabinet would gladly have avoided so embarrassing a proceeding as the trial of these state prisoners; but their alleged delinquency and real infraction of the laws had been too recent, the passions of the people too strongly excited, the risk of anything like a compromise to the new Government too great, to admit of such a course being thought of. Reluctantly, therefore, they were compelled to authorise the institution of proceedings against them. On September 23d the Chamber of Deputies, after long debates on the form to be adopted in the prosecution, had invested three commissioners with the power of conducting it on the part of the popular branch of the Legislature, and the trial was to take place before the Chamber of Peers. That body forthwith held an extraordinary meeting to commence the cognisance of the affair; and according to the form of the French law, where the court takes so large a share in the preliminary steps of the trial, three peers were appointed, and conjoined with the commissioners of the Deputies to conduct it. The judicial examinations commenced, and were conducted with great strictness and ability, though in an equitable spirit, by the Government commissioners; and the result was communi-

cated to the Chamber of Peers in a detailed and very impartial report on the 29th November.

4. The conduct of the accused during the prolonged interrogations was calm and dignified, but at the same time strongly characterised by that political infatuation and insensibility to the realities of their situation by which their conduct when in power had been distinguished. When they approached the gloomy towers of Vincennes, there was enough to quell the most undaunted spirit. In its fosse the Duke d'Enghien had fallen a victim to the jealousy and anger of Napoleon; within its walls Prince Polignac had undergone the weary hours of a nine years' captivity, for having conspired against that sovereign power which he was now accused of having abused. The carriage which bore them to the gloomy fortress was surrounded by an immense crowd, which never ceased to exclaim, "*La mort, la mort! la mort aux Ministres!*" So savage was their demeanour, so fierce and unrelenting their cries for vengeance, that the prisoners were relieved, and felt as if the worst of their dangers were over, when the drawbridge was passed, the gates entered, and the doors of the fortress closed upon their pursuers. During the examinations, the prisoners, who were kept apart and in close confinement, exhibited a very different demeanour. M. de Chantelauze, on seeing the commissioners, with some of whom he had formerly been intimate, enter his apartment, burst into tears; M. de Peyronnet evinced more resolution, admitted his accession to the ordinances, and justified them by the necessities of his situation, and the kindness of the King towards him. M. Guernon de Ranville was equally firm. But although the pale countenance, prominent forehead, and emaciated figure of Prince Polignac evinced the wearing influence of anxiety and meditation, yet the smile on his lips and the serenity of his manner revealed a mind at ease with itself and the world. He constantly believed that the acknowledged irresponsibility of the King must, by a legal fiction, be extended

to his Ministers. "When am I to be set at liberty?" he often said to the commissioners.

5. During the progress of these examinations, however, the state of Paris became such as dreadfully alarmed the court, and fearfully endangered the accused. The Republicans were indefatigable in their endeavours to excite the people, and awaken the savage thirst for blood which had for ever disgraced France during the Reign of Terror. The continued and increasing distress which existed among the working classes, and which the agitators contrived to impute solely to the acts of the late Ministers, which originated the convulsion, added immensely to the success with which their efforts were attended. On the 18th October, in particular, an *emue* of so serious a kind took place in the Faubourg St Antoine, that it assumed almost the character of an insurrection. A furious band then surrounded Vincennes, and were making preparations for storming the castle, in order to execute justice on the state prisoners with their own hands. They were only repelled by General Daumenil, the governor, threatening, if they did not desist, to blow up the building. Repulsed from thence, the waves of insurrection rolled to the westward, and broke on the Palais Royal, where it was only averted by the firm countenance of the National Guard. The King and his Ministers were all assembled. "Hark!" said Odillon Barrot, "I hear the cry, 'Vive Barrot!'" "And I," said the King, "have heard the cry 'Vive Petion!'" Groups of disorderly persons singing the Marseillaise, and exclaiming "*Mort aux Ministres!*" crowded the streets leading to Vincennes, and in the evening they were generally swelled to several thousand persons. The apprehensions of the Government were extreme: it was thus that the massacres in the prisons on 2d September 1792 had commenced. The garrison of Vincennes was greatly strengthened, the guards doubled, the drawbridge kept up, and the guns loaded, as in a state of siege, with grape-shot. Thanks to these wise pre-

cautions, the revolutionists were deterred from an attack upon the fortress, and the agitators confined themselves to incessant efforts at the clubs and in the press to excite the public mind, and keep it in that state of feverish anxiety when the most desperate resolutions are most likely to meet with a favourable reception.

6. At length, on the 15th of December, the trial commenced in the hall of the Peers, in the palace of the Luxembourg. Everything had been done which could give dignity and solemnity to the august spectacle. Seats were provided for all the foreign ambassadors and their families, as well as the principal dignitaries of the kingdom; and a guard of two thousand men, with several guns, was provided for daily service around the hall, besides powerful reserves in all the barracks of the capital, ready to turn out at a moment's notice. No less than one hundred and sixty-three of the Peers answered to their names when the roll was called; twenty sent excuses, which were sustained. The proceedings opened with the utmost solemnity, and were marked by a degree of moderation and equity which reflected honour on the dignified assembly, and contrasted strangely with the perpetual cry of "*La mort, la mort! la mort aux Ministres!*" which burst from the agitated crowds that surrounded the palace. The defence of Ministers rested mainly on the necessity of their situation, as the Government had been brought to a dead lock by the majority of 221 in the Chamber of Deputies, and on the 14th article of the charter, which, for such extreme cases, had, it was contended, provided the appropriate remedy. All the accused behaved with firmness, and yet temperance of demeanour. The smile often appeared on Prince Polignac's lips which had so frequently been seen during the whole course of these stormy scenes. Being asked who drew up the report which preceded the issuing of the ordinances, M. de Chantelauze replied, "It was I; it was drawn up after the principles of the ordinances had been agreed on

by the Cabinet; it was a manifesto intended to be published, demanded by the King, and approved by the Council." The courage of this answer, when a capital charge was hanging over the accused, and vociferous crowds on the outside demanded their death, excited a general and involuntary feeling of respect.

7. Louis Philippe, greatly to his honour, had from the very first exerted himself to the very utmost to save the lives of the accused. More than this could not, in the excited state of the public mind, by possibility be hoped for. His conduct in this respect was the more praiseworthy, that it was attended with imminent hazard to his own crown, and even life; for such was the excitement in Paris on the subject of the trial, that it was hard to say whether the Sovereign or the prisoners stood in the greater peril. As it was, the crisis proved fatal, not to the monarchy, but to the administration. The immediate and ostensible occasion of its fall was a split in the Cabinet, on the subject of dismissing M. Odillon Barrot, the Prefect of the Seine, from his office, on occasion of a proclamation he had issued, condemning an address of the Chamber of Deputies, recommending the gradual abolition of the punishment of death, especially in political cases, which had appeared in the official part of the *Moniteur*, as "an inopportune step, calculated to interrupt the ordinary course of justice." This gave rise to a violent altercation in the Cabinet between the King and M. Dupont de l'Eure, who was supported by M. de Lafayette and the whole strength of the Republican party; the former contending for the dismissal, the latter resisting it. It was easy to see, from the warmth with which the dispute was conducted on both sides, that a more vital interest than a mere question of criminal law was at stake, and that the real point was, whether or not the lives of the state prisoners were to be saved.* The

* "Louis Philippe annonce que la retraite du Préfet de la Seine est décidée, et que M. de Lafayette y consent. M. de Lafayette,

Keeper of the Seals, M. Dupont de l'Eure, tendered his resignation if M. Odillon Barrot was dismissed. The King, alarmed at the prospect of an entire breach with the Republican party, consented to retain him; and the consequence was, that M.M. de Broglie, Guizot, Molé, Casimir Périer, Dupin, and Bignon, tendered their resignations, which were accepted.

8. To all appearance the triumph of the Republicans was now complete, for they had succeeded in humbling the King, and driving the Doctrinaires and Conservatives of the Cabinet out of office, on a question in which they themselves were clearly in the wrong—viz., in supporting a subordinate functionary, *still holding office*, in a public act of insubordination against the Government. But with that dexterity which the King possessed in so remarkable a degree, and of which, in the course of his reign, he gave so many proofs, he contrived to elude the blow, and escape total defeat, by making a new combination, and taking his Cabinet, not from the victorious Republicans, but from the burgher party, which had not yet been brought into discredit. The Duke de Broglie retired from the dignified post of President of the Council; M. Guizot from the scarcely less important position of Minister of the Interior: M. Lafitte was made President of the Council and Minister of Finance; Marshal Maison, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Montalivet, Minister of the Interior; M. Merilhou, Minister

of Public Instruction; while M. Dupont de l'Eure, Count Sébastiani, and Marshal Gérard retained their offices respectively of Ministers of Justice, the Marine, and War. These seven alone constituted the Cabinet, from which M. Dupin and M. Bignon were excluded. The defeat of the Doctrinaires was complete, for they were entirely extruded from the Government; and the step in favour of the democratic party was considerable, for a banker, the author of the Revolution of July, was Premier, and the aristocratic party were almost entirely shut out from the Cabinet. A few days after, an ordinance appeared, appointing Count Sébastiani Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Argout Minister of the Marine, and Marshal Soult Minister at War, in room of Marshal Gérard. The triumph of the extreme democrats, however, was not complete, for the burgher party, of which Lafitte was the head, still formed the majority of the Council; and it turned out, ere long, that Marshal Soult, the new War Minister, was the most formidable antagonist which the Republicans had ever encountered, and very different from Prince Polignac or the priests who had induced the Revolution of July.

9. The contest of parties began in the Chamber the very first day that the new Ministers appeared in their places there. M. Lafitte on this occasion made the following statement of the principles on which his Ministry was to be conducted: "A member of the former and present Administration, it falls to me to explain our intentions and proposed line of conduct, and the explanation shall be as concise as possible. The whole Council were unanimously of opinion that liberty could only be accompanied with order, and that the inflexible execution of the laws, till they are changed by legislative authority, is indispensable, under pain of anarchy. All are full of the hopes which the Revolution of 1789 has bequeathed to the world. Every one knows that the Revolution of 1830 must be restrained within certain bounds, that it is necessary to

Sire !' dit alors M. Dupont de l'Eure, 'votre Majesté se trompe assurément.' 'Je l'ai entendu, Monsieur.' 'Permettez-moi de croire à une erreur de votre part: M. de Lafayette m'a tenu un langage différent, et je ne crois pas le Général capable de le contredire à ce point.' Le visage du Roi était en feu. 'Au reste,' continue le Garde des Sceaux (Dupont), 'reparlons de ce qui me concerne. Puisque M. Odillon de Barrot se retire, je réitère à votre Majesté la prière d'accepter ma démission.' 'Mais, vous m'avez dit ce matin tout le contraire.' 'Moi, Sire! J'affirme cette fois que vous êtes dans l'erreur.' 'Quoi, Monsieur! vous me donnez un démenti? Tout le monde saura que vous m'avez manqué.' 'Sire!' répondit M. Dupont avec dignité, 'quand le Roi aura dit oui, et M. Dupont, non, je ne sais auquel des deux la France croira.'—LOUIS BLANC, vol. ii. p. 152

conciliate Europe by uniting to dignity a measured moderation. Upon these points we were all agreed, because the Cabinet was composed only of men of sense and prudence. But a difference arose upon the way in which we were to carry out the Revolution of 1830. The opinion was not general that it was destined soon to degenerate into anarchy; that it was necessary early to take measures of precaution against it—to evince distrust and hostility towards it. But, excepting upon this one point, there was no difference of opinion among the members of the late Cabinet.” This declaration was perfectly sincere, and very near the truth; but it excited very little attention, as being couched only in vague generalities, which meant nothing. One only point of real practical importance occupied every mind, and divided society with the utmost acrimony. The Legitimists and Doctrinaires were animated with the generous desire to save the lives of the ex-ministers; the Democrats and Republicans thirsted after their blood.

10. The progress of the trial ere long brought them into violent collision, under circumstances so alarming as to threaten the destruction of the infant monarchy. The public, vehemently excited, suffering under most serious real evils, and incessantly stimulated by a licentious press, demanded in a voice of thunder a holocaust of victims to appease its indignation. The trial lasted long, and the general excitement seemed to increase with every day that it continued. The accused were defended with talent and energy; and some noble men came forward, in the moment of peril, to defend their former political opponents at the hazard of their own lives. Among the rest was M. de Martignac, whose ministry had been supplanted by that of Prince Polignac, but who now appeared as counsel for M. de Peyronnet, his old school and college companion. “At school,” said he, “at college, we have followed the same cause. Well, after having passed the ordeal of human grandeur, we find ourselves again here;

I, as of old, lending to an accused party the aid of my voice; he, a captive accused, obliged to defend his life and good name, alike menaced. That long brotherhood, which had continued undisturbed through so many events, was interrupted for a moment by the sad effects of political dissension. The hall in which we are met has sometimes resounded with our debates, not unmingled with bitterness; but of all recollections, that of ancient friendship is alone retained in the castle of Vincennes.”

11. The general argument in favour of the accused was thus ably stated by M. Sauzet, who appeared for M. de Chantelauze: “The royal dynasty was in danger at the time of the ordinances, not in consequence of a general conspiracy, which I will not impute to the French nation. It is not I who will accuse the people of being treacherous to their King; but had not other and irretrievable causes of discord arisen at that time in society? Who can doubt the dangers of the crown in presence of a new throne, when there were floating on all sides the standards of another house, and the colours of another epoch? The Revolution of July has furnished the best argument in favour of the ordinances, and of the necessity, in the eyes of Charles X., I will not say of what was actually done, but of some extraordinary measure to meet extraordinary dangers, to which the dynasty, in order to preserve its existence, was forced to have recourse. Let us figure to our minds what would have occurred if such a revolution as we have witnessed had broken out, prepared, not by conspiracy, but by the ancient and ineradicable bent of the public mind. We constantly confound the cause and the occasion. Three days have sufficed, indeed, to make the Revolution, but fifteen years had been employed in preparing it; and if I do not deceive myself by confining the Revolution within trifling limits, *it is not destined to have a long futurity*. It was a revolution which is due only to hazard, and which has only succeeded by a fortunate acci-

dent in breaking up the throne of our ancient kings; a revolution which probably would not have taken place the day before, and assuredly would not have been successful the day after."

12. These, however, were political considerations, calculated perhaps to go far in justifying the memory of the accused in the eyes of posterity, for having introduced the ordinances as a measure of state necessity; but they afforded no vindication of them, in a legal point of view, from the crime of a deliberate infraction of the constitution, of which they were accused. Their condemnation, therefore, was a matter of necessity; and it is highly to the credit of the Government that they had the courage to propose, and of the Peers that they had the firmness to adopt, punishments short of death. So much had their number been reduced by the exclusion, at the Revolution, of all those who had been elevated to the peerage during the reign of Charles X., that only 156 peers appeared to vote on the guilt and punishment of the accused. They were all found guilty by a majority of 132 to 24. This was expected, and was, in fact, unavoidable; but the material point, upon which public expectation was so violently excited, was, what punishment should be inflicted on them? The whole weight of Government had been thrown, and happily with success, to the side of mercy. M. de Polignac was sentenced, by a majority of 123, to transportation for life; M. de Peyronnet, by 87 to 68, to perpetual imprisonment; M. de Chantelauze, by 138 to 14, to perpetual imprisonment; and M. de Guernon Ranville to the same punishment, by 140 to 16. Considering how violently the people were excited on the subject, and the efforts which had been made to rouse them, these sentences must be regarded as an act of mercy; and it must always be considered as an honour to the Government of Louis Philippe that it first gave the example, on a memorable occasion, of the abolition of the punishment of death for purely political offences.

13. But though the lives of the accused were spared by the court, it was by no means equally clear they would be respected by the people; and the utmost danger awaited them in the course of the passage from the palace of the Luxembourg to the castle of Vincennes. The mob which surrounded the court amounted to above fifty thousand persons, and exhibited the most savage and unrelenting disposition. Had they once tasted of blood, the whole horrors of the first Revolution might have been renewed. Happily, in this crisis, the admirable dispositions of the military and police authorities prevented such a catastrophe. Twenty-four thousand troops of the line and national guards, with cannons loaded and matches lighted, were formed in dense array around the building when the sentence was determined on; and without its being promulgated, the prisoners were hurried away, the moment it was signed by the president of the court, to the carriages which were to convey them to Vincennes, which immediately set off at a rapid pace. M. Montalivet, the Minister of the Interior, rode on the right of the carriage which conveyed Prince Polignac—the post of honour as the post of danger. So quickly was the whole got over that they were safely lodged at Vincennes, under the charge of the firm General Daumenil, before the mob around the Luxembourg were well aware of their conviction.* The sentences were then read to them in their separate apartments, which they heard with constancy; and some days afterwards they were quietly removed to Ham, the place of their final destination. Some disturbances took place in Paris, which was violently agitated on that and the following day; but they were suppressed by the firm countenance of the troops of the line and national guards, who were publicly thanked by Louis Philippe for their conduct on the occasion.

* When they passed the Barrier du Trône, M. Montalivet wrote to the King: "Sire, nous avons franchi la moitié de l'espace; encore quelques minutes de danger et nous sommes à Vincennes et tout est sauvé."—CAPEFIGUE, vol. iv. p. 163.

14. The violent excitement consequent on the trial of the ex-ministers led Government to appreciate the necessity of doing something decisive to terminate the anarchy which prevailed in the capital, and put a period to the military dictatorship which, as Commander-in-chief of the National Guard, M. de Lafayette exercised in its crowded streets. Great part of the National Guard had evinced a very bad spirit on occasion of the trial, and the artillery, in particular, had been so mutinous that a conflict had all but taken place between the gunners of the National Guard and the troops of the line, in the Place de Carrousel, under the very eyes of the King. On the 22d December, when the decision of the Peers on the punishment of the accused was known in the capital, things wore the most menacing aspect. A black flag was displayed from the Pantheon; crowds began to assemble in the streets, muttering threats, no longer against the ex-ministers, but the Government which had shielded them. So great was the distress which prevailed among the workmen of the metropolis, that crowds of ten or twelve thousand persons were seen in all directions, loudly demanding bread or employment, and openly threatening insurrection if it were any longer withheld. Against them, and alongside of the best portion of the National Guard, appeared the scholars of the Polytechnic School, clad in that magic uniform which five months before had thrilled every heart with emotion. Indeed, the peril to the new dynasty was as great as that which had overturned the last; and it was the bitter lessons learned by experience which alone in this crisis preserved Paris from a second convulsion. The shopkeepers had suffered so dreadfully by the stagnation of trade induced by the first, that they were resolved not again to incur a similar risk; and to all the dreams of the enthusiasts it was a sufficient answer, "*Le commerce ne va pas.*" Beyond all doubt, it was the steadiness of the National Guard from the best parts of the city which at this crisis saved the throne.

15. But this very circumstance of the immense importance of the service rendered by the National Guard on this occasion opened the eyes of the Government to the extreme danger of their position in regard to that formidable body. M. de Lafayette, taking advantage of his influence, and of the almost unbounded sway which these circumstances gave him, made certain demands on the Government which were tantamount to a revolution. These were—1st, The immediate dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, the majority of which was not in harmony with the ideas of the Republicans, with whom he was surrounded; 2d, The placing of the electoral franchise on a new footing, which should admit all the persons paying direct taxes to the suffrage; 3d, The reconstruction of the peerage on a different basis, for life only, and elective, like the American Senate. Thus the dictator, the head of the National, which might now be called the Prætorian Guard, demanded what in France, where there were 4,000,000 persons paying direct taxes, was equivalent to universal suffrage, and the abolition of the peerage, whether hereditary or for life, and the substitution of an elective senate in its room. This was certainly the realisation of his favourite dream of a "monarchy surrounded with republican institutions." Whether they could coexist in the same community was a very different question, upon which the Government required to come to an immediate decision. The sway of Lafayette, as at the head of the armed force of the capital, appeared in foreign countries completely to overshadow the throne, and the utmost alarm was manifested regarding it, not in the journals of St Petersburg and Vienna, but in the Whig papers of London.

16. The conduct of the French Government on this crisis was marked by the vigour and decision which, in civil dissensions, when supported by strength, is so often the precursor of success. In this hazardous attempt they were much aided by the vanity of the military chief. Already the exorbitant power assumed by M. de

Lafayette had excited a general jealousy even among his own adherents, who, although quite willing to use him for a tool, were by no means inclined to have him for a master. The press, both Republican and Legitimist, daily declaimed against him; and the epithet of "Le Polignac populaire," applied to him by M. Capéfigue in the *Conservateur*, like other felicitous sobriquets which wound those of whom we are jealous, was received with general applause. Encouraged by this support, Ministers, on the 24th December, amidst the most fulsome expressions of gratitude and adulation for the "hero of the two worlds," quietly deprived him of his command of the National Guards, cloaking the dismissal under the pretext of appointing him "Honorary Commander of the Guard." "Since the 30th July," said M. Charles Dupin on the part of the Government, "General Lafayette has been the living law of the National Guard; he has acquired unbounded glory by the manner in which he has exercised that august mission; but the friend, the companion, the emulator of Washington, knows that a man cannot remain a living law all his life, if the written law is not to become extinct. That illustrious friend of liberty, if he were within these walls, would be the first to say, 'My wish is that the law should live, and that I should again become what I am, the citizen of the two worlds.'" The decree dismissing Lafayette with these high-sounding flowers of panegyric was passed by the Chambers without a division; and the General had the patriotism or the good sense to submit to it without resistance, after declining the title of "honorary" commander offered to him, with the most flattering expressions of regard, by the King.*

* "Le grand pouvoir," said Lafayette, "dont j'étais investi, donnait quelque ombrage. Vous en aviez bien entendu parler, Messieurs. Cet ombrage s'était surtout étendu dans les cercles diplomatiques. Aujourd'hui, ce pouvoir est brisé, je n'ai plus que l'honneur d'être entre des collègues. Cette démission, reçue par le Roi avec les témoignages de sa bonté ordinaire pour moi, je ne l'aurais pas donnée avant la crise que nous ven-

17. This decisive step was immediately followed by some changes in the Cabinet. They were of such a kind as showed that the dismissal of M. de Lafayette had been substantially a defeat to the extreme Democrats. M. Dupont de l'Eure resigned his situation as Minister of Justice; it was gladly accepted, and he was succeeded by M. Merilhou, then Minister of Public Instruction, a man of ability and of moderation, though a decided Liberal. M. Merilhou was succeeded in the portfolio of Public Instruction by M. Barthé, a person also of eloquence and power, and, like him, distinguished as a Liberal under the Government of the Restoration. M. Treilhard, the Prefect of Police, also resigned, and was succeeded by M. Baudé, one of the most active chiefs on occasion of the Revolution of July, and a man of vigour and courage. M. Odillon Barrot tendered his resignation as Prefect of the Department of the Seine; but he was prevailed on to withdraw, and continue the discharge of his functions, on condition of their being considered judicial or administrative only, and altogether detached from politics. M. Taschereau, his sous-prefect, was also retained. "Odillon Barrot," said Louis Philippe, "will be no more to be feared when he has no longer M. de Lafayette above him, and none under him but M. de Taschereau."

18. The Government was considerably strengthened by these changes, both from the greater unity given to the Cabinet, and the increased consideration it acquired in the public estimation and in the eyes of foreign powers. It derived additional support from the news that arrived in the lat-

ons de traverser. Aujourd'hui, ma conscience de l'ordre public est pleinement satisfaite. J'avoue qu'il n'en est pas de même de ma conscience de liberté. Nous connaissons tous ce Programme de l'Hôtel de Ville, 'un trône populaire, entouré d'institutions républicaines.' Il a été accepté, mais nous ne l'entendons pas tous de même. Il ne l'a pas toujours été par les conseils du Roi, comme par moi, qui suis plus impatient que d'autres de la voir réalisée. Et quelle qu'ait toujours été mon indépendance personnelle dans toutes les situations, je me sens dans ma situation actuelle plus à l'aise pour discuter mon opinion avec vous." — *Ann. Hist.*, vol. xiv. p. 490.

ter months of the year from Algeria. Marshal Bourmont, upon receiving on the 11th August the intelligence of the dethronement of Charles X., published an address announcing it to the army, and at the same time resigning the command to General Clausel, who had been appointed his successor. He soon after embarked for France, "carrying with him," as he himself said, "nothing of the hundred millions which the conquest of Algiers had brought to France, and bringing but the embalmed heart of his son." General Clausel resolved to signalise the advent of the Republican party to power at Paris, by forming a chain of fortified posts through the Algerine territory in order to protect the colonists, who were presenting themselves in considerable numbers for the acquisition and cultivation of land. The expedition set out in the middle of November, and after defeating several bodies of Arabs which presented themselves, succeeded in reducing the two towns of Melideah and Medeah, with a considerable adjacent territory, under the French dominion.

19. These were considerable advantages; but they yielded in importance to the vast armaments which the new Government was compelled to make, and the great addition to the public expenses with which they were attended. The deficit of 86,000,000 francs in the revenue, which, as has been already mentioned, appeared soon after the Revolution, rapidly and alarmingly increased. Many causes contributed to bring it about. The funds had fallen fully 20 per cent between January 1830 and January 1831,* and the public misery and stagnation of commerce had become such in the latter months of the year that the suffering produced by the invasions of 1814 and 1815 had been less in comparison. It was absolutely indispensable to increase largely the Government expenditure in order to counterbalance this woeful

stagnation, and the clothing, arming, and equipping of 600,000 national guards, which were called out over all France, had this effect in a considerable degree. The hostile attitude of foreign powers, especially Prussia and Austria, since the revolution in Belgium, also rendered necessary a great increase of the regular army. That force, in the time of the fall of Charles X., had consisted of 131,000 infantry and 34,595 cavalry, of whom 12,000 were Swiss who were all disbanded and sent home after the Revolution of July. Their place was supplied, however, by 148,000 new French conscripts, which raised the infantry to 243,000 men, and the cavalry to 45,000, making a total of 288,000 men—a large force, doubtless, but by no means disproportioned to what France was entitled to have on foot, considering the strength of the nation and the doubtful ground on which it stood in its relations to foreign powers.

20. The circumstance beyond all others which rendered this great armament on the part of France necessary, was the jealousies which had arisen on all sides in regard to the candidates for the crown of Belgium, now vacant by the results of the revolution in Flanders, and its definitive separation from Holland. Two candidates, and two only, presented themselves, in the first instance, for the crown—the Duke de Leuchtenberg, son of Prince Eugène Beauharnais, the far-famed Viceroy of Italy under Napoleon; and the Duke de Nemours, second son of Louis Philippe. The separation of Belgium from Holland had been finally determined on by a congress of the ambassadors of France, England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, on the 20th December 1830, on reasons which, under existing circumstances, appeared too well founded.* The throne being then

* Five per cents, 2d January 1830, 109
Three per cents, do. 84
Five per cents, 31st December 1830, 93
Three per cents, do. 62

—*Ann. Hist.*, vol. xvi. p. 520.

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* "En formant par les traités de Vienne en 1815, l'union de la Belgique avec la Hollande, les puissances signataires de ces traités, et dont les plénipotentiaires sont assemblés dans ce moment, avaient eu pour but, de fonder un juste équilibre en Europe, et d'assurer le maintien de la paix générale. Les événements

vacant, its disposal was nominally in the hands of the Estates of Flanders; but it was evident that the European powers would all feel the deepest interest in the question involved in it, for its territory, interposed between France and Germany, bristling with strong and newly-erected fortresses, and adjoining the recent acquisitions of Prussia on the Rhine, was too important not to be of the utmost moment in the future balance of power in Europe, and its possession might have a decisive effect on the first general war which might arise. England had been drawn into the first revolutionary war by the advance of Dumourier to Antwerp, and the opening of the mouth of the Scheldt, contrary to existing treaties, and its independence might be not less seriously menaced by the incorporation of Flanders with France, in conformity with the loudly expressed wish of the revolutionists in both countries, or the bestowing of the crown of Belgium on a son of the King of the French.

21. Notwithstanding the obvious force of these considerations, which threatened to involve Europe in a general war, if either the incorporation of Belgium with France were openly attempted, or if it was indirectly brought under French influence by its crown

des quatre derniers mois ont malheureusement démontré que cet amalgame parfait et complet, que les puissances voulaient opérer entre ces deux pays, n'avaient pas obtenu ce qu'il serait désormais impossible d'effectuer; qu'ainsi l'objet même de l'union de la Belgique avec la Hollande se trouvait détruit, et que dès lors il devenait indispensable de recourir à d'autres arrangements pour accomplir les intentions, à l'exécution desquelles cette union devait servir de moyen. Unie à la Hollande, et faisant partie intégrale du royaume des Pays Bas, la Belgique avait à remplir sa part des devoirs Européens de ce royaume, et des obligations que les traités lui avaient fait contracter envers les autres puissances. La rupture avec la Hollande ne saurait la libérer de cette part de ses devoirs et de ses obligations. La conférence s'occupe conséquemment de discuter et de conclure les nouveaux arrangements les plus propres à combiner l'indépendance future de la Belgique avec les stipulations des traités, avec les intérêts et la sécurité des autres puissances, et avec la conservation de l'équilibre Européen." — *Protocole*, 20 Décembre 1830; *Ann. Hist.*, xiii. 244, 245.

being bestowed on a son of the King of the French, such was the weight of the French party, and the desire of the leading men in the revolution for a connection with that country, that the Estates made a formal tender of the crown to the Duke de Nemours. Louis Philippe was much embarrassed by this election, however agreeable, under other circumstances, it might have been to his ambition. He had already formally announced to the Estates of Belgium "that he would never, in any event, recognise the Duke de Leuchtenberg or the Duke de Nemours as King of Belgium, or give the former, if elected, any of his daughters in marriage;" and now he was tempted by a direct offer of the crown to his son.* His own throne, however, was not sufficiently established to permit him to take a step which would probably give umbrage to all the European powers, and would certainly dissolve the good understanding between France and England. He had the good sense, accordingly, to refuse the tempting offer, in terms courteous indeed, but sufficiently firm to show that his mind was made up; and the crown of Belgium continued to be vacant, the object of diplomatic intrigue and revolutionary ambition.

22. By another protocol of the representatives of the five powers at London, on 20th January 1831, it was provided that the kingdom of Holland should embrace all the territories which formed part of the Seven United Provinces in 1789; and that of Belgium, "the wholereimainder of the territories which had received the denomination of the Kingdom of the Low Countries in the treaty of 1815, *with the exception of the*

* "Le Roi ne consentira pas à la réunion de la Belgique à la France; il n'acceptera pas la couronne pour M. le Duc de Nemours, alors même qu'elle lui serait offerte par le Congrès. Le gouvernement verrait, dans le choix du Duc de Leuchtenberg, une combinaison de nature à troubler la tranquillité de la France. Nous n'avons pas le projet de porter la plus légère atteinte à la liberté des Belges dans l'élection de leur souverain, mais nous usons aussi de notre droit en déclarant de la manière la plus formelle que nous ne reconnaitrons pas le Duc de Leuchtenberg." — *Dépêche de Sébastiani*, 11th January 1831; *Ann. Hist.*, vol. xiv. pp. 385, 386.

Grand-duchy of Luxembourg, which the princes of the House of Nassau possessed by a different title, and which formed, and shall continue, *part of the German Confederation*. All the dispositions of the general act of the Congress of Vienna relative to the free navigation of rivers and navigable streams shall apply to the rivers and streams which traverse the Dutch or Belgian territory." Provision was also made for the mutual exchange of small detached portions of the Belgian and Dutch territory which lay *enclavés* in each other's territories, in order that the dominions of each should be rounded, and embrace none lying within the general limits of the other. This protocol was of great consequence, as first fixing the respective limits of the Dutch and Belgian states, which have ever since remained separated in the European family.

23. The refusal of Louis Philippe to accept the throne of Belgium for his son gave the highest satisfaction in London, both as adjourning at least, if not avoiding, the dangers of the extension of French power and influence to the mouth of the Scheldt, and as demonstrating that the sway of Great Britain in European diplomacy was superior to that of France. It gave nearly as much satisfaction to the Republicans at Paris; for what they desired was, not to see a valuable appanage bestowed upon the Orléans family, already become the object of their irreconcilable hatred, but to effect an incorporation of Belgium and France in one great republic, extending to the Rhine, and recalling the glories, as it embraced the territories, of Napoleon. Meanwhile the Government of Holland, recovered from the shock occasioned by the severance of Belgium, was taking the most active measures to organise the means of resistance. Troops were rapidly levied to increase the strength of the regular army; the patriotic spirit of the people added greatly to their number by voluntary enlistment; the frontier towns were armed, provisioned, and put in a respectable posture of defence. Already the regular army amounted to 60,000 men, which before the summer was increased to 80,000; and the spirit of the

people, deeply excited by the treachery and defection of the Belgians, supported the Chambers in all the money grants requisite to sustain an establishment so great for a state not numbering above two millions and a half of inhabitants.

24. In Belgium, on the other hand, the usual weakness which succeeds the first burst of revolutionary strength was daily becoming more conspicuous. The country was not only without a government, but no one could foretell either what the government was to be, or into whose hands it was to fall. The diplomatic body nearly unanimously supported Prince Otho, second son of the King of Bavaria, as the candidate least likely to excite the jealousy of France or England. The Duke of Leuchtenberg was out of the question, as the French Government had formally declared they would never consent to his appointment. In these circumstances, a considerable party in the Belgian Assembly began to turn their eyes to Prince LEOPOLD OF SAXE-COBURG, whose German connections might, it was hoped, conciliate the powers of that country; while his connection with Great Britain, through the late Princess Charlotte, would probably render him acceptable to the Cabinet of St James's. Nor did it escape the notice of the Belgian patriots, that he was possessed of a jointure of £50,000 a-year as widower of the daughter of England, which might be of essential service in consolidating their infant monarchy; while by offering his hand to a daughter of France, he might conciliate the suffrages of that country, and overcome the scruples of its cautious sovereign. But these views were problematical only, and wrapped in the darkness of futurity. In the mean time, the state was without a government, and fast falling into the anarchy and helplessness which invariably succeed such an interregnum. The taxes were unpaid, the fortresses unarmed, the exchequer empty; already nearly half of the army, ashamed of their defection, had left their colours; and though the Assembly at Brussels passed repeated decrees ordering the levying of fresh troops, and calling out the *ban* and

arrière-ban, yet no progress was made in embodying them; and while the external dangers of the kingdom were hourly increasing, its internal means of defence were daily wasting away.

25. The dangers of a general war, great as they were in the north of Europe from the difficulties which beset the Belgian question, were, in a considerable degree, removed by the temper and judgment displayed by the diplomatists at London, especially Prince Talleyrand and Lord Palmerston, and the sincere desire which they all felt to avoid anything which might induce hostilities. But it was otherwise in Italy, where the ardent spirit of revolution, nourished by French propagandism, and excited by French convulsions, was brought in contact with the cautious spirit of Austrian conservatism, directed by the prudent sagacity of Prince Metternich. In Milan, the seeds of revolt were ripe, and no slight fermentation was evinced on occasion of the revolutions of July and October; but the presence of a large Austrian force, the vigilance of the police, and the energetic measures of Marshal Radetsky, the governor, prevented any actual outbreak. It was otherwise, however, in the Papal States, where the government was weaker, the seditious spirit stronger, and the prospect of success to the revolutionists greater. A formidable insurrection accordingly was soon organised in the Pope's dominions, which had its principal ramifications in the Papal Legation, or provinces to the north of the Apennines, and its centre in Bologna, a city where an independent free spirit had long been in an especial manner conspicuous. The wealth of this city was great, its inhabitants amounted to sixty thousand, and its citizens were animated with that desire for a share in the government which naturally arose from a consciousness of their own strength, and a perception of the imbecility of the conclave of Cardinals by whom they were oppressed. In Modena also, and Parma, the same discontent prevailed, and the people only waited for an opportunity to shake off their oppressive petty tyrants.

26. The insurrection broke out first in Modena, on the 3d of February, and was in the outset suppressed, and its leader Menotti made prisoner. But next day appearances of disturbance of a much more serious kind showed themselves in Bologna. Its garrison, which consisted of only seven hundred men, was ordered by the Prolegat, governor of the town, not to act, for fear of irritating the people. The consequences of this timidity were soon apparent. Assured of impunity whatever they did, the conspirators sallied forth from their respective places of rendezvous, and were soon strengthened by the whole students of its far-famed university. Thus supported, they advanced to the palace of the Prolegat, whom they forced to abdicate, and retire with the garrison over the Apennines to Florence. A provisional government was immediately established, comprising, among others, some dignitaries of the old Kingdom of Italy; the authority of the Pope as a temporal sovereign was overturned; the Italian tricolor, green, white, and blue, everywhere mounted, and the people invited to form a national guard for the defence of the public liberties. The example of this successful revolution, which was effected without shedding a drop of blood, or disorders of any kind, speedily spread to the adjoining towns. The whole cities in the Papal dominions to the north of the Alps broke out into open insurrection. Modena again rose the day after the success at Bologna, and the authority of its Grand-duke was speedily overturned. Ancona and Reggio followed the example, as well as Ferrara, which had an Austrian garrison. The troops having no orders, and not knowing how to act, shut themselves up in the citadel, letting the citizens do what they pleased; and the feeble government of the Duchesse of Parma, the widow of Napoleon, yielded to the request of a deputation of the inhabitants that she would abdicate and leave the country. In less than a week the authority of the Pope had ceased in all the provinces to the north of the Apennines; and the insurgents, encouraged by their easy suc-

cess over the pontifical soldiers, took steps to extend their movements in every direction. Efforts were made to spread the conflagration to Tuscany, Piedmont, and Naples. A detachment from Bologna crossed the mountains, and advanced as far as Otricoli, in order to lend a hand to an insurrection which was expected in Rome; and an animated proclamation was addressed to the inhabitants of Lombardy, calling on them to shake off the hated yoke of the stranger, and concur in the general establishment of Italian freedom.*

27. Austria, ever nervous about her Italian possessions, did not require this provocation to induce her to interfere in the strife to the south of the Alps. Ever since the Revolution of July in France, she had sedulously augmented her forces in Italy, and they now amounted to little short of a hundred thousand men. The Pope, the Duke of Modena, the Duchess of Parma, had each implored succour from the Cabinet of Vienna, to enable them to put down the insurrection in their several states, and regain their lost possessions. On the other hand, the French at first declared that they would not permit any armed intervention of the Austrians in the affairs of Italy. After some negotiations, however, this resolution was so far modified that the Cabinet of the Tuileries declared they would not object to the Imperialists moving into the Papal States to suppress the revolution, provided they came under an engagement not to remain there, which was at once agreed to. Fortified by this consent, a divi-

sion of Austrians, in the first week of March, crossed the Po, and marched on Parma and Modena; while General Frimont, at the head of twenty thousand men, advanced against Bologna. The insurgents, scarcely armed, and wholly undisciplined, were in no condition to resist forces so considerable. The Duke of Modena re-entered his dominions at the head of the Austrian troops, and immediately erected scaffolds. Menotti and Borilla, the two leaders of the insurrection, were hanged, and numbers of others sentenced to long imprisonment. Inspired with better as well as wiser feelings, the Duchess of Parma accorded a general amnesty, on the mild condition only of the leaders being excluded for three years from public employments.

28. At Bologna some resistance was attempted, but finding General Frimont was at the head of such formidable forces, all thoughts of combating were laid aside, and the Austrians entered the city without resistance on the 21st. Some skirmishes between the insurgents and Imperialists took place afterwards, but nothing that could be called war anywhere ensued; and the rebels, refluent from all quarters, were soon cooped up in Ancona, where they were glad, on 29th March, to conclude a convention by which the fortress was given up, and they laid down their arms on condition of an absolute amnesty for their persons and estates. This condition the Papal Government refused to ratify; various arrests took place, and commissions were instituted to try the rebels. Happily, however, no lives were sacrificed; the leaders had escaped, and a general amnesty was at length proclaimed, with the exception only of the members of the provisional government who had signed the deposition of the Pope. The insurrection being thus extinguished, the French Government called upon the Cabinet of Vienna to redeem its pledge, and withdraw from the Ecclesiastical States; but the latter, on various pretexts, delayed doing so, and it was not till the 17th July that their troops retired into Lombardy, and finally evacuated the Papal dominions.

* "Concitoyens de Lombardie! Suivez l'exemple de la France, imitez les patriotes de l'Italie centrale; brisez les chaînes honteuses dont la Sainte Alliance vous a chargés. Nous étions esclaves et misérables sous le despotisme des prêtres, mais nos oppresseurs étaient du moins Italiens. Vous êtes esclaves d'étrangers qui s'enrichissent de vos dépouilles, et qui, chaque jour, vous rendent plus malheureux. Le jour où vous vous lèverez contre eux, 40,000 de nos compatriotes marcheront pour vous aider à écraser les Autrichiens. Ne tardez point; car il y a péril à hésiter. Déployez votre courage, concitoyens, et le despotisme fuira de nos belles contrées. Notre pays, notre liberté, et notre indépendance nationale avant tout!"—*Proclamation*, Bologne, 10th Feb. 1831; *Ann. Hist.*, xiv. 537.

29. Although the fermentation in Germany, in the course of this year, did not assume so formidable an appearance as it did in Italy, yet enough existed to excite disquietude, occasion armaments, and presage war. The King of Holland, in his character of Grand-duke of Luxembourg, in which he was a member of the Germanic Confederation, presented a petition to the Diet, praying that he might be protected in his German dominions by the Federal forces; and upon this requisition a force of 24,000 men was, by a resolution of the Federal Assembly, ordered to be stationed in that duchy to maintain his authority. When this resolution was known in Brussels, the hot-headed revolutionists of that country prepared to assert their right to it by force; and if they had adhered to that resolution, a general war would have ensued; for the German Diet, to be prepared for any emergency, immediately armed the frontier fortresses on the Rhine, and put them in a respectable posture of defence. Fortunately for the peace of Europe, more rational councils ere long prevailed with the Belgian provisional government. They hesitated to come to a rupture with a Confederation which could bring three hundred thousand men into the field. The refusal of the throne of Belgium for his son by Louis Philippe rendered it doubtful whether, in such a contest, they would have the support of France; and the resolution of the assembled ambassadors in London that Luxembourg should form part of the dominions of the King of Holland, proved that, in attempting to enforce their pretensions, they would incur the hostility of all Europe. These considerations were so obvious that they forced themselves even on the most unwilling minds; and accordingly the intention to assert their rights by force was abandoned, and the Belgian government contented itself with making a formal demand upon the Diet for the duchy, which was immediately refused. The conservative tendency of the Diet was still further evinced by two resolutions which it soon after passed, by the first of which it declared that it

would refuse to receive any petitions relative to the general interests of the Confederation, as they were dangerous to the tranquillity of particular states; while by the second it was recommended to all governments to take the most vigilant steps to coerce the licentiousness of the press. Soon after the Diet passed a resolution asserting its own right to exercise a control of the press in all the states of the Confederation, and immediately gave a practical proof of its determination to enforce its power by prohibiting the circulation in all Germany of a Liberal journal entitled *L'Allemagne Constitutionnelle*, published at Strasbourg, which advocated the overthrow of existing governments.

30. Austria had serious matter for consideration at this period, from the state both of its own dominions and of the adjoining districts. The insurrection in Italy, which has been already mentioned, caused its Government to augment largely its forces, already considerable, in Lombardy, and brave the threatened hostility of France, to prevent the spread of the revolutionary movement through the north of the peninsula. But the Cabinet of Vienna had soon still more pressing cause for anxiety in its own dominions. The fierce and deeply interesting war in Poland, of which an account will immediately be given, excited the warmest sympathy in all parts of the Austrian dominions, and especially in Hungary, which adjoined it, and among the inhabitants of which a strong identity of feeling with the efforts of the Sarmatian race has always existed. Alarmed at the growing fermentation in that important part of their dominions, the Government of Vienna issued ordinances against the exportation of arms or munitions to Poland, and, under pretence of a *cordon sanitaire* against the cholera, established posts along the frontier of Galicia, so as to intercept all communication with the kingdom of Poland, where the war was raging. This immediately led to anxious petitions from all parts of Hungary, in which they demanded the immediate repeal of the ordinances

which prohibited the export of arms and munitions of war to Poland, and the convocation of a diet to consider of what could be done to soften the fate of the Poles. So warm were these petitions, and so deep the sympathy felt in all parts of Hungary with the efforts of the Poles to re-establish their independence, that there is no saying to what it might have led, had not a new enemy, still more formidable, appeared within themselves, which absorbed the national mind, and for the remainder of the year diverted it from the consideration of external objects. In May, the cholera, which had been very fatal in Galicia and Poland, made its appearance in Hungary; and before it ceased, in the end of September, it had carried off 102,657 persons out of 256,000 who had been seized with the disease.

31. In Prussia, the dominions of which adjoined Poland on the one side and Belgium on the other, in both of which countries the revolutionary fever was raging with peculiar violence, and the sovereigns had been overthrown, the warlike ardour was very strong, and it required all the prudence and wisdom of the Government to prevent war from actually breaking out. To be prepared for any event, however, the Cabinet of Berlin took the most decisive measures. The army was placed on the war footing, the reserves and landwehr called out, and the fortresses on both the Flemish and Polish frontiers armed and put in a posture of defence. Extreme was the fermentation which these warlike measures produced at Berlin, and among the gallant youth of Prussia, with whom, as with the French, war is a perfect passion. At the same time, while professing an entire neutrality, the Government of Berlin took the most decisive measures against the Polish insurgents, and in favour of the Russian army. A powerful cordon of troops, established along the whole frontier of Poland, prevented all transit of ammunition or provisions from Prussia into the Grand-duchy of Warsaw, while the Russian army drew supplies of all sorts from the Prussian

provinces, and the Russian ships of the line landed at Dantzic stores of all kinds for the use of their armies carrying on the campaign. It will appear in the sequel that it was this indirect but most efficacious interference of Prussia in favour of the Muscovites which mainly overthrew the gallant and marvellous efforts of the Poles in support of their independence in this memorable year.

32. The vast military force at the disposal of government in these great monarchies rendered hopeless any attempts of the Liberal party at insurrection within their dominions. But it was otherwise in the lesser states, where the resources of government were much less considerable, and in most of which constitutional assemblies existed, which both kept alive the hopes of the friends of freedom, and afforded a legal channel for making their demands known. In Bavaria, the Court had taken an imprudent step in rejecting some Liberal deputies recently elected to the Chamber, and in proposing rigorous decrees to coerce the press. This immediately excited a storm of indignation in the country, which burst forth in violent petitions from Nuremberg, Bamberg, and other great towns in the Confederacy. The Government, however, persevered; and five edicts coercing the press, and giving a right of censorship to the crown, were, after a violent opposition, and with several modifications, at length passed by a majority of 7—the numbers being 59 to 52. They were immediately and rigorously acted upon by the Government, and the discontent thence arising produced serious results in after times. In Baden the Government took the initiative in various measures of reform, particularly in the judicial department, the municipalities, and the *corvées*, which gave universal satisfaction. The independent spirit of the Chamber, however, was evinced in a protest which was brought forward by M. Rotteck, one of the most celebrated journalists of Germany, and unanimously adopted, against Baden yielding obedience to, or being bound by, the resolutions

of the Diet of the Confederation of 10th and 19th November, against the liberty of the press. Though the matter went no farther at this time than the recording a protest on the journals of the Assembly, yet it excited a great sensation, and gave token of the free spirit with which the inhabitants of the lesser states of Germany were animated, which led to such great results in after days.*

33. The discontent which was so general in Germany during this year broke out into serious acts of violence in Saxony and Hanover. In Dresden, the people, discontented because the existing constitution did not give them the entire command of the state, as their influence did not extend to the Upper Chamber, formed themselves into clubs and unions, where the most inflammatory principles were soon promulgated. In the middle of April, a contest began between the clubs and the royal troops, when the latter were victorious, but not before the disturbance had lasted three days, and several persons had been killed. To appease the people, some concessions were made in matters of constitutional right, but they were far from allaying the discontent; and on 30th August another insurrection, still more serious, took place, when the mob unpaved the streets, and began to erect barricades, and were only dispersed by heavy platoon-firing, which killed great numbers. In Brunswick, the interregnum consequent on the dethronement of the reigning prince, of which an account has already been given, was terminated by the Diet authorising his younger brother to assume the reins of government; and on the 25th April following he received the joyous ho-

mage of his subjects. In Hesse-Cassel a great fermentation prevailed, and appearances were at one time very threatening; but they were appeased by the judicious conduct of the Government, which established, of its own accord, a constitution similar to those in the other lesser states of Germany. This gave great satisfaction; but the Chambers and people complained that the Elector did not reside at his capital of Cassel, but at a distant chateau of Wilhelmshohe. He positively refused to yield this point; and the remonstrance of the Chambers and discontent of the people became in consequence so violent, that he was obliged to name his brother Frederick-William co-regent, who came to Cassel, and exercised the administrative functions in the absence of the Elector.

34. In Hanover the revolutionary spirit also showed itself, and for a time with more threatening symptoms. On the 7th January a movement took place at Osterode in that kingdom, which ended in the establishment of a national guard, under pretext of defending persons and property, while the citizens were laying their grievances before the Duke of Cambridge, the viceroy of the kingdom. This was followed next day by an open insurrection in Göttingen, where the populace displaced all the constituted authorities, proclaimed a provisional government, and invited every other municipality in the kingdom to do the same. The conduct of the Duke of Cambridge on this occasion was characterised by vigour and decision. Collecting a body of troops, he marched in person direct to Göttingen, and having arrived on the 15th before the gates of the city, he gave the insurgents twelve hours to lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion. This was at first refused, and preparations for resistance made; but the revolutionists, finding themselves not supported by the rest of the country, lost heart, and submitted next day to the proposed terms. Having gained this advantage by his vigour and celerity, the Duke wisely proceeded to deprive the malcontents of their chief grounds of complaint, by

* "Profits des instants précieux pendant lesquels nous pouvons encore faire entendre nos voix, pour les élever en faveur de la patrie et de la liberté. Protestons que jamais, même quand nos langues seraient liées, nos âmes ne se soumettront à un tel arrêt, et que nous ne cesserons de protester, du moins par un morne silence et de sombres regards, contre la violation de la souveraineté de l'état de Bade, venue de la diète, et contre la suppression de nos droits constitutionnels. L'Assemblée se leva en masse."—*Ann. Hist.*, xiv. 498.

publishing a constitution soon after, consisting of two Chambers; the first composed of the princes of the blood, the nobles, and a few named by the King; the second of ninety-five deputies chosen by the different classes of the citizens.

35. Threatening as appearances were in Italy and Germany, they were yet outdone at this period by what was exhibited in Paris itself. The elements of discord and confusion there went on increasing, during the whole of January and the first week of February, to such a degree that it was evident to all a serious convulsion was at hand. All parties were discontented, all were suffering, all were disappointed. The Revolution had injured many, and benefited none excepting those who had got possession of power and office by the elevation of Louis Philippe. It was difficult to say whether the Republicans, the Napoleonists, or the Legitimists, were most querulous and indignant. The former loudly complained that they had gained nothing by the Revolution, that its fruits had been reft from them by fraud and chicanery, and that, under a new name, the old Government had been imposed on them, distinguished from its predecessor only by increased extravagance and more arbitrary principles. The partisans of Napoleon lamented that the glorious event of the Revolution had been suffered to evaporate without producing any durable result, and that the golden opportunity of regaining the frontier of the Rhine, during the first terror consequent on the Revolution of July, had been allowed to pass

away. The Legitimists, with equal or greater truth, asserted that the general distresses were entirely owing to the overthrow of the ancient line of monarchs, pointed with exultation to the increased expenditure and diminished receipts of Government, and contrasted it with the opposite state of things which had prevailed during the sway of the Restoration.* In the midst of this chorus of complaints and recriminations commerce was at a stand, industry without employment, suffering without relief, and all the public offices were surrounded by starving multitudes, whose numbers and threatening aspect forbade refusal, while their woeful appearance demonstrated distress, and their numbers precluded effectual succour.

36. The minds of all parties were in this feverish and excited state, each deploring the public suffering, and throwing upon the other the responsibility of having occasioned it, when the ministerial budget was brought forward, and revealed at once the frightful gulf into which the finances of the kingdom were on the point of falling. The Finance Minister laid before the Chamber a statement of the probable expense of the year, which, taking into view the floating debt which it was necessary to provide for, amounted to the enormous sum of 1,434,655,000 francs (£57,500,000), being an increase of nearly 500,000,000 francs (£20,000,000) on the last budget of the Restoration! Of this huge sum, it is true, 160,400,000 francs (£6,500,000) was stated to be debt anterior to 1830, and for which the Government of Louis Philippe was not responsible; but still the regular bud-

* Seven first months of 1830, receipts of Treasury exceeded expenditure by	12,300,000 francs, or £500,000
Deficit August 1830,	5,651,000
Do. September „	6,881,000
Do. October „	5,454,000
Do. November „	4,044,000
Do. December „	12,377,000
Deficit in five months of Revolution,	34,397,000 francs, or £1,320,000
Estimated deficit of 1831,	54,000,000 „ 2,200,000
Losses of commerce in 1830, since July,	50,000,000 „ 2,000,000
Losses from Revolution in five months,	138,397,000 „ £5,520,000

get of 1831 amounted to 1,177,000,000 francs (£45,200,000), and it confessed extra advances of no less than 90,755,000 francs (£3,750,000) since 1830, for which no provision had been made. And after taking into view every imaginable resource, and stating every sum that possibly could be brought to bear against the old Government, there remained a deficit of 211,655,000 francs (£8,450,000) to be provided for by loan, or carried forward as floating debt, to cripple the income of future years. The receipts of the year, from ordinary sources, were taken at 947,940,000 francs (£39,800,000); 46,000,000 francs (£1,800,000) was added to the land-tax; and no less than 310,000,000 francs (£12,250,000) was proposed to be raised by loans in a year of peace, and the first of the reign of the Citizen King and of the regenerated monarchy.*

37. No words can describe the storm of indignation which arose in Paris, and over all France, upon the promulgation of this alarming budget. In truth, it was unavoidable, and arose necessarily from the vast in-

crease of the expenditure for the army and ordnance, which was the natural consequence of the position which France, antagonistic to continental Europe, from the effect of the late Revolution, had now assumed. The estimate for the army, which in 1829 had been 214,576,000 francs (£8,500,000), had risen in 1831 to 386,624,000 francs (£11,750,000).† This was the necessary consequence of arming for defence or attack against Europe. But this result, how natural or obvious soever a consequence of the Revolution of July, which put it in a state of antagonism with the Continental powers, was by no means what the authors of that revolution intended when they brought it about. They had no intention of adding 50 per cent to the military force or public expenditure of the kingdom. They expected to be permitted to send their propagandists through all the adjoining states, and effect the overthrow of all their governments, without any increase of their own expenses, or being called on to arm or spend money in their own defence. Whatever visions may flit before the minds of the bourgeois who

* FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE MINISTER OF FINANCE FOR THE YEAR 1831.

	Francs.	
Old debt prior to 1830,	160,400,000	
Sums advanced beyond receipts since 1830,	90,755,458	
Expenses of 1831 for budget,	1,177,000,000	
Additional budget,	6,500,000	
<hr/>	<hr/>	
To be provided for,	1,434,655,458	or £57,500,000
Ways and means,	1,223,000,000	or 49,000,000
<hr/>	<hr/>	
To be provided for by loans,	211,655,458	or £8,500,000
Vote of credit farther required,	60,000,000	or 2,400,000
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To be raised by loan, or kept up as floating debt,	271,655,458	or £10,900,000

—*Ann. Hist.*, vol. xiv. p. 193.

Ample as these estimates were, they were less than the total expenditure of the year, which reached the enormous amount of 1,511,000,000 francs, or £60,400,000.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE OF THE LAST YEARS OF CHARLES X., AND FIRST YEARS OF LOUIS PHILIPPE.

Year.	Dépenses. Francs.	Recettes. Francs.
1826,	976,948,919	981,882,722
1827,	986,934,765	947,951,091
1828,	1,024,100,035	1,028,274,227
1829,	1,014,914,432	1,022,782,692
1830,	1,095,142,115	1,020,299,082
1831,	1,214,610,975	1,306,572,792
1832,	1,174,620,247	1,064,031,296

—*Statistique de la France*, 121, 145 (Finances).

† The troops, which were 255,323 in the first year, had risen to 368,921 in the second, and in 1832 amounted to 380,273.—*Stat. de la France*, vol. x. p. 194.

effect a revolution, assuredly *increase of expenditure and taxation upon themselves* is not one of them.

38. What rendered this great increase in the expenditure and taxation of the kingdom still more exasperating, was its advent at a time when the industrial resources of the state, so far from increasing, were rapidly diminishing, and the general misery of the country was in consequence at its height. Statistical facts of unquestionable authenticity, which the Government of Louis Philippe itself has adduced, prove this beyond a doubt. The commercial paper under discount at the Bank of France, which in 1829 had been 129,000,000 francs (£5,400,000), had sunk in 1832 to 29,000,000 francs (£1,140,000).* The sums advanced by the Bank of France to the public exchequer, which in 1828 had been 73,000,000 francs (£2,700,000), had risen in 1830 to 291,500,000 francs (£11,600,000). The five per cents, which in 1829 had been at 109.85 cents, sunk in 1831 to 74.75 cents. The exports in the former year had been 504,247,000 francs (£20,200,000), in the latter they had sunk to 455,000,000 francs (£18,200,000); the imports, which in the first year had been 483,000,000 francs (£19,200,000), had sunk in the last to 374,000,000 francs (£15,750,000). So great a diminution of receipts and increase of burdens in so short a time, indicated in the clearest manner the calamitous action of the Revolution on the industry and resources of the nation.†

39. The effect of this state of things is thus described by the Republican historian who has so ably narrated the

course of the Revolution. "An assembly of notables elected by another assembly of notables, and directed by ministerial agents—such was the new system of government, such the economy of the new laws! The ministerial power rested on thirty-four thousand little bourgeois oligarchies. All the democrats were in commotion. 'What!' exclaimed they—'is this the course into which we are to be turned by the Revolution? Is France to pass under the yoke of notabilities of municipalities and notabilities of offices? What do those municipal capacities signify, which are revealed only by the weight of burdens and increased taxation? Better to destroy at once the shadow of a representation than to corrupt it. The electoral right has become only the strongest instrument of tyranny. If the rich predominate in the municipal councils, we shall only have organised a protection for the interests which have least need of protection.'"

40. This woeful social state, immediately succeeding, as it did, the ardent hopes and boundless expectations of felicity which the Revolution of July had ushered in, led, as is usual in such cases, to every imaginable excess in opinion and belief. When men, in the political world, are suffering the punishment of their sins, or smarting under the consequences of their transgressions, they never recede or pause in their course till the extremity of suffering has been endured, and society is brought back by absolute force to more rational sentiments. The drunkard who, the morning after his debauch, is suffering for his excesses, seldom thinks of retracing his steps

* TABLE OF DISCOUNTS OF THE BANK OF FRANCE, IN FRANCS.

Year.	Commercial Paper held by Bank.		Discount in Year.	Produce of Discount.
	Maximum.	Minimum.		
1830.	128,598,000	75,446,000	617,494,000	4,021,000
1831.	84,944,000	25,190,000	222,524,000	1,845,700
1832.	29,678,000	18,625,000	150,723,000	1,031,000

—*Statistique de la France*, vol. x. p. 187 (Finances).

† EXPORTS AND IMPORTS OF FRANCE FROM 1828 TO 1831.

Year.	Exports.		Imports.	
1828.	511,215,000		453,760,000	
1829.	504,247,000		483,353,000	
1830.	452,901,000		489,242,000	
1831.	455,574,000		374,188,539	

—*Statistique de la France*, x. 45, 46 (Commerce).

and becoming habitually sober; he seeks relief for the moment in fresh intoxication, in still more stimulating spirits. With the blasting of all their hopes of the regeneration of society by revolution, the Republicans took refuge in still more violent principles, and the doctrines of the St Simonians became the creed of the great majority of the working classes in the capital. Their position was, that the remuneration of labour should be regulated by a power issuing from itself, and capable of judging of its just demands; that production should be concentrated, and its fruits distributed to each in proportion to his merit; that the transmission of property by inheritance, as of employment, should be annihilated; that marriage, the "legalisation of adultery," should be abolished, and give place to the "sovereignty of passion—the emancipation of pleasure;" and that the government of society should be substituted for that of families in the education of the young. Such were the doctrines which were daily poured forth and ably elaborated in numerous publications, particularly the *Globe* newspaper, by a band of powerful, eloquent, and sensual young men. It may be conceived how agreeable these principles were to the numerous class in Paris, including the natural children, who of themselves formed *a third of the entire population*, which, destitute of property, and having no hopes of succession, was yet steeped in sensual desires, and thirsting for the enjoyments consequent on affluence—enjoyments which had hitherto, as it seemed to them, unjustly been monopolised by a single and limited class in society.

41. In truth, however, the state to which society had been brought in France by the effect of the first great Revolution, had now become such that its regeneration, or the removal by moral influence of the existing evils, was impossible. It is thus painted by the ablest of the Republican historians: "Centralisation, introduced by the Convention, and carried to its highest point by Napoleon, had for a quarter

of a century constituted the power and glory of France. The unity of the Mountain had conquered Europe. But from the moment that it was no longer necessary that France should be one soldier, the excess of centralisation had become a source of weakness. At the epoch of the first year of Louis Philippe, the greater part of the rural districts of France vegetated in a state of ignorance, egotism, languor, and misery, which is scarcely credible. There was no longer any trace of *esprit de corps*, common passion, or prescriptive usage. The blood had been *drawn from all parts of the social body to the surcharged heart*. What was the consequence? A marvellous ardour, ending in impotence and scepticism in the capital; the concentration of all power, inferring that of all ambition; the desire to shine carried to effrontery; an immense absorption to produce a little intelligence; talents the most original perverted by the mania of imitation, the thirst for gain, the despotism of fashion, or the impatient desire of success; competition with its frauds; rascality and its opprobrium; excitement without end, but for evil rather than good; immense resources, but these rather fitted to nourish vain illusions than to satisfy legitimate hopes; civilisation exhausting its frauds and illusions to render man unhappy or guilty. Such was life in the capital under the influence of centralisation. France around Paris was the void around chaos."

42. Under the influence of this unbounded mixture of passion, licentiousness, and ambition, the moral corruption of Paris rapidly increased. The natural births in the department of the Seine, in 1831, amounted to 11,044, and the foundlings to 5803, while the legitimate births were only 24,391. In other words, the foundlings and natural children taken together were *two-thirds* of the number of the legitimate! The births, both legitimate and illegitimate, increased considerably in 1831, though the misery of the people was at its height,—a sure proof of the spread of reckless habits and physical indulgence among a squalid

and excited population.* In the same year, the persons admitted into the public hospitals, in the department of the Seine, including Paris, were 84,957, of whom 10,910 died in them, being just two-thirds of the entire deaths in the metropolis, and 30,118 remained in them on January 1, 1832. The expense of these hospitals was 10,054,000 francs in the year (£404,000). The persons relieved at home in Paris, in that year, were 70,503, and the sums expended on them 2,041,000 francs (£82,000). It is difficult to say whether these figures attest most strongly the seeds of evil which the Revolution had implanted in the country, or the admirable spirit with which their effects were combated by the benevolent feelings and incomparable powers of administration by which France has always been characterised.

43. To a people in this extraordinary state of excitement, passion, and suffering, there was nothing so hateful as the restraint which religion imposed on their indulgences. This soon appeared. The 14th February was the anniversary of the death of the Duke de Berri; and the Royalists, with more courage than prudence, were preparing to celebrate a funeral service in memory of that unhappy prince. The ceremony was originally designed for the church of St Roch, in the Rue St Honoré; but the Minister of the Interior, having received intelligence of the intention, applied to the Archbishop of Paris, by whose authority it was prohibited there, as likely to lead to disturbances. Upon this it was determined to hold it in the church of St Germain l'Auxerrois, that beautiful monument of the revival of taste after the middle ages, and which was universally admired to be one of the finest specimens of the Renaissance style of architecture in the world. On the day appointed the Royalist nobility flocked there in great numbers. Long lines of carriages, with handsome

liveries, were seen waiting at the doors; and in the interior of the church the service for the dead was performed with all the magnificence which the Roman Catholic religion so well knows how to display on such occasions. The *Miscere* and *Dies Ire* melted the audience, great part of which was composed of ladies, to tears; and in the enthusiasm of the moment some ardent Royalists passed a crowned miniature of the Duke de Bordeaux from hand to hand, and even had the imprudence to place it on the coffin, that the child might seem to share in the prayers offered up for the soul of his father.

44. Intelligence of what was going on in the interior of the church speedily spread abroad, and the crowd, whom curiosity had attracted to the doors, immediately swelled to a most alarming degree. The police interfered, and the young man who had put the image on the coffin was arrested; but this was far from satisfying the public fury. No sooner was the service concluded than a furious multitude broke into the sanctuary of the church, and the house of the curé adjoining, and in the twinkling of an eye everything was sacked or tossed out of the windows. The splendid decorations and ornaments with which the piety of the Bourbon princes had adorned the sanctuary, where they had listened to the eloquence of Bourdaloue and Massillon, were torn down and destroyed. The cross, the symbol of salvation, was in an especial manner the object of popular fury. Under the pretence that the one at the west end of the church had *fleurs-de-lis* carved on its stones, the multitude demanded that it should be pulled down. The mayor of the fourth arrondissement of Paris, who was present, gave his consent. In a few minutes the cross was torn off the building, and fell with a tremendous crash. In its fall it brought down with it a part of the organ, the fragments of which strewed the pavement of the church. This achievement excited the people to the utmost fury: all the crosses, both on the outside and inside of the building, were speedily torn down, the ornaments disappeared, and

* BIRTHS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF THE SEINE.

	1829.	1830.	1831.
Legitimate,	23,534	23,788	24,391
Illegitimate,	10,615	10,711	11,044
Foundlings,	5,487	5,341	5,803

—*Statistique de la France*, 28 (Commerce).

this once splendid interior exhibited only a melancholy heap of ruins. The National Guard were present with the magistrates the whole time, but they remained passive spectators of the devastation.

45. No sooner was the work of destruction completed at St Germain l'Auxerrois than the cry arose, "*A Notre Dame!*" and instantly the crowd rushed in that direction with such rapidity that the National Guard, which was not very anxious to arrive at the scene of ruin, was unable to keep pace with them. Part broke into the cathedral, which had stood erect and unshaken amidst all the storms of the first Revolution, and immediately began pulling down the crosses and defacing the ornaments, as they had done at St Germain l'Auxerrois. But the greater part fastened on the Archbishop's palace adjoining the Hôtel Dieu, in the square in front of the cathedral. In a few minutes it was surrounded; but as it was by this time dark, the crowds separated, after vowing to return the following morning to complete the work of destruction. They were as good as their word. Early on the following morning a furious crowd returned to the Archbishop's palace, which, by negligence or design, had been left under the care of only a hundred men of the National Guard, and immediately broke in through the doors and windows. The civic force made no resistance; and so speedy was the work of destruction, that before noon not only was the whole palace sacked and pillaged, but it was pulled down from top to bottom, and not one stone was left upon another. The noble library of the Archbishopric, containing a great number of rare and valuable manuscripts, with all the precious movables and furniture which the mansion contained, were taken out and thrown from the little bridge into the Seine amidst horrid imprecations and shouts of laughter. From Notre Dame the mob moved to the churches of St Roch and of the Assumption, in order to destroy the crosses on those sacred edifices; but "happily," says the French annalist, "the prompti-

tude of the Government had anticipated them, and the crosses were already destroyed." Next day a royal ordinance was published, ordering the removal of the crosses from all the churches in Paris, and directing the formation of a new State seal, *without* the emblem of salvation which had hitherto appeared on it, and the erasure of the *fleur-de-lis* from the arms of the royal family.

46. Not content with these disgraceful outrages against religion, which went far to discredit the Revolution in the eyes of foreign nations, the mob in Paris endeavoured to wreak their vengeance on obnoxious individuals. On the night of the 14th, two hundred savage wretches repaired to the house of M. Dupin, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, and a most distinguished man, and demanded he should be given up to them. Already were heard the cries, "*La mort! la mort!—à la lanterne!*" and it was only by the courage of one man who defended the doorway, that he escaped by a back window. A second band attacked the Posts on the Petit Pont and the Rue St Andre des Ares, and disarmed them; and a third invaded Conflans, the country residence of the Archbishop of Paris, a prelate known only by his unwearied deeds of beneficence, and sacked it from top to bottom. Another gang broke into Notre Dame, tossed about and profaned the sacred vases, in a way beyond what had been seen in the days of Chaumette and Robespierre, and even devastated the sepulchres of the dead beneath that sacred fane. What rendered these outrages the more alarming was the evident and pitiable weakness of Government. A few lines in the *Moniteur*, a proclamation *against the Carlists*, and the arrest of some of *their* leaders, and a proclamation from the Minister of the Interior praising the Parisians for their noble conduct, but recommending "*respect aux monuments publics*,"—such were the sole steps taken by the Ministry to stop or punish these atrocious crimes. The really guilty escaped wholly unpunished; none of them were even apprehended. The journals, with servile adulation, vied

with each other in praising the people, and declared "that never had the sun shone on a more brilliant carnival, or the masquerades been more ravishing."

47. It was now all over with the Cabinet of M. Lafitte. The magnitude of the budget had deprived him of all his popularity in Paris. The disorders of February, and proved weakness of the executive, had sunk him to the lowest point in the estimation of Europe. The King was sensitively alive to the latter danger: he dreaded nothing so much as being implicated, in the eyes of foreign powers, with the disorders of the Revolution, and deprived of the prestige arising from the idea that he was the only possible barrier against its excesses. He resolved, accordingly, to sacrifice his minister, hoping thus to throw upon the author of the Revolution the responsibility for its consequences. By a royal ordinance, on March 13th, Lafitte was dismissed, and M. CASIMIR PÉRIER, a great banker and manufacturer in Paris, was appointed President of the Council and Minister of the Interior, in his stead. M. Merilhou also was dismissed from his situation as Minister of Justice, and M. Barthe appointed in his room. Baron Louis was made Minister of Finance, Admiral de Rigny of Marine, and the Count d'Argout of Public Instruction and Worship. Only three of these ministers were new—viz., M. Casimir Périer, Baron Louis, and Admiral de Rigny—the others being merely transposed from one office to another; but the vigour and capacity of the new ministers, especially M. Casimir Périer and Baron Louis, impressed a different character upon the Government, and warranted the assertion that it was directed by a new Cabinet.

48. On the day succeeding the formation of the new Cabinet, the following article appeared in the *Journal des Débats*, at that period high in the confidence of Government: "For the last four months the Government has been without a system; that is the reproach which its adversaries and partisans alike make against it. It is the want of system which has induced its vacil-

lation and irresolution—that has made its weakness, which was great, and might be fatal. It put the salvation of France in peril. The appointment of the new Ministry signals the advent of a new system; it at least gives us reason to hope. That system is to govern by the Chambers—to consider their opinion as the expression of the opinion of France, and to disregard all opinion out of it. It wishes peace, but such only as is honourable, and may be lasting. Order is the first necessity of France. Credit is shaken, commerce expiring; order alone can re-establish it. We stand in need of security rather than repose; order alone can re-establish security. *Tyranny no longer comes from above; it comes from below.*" There can be no doubt that these observations were well founded. Experience and suffering had wrenched truth even out of the warmest organ of the Revolution! But what the partisans of that convulsion did not see, or would not admit, was, that the weakness in Government and disorder in the State, which they justly deplored as the immediate causes of the universal suffering, were the inevitable results of what they themselves had done. They ascribed to the weakness of a man what was, in fact, the punishment of the sins of a nation. Lafitte was a person of some powers of speaking and agreeable manners, though of no great energy of character; but had he possessed the firmness of Carnot, the eloquence of Mirabeau, or the energy of Napoleon, the result would have been the same. The minister of the Revolution, he was constrained to bend to its excesses. He became unpopular, and fell, not because he failed in the essential condition of his ministerial existence—obedience to the public voice—but because, in yielding that obedience, he had unavoidably conducted the nation to anarchy, misery, and suffering. The people mistook for the delinquencies of a man, what was, in truth, the chastisement of themselves.

49. In order, however, to carry out the ministerial programme of governing by the Chambers, and regarding

them as the sole organ of public opinion, it was indispensable to take some steps which might render the decision of the representative part of the legislature more in harmony with the majority of the people, which, under the uniform qualification of 300 francs (£12) of direct taxes, was very far from being the case. The Chamber of Deputies had become utterly discredited in public estimation, since the Revolution of July, from the blind submission it had yielded to the demands of Government, and, above all, to the enormous budget and increase of taxes, which had spread such alarm throughout France. As usual, the popular party sought a remedy for this state of things in lowering the suffrage. They thought that would amend themselves, and put all right; not seeing that, as long as the suffrage, even though universal, was uniform, class government would still be at the head of affairs, and *all out of that class* would find themselves unrepresented. Louis Philippe felt the necessity of yielding in some degree to the demands of the democratic portion of society, but he resolved to make the change as little as possible; and the general mass of the people had not yet learned the vital truth, that all attempts to remedy the representative system, while a uniform suffrage is kept up, prove ineffectual. After much discussion and many amendments, it was agreed to fix the electoral qualification at payment of 200 francs (£8) of direct taxes, and for candidates at 750 francs (£30). These payments corresponded to incomes of £40 and £150 a-year; and though the evil of uniformity of qualification, and consequent class government, was not obviated, yet the concession to the popular party was considerable, for it raised the electors from 90,000 to 180,000 over all France.

50. A severe law, alike discreditable to the Sovereign who proposed and the Chamber which adopted it, was soon after brought forward in France. This was one banishing the ex-King, Charles X., his descendants, and their relations, for ever from the French

territory, and prohibiting them from acquiring, by any title, onerous or gratuitous, any property, or to enjoy any rent or annuity derived from their native land. They were ordained to leave France, and sell their whole effects, within six months, under pain of the confiscation of all their property, without exception, in the country. If the entire sales were not effected in the prescribed six months, they were directed to be sold by the public authorities, in the same manner as the State domains appointed to be alienated, and their produce applied to the fund for the indemnity of the ancient proprietors, after deduction of what might be awarded to the sufferers by the events of July. After a violent opposition from the Royalists, and the addition of an amendment prohibiting all services on the anniversary of the death of Louis XVI., the law was carried, with the difference of a year being allowed for the sale of the effects, by a majority of 210 to 122. Such was the return, when he had the power, which Louis Philippe made to Charles X. for the generous grant which, on his accession to the throne, restored their whole estates in fee-simple to the Orléans family, by the same title by which the Crown enjoyed the royal domains, and conferred upon its head the much-coveted title of "Royal Highness." History has not preserved the record of a more flagrant and disgraceful act of ingratitude; and it only proves what so many events in public and private life concur in demonstrating, that the commission of one great crime leads to that of another, and that the guilty party finds himself at length on a rapid descent, from which extrication is impossible and destruction certain.

51. Aware, from the character of Casimir Périer, as well as the declarations with which it set out, that the new Cabinet would prove a much more formidable antagonist than the last had been, the democratic journals, from the very first, denounced it in the most unmeasured terms. The *Courrier Français* foresaw, in the coming future, a period even more disgraceful to France

than that of the Restoration; the *National* could see no difference between the administration of M. Casimir Périer and that of Prince Polignac. The *Tribune* called on all patriots to come forward and openly resist it. In pursuance of these suggestions, an association was formed, styled the National Association, the members of which bound themselves, "on their life and honour, to combat the stranger and the Bourbons by all pecuniary and personal sacrifices, to come to no accommodation with them, to whatever extremities the country may be reduced."

52. On the 18th of March, M. Casimir Périer thus announced, both with reference to the interior and exterior, the principles of the new Government: "Our principles are those of our Revolution, neither exaggerated nor lessened. The principle of the Revolution of July, and of the government which it has established, is not that of insurrection—it is that of resistance to the aggressions of power. France was provoked and defied; it defended itself, and proved victorious. Respect to sworn faith, regard to established right,—such are the principles of the Revolution of July, and of the government which it has established. It has founded a government, it has not inaugurated anarchy. It has not overturned the social order; it has only touched the political system. Its object was the establishment of a free but regular administration. Violence, either within or without, is alike adverse to the principles of our government. Within, every appeal to force—without, every provocation to popular insurrection, is a violation of its principle. In the interior, its duty is simple. Our institutions are regulated by the charter of 1830. The present session has resolved some questions of the highest political importance; the Chamber which is to succeed it will determine those which remain. It is from it, and it alone, that France awaits the bringing to perfection its institutions. Till it meets, the Government has but one duty to perform—to maintain order, to execute the laws, to cause

power to be respected. It is legal order and established power which society requires; for it is the want of power and order which has spread distrust, and engendered the whole embarrassments and dangers with which we are surrounded.

53. "Armed to defend its own rights, France knows how to respect those of others; its conduct is not regulated by its passions. We wish the peace so necessary to our liberties; but we would not shrink from war, if the honour or security of our country were menaced, and we would then appeal with the utmost confidence to the patriotism of the nation. At the first signal France will be found ready; and the King has not forgot that it was in the camp that he first learned to serve his country. The principle of non-intervention has been appealed to; we adopt it, and it is on that ground that we maintain that foreign powers have no right to intermeddle in our internal affairs. We ourselves practise that principle on every occasion, and we incessantly appeal to it in our intercourse with foreign nations. Is that to say that we are to carry our arms abroad whenever that principle is not respected? That would be an intervention of another kind; that would be to renew the principles of the Holy Alliance, and to fall into the chimerical ideas of those who would subject Europe to a single idea, and realise the visions of universal empire. Thus understood, the principle of non-intervention could serve only as a mark to the spirit of conquest. We will, under all circumstances, support the principle of non-intervention; but we do not recognise in any people the right to compel us to combat for their interests: the blood of France is due to France alone. We feel confidence in the fortune of France; but that it should have confidence in itself, it is necessary that we should respond to its dearest interests; that we should say aloud what has long been said in secret, Truth should be told to nations as well as kings."

54. How true soever these principles might be, and well calculated to calm

the apprehensions of foreign powers as to the ability or disposition of the Government of Louis Philippe to curb the revolutionary spirit in France, there could be no doubt that, for the time at least, they augmented the difficulties of his Government. It was very difficult to foretell how the majority would incline at the next election; for although the number of electors had been nearly doubled by lowering the qualification to two hundred francs, yet it was known that the revolutionary law of succession, by constantly leading to the division of properties, was daily lessening the number of those who paid that amount of direct taxes; and at least a fourth of the whole electors, including those who held the largest amount of property, belonged to the Legitimist party. If they were to coalesce with the Republicans, whose numbers had been considerably increased by the lowering of the suffrage, the Government might be thrown into a minority. Impressed with these ideas, and deeming the establishment of his throne, not without reason, mainly dependent on getting a majority in the new Chambers, the King exerted himself to the utmost to secure it. The Chamber of Deputies was prorogued by the Monarch in person, with great pomp, on the 28th April. With regret the King took leave of a Legislature which had given him a throne. Soon after a royal proclamation dissolved the Chamber, and appointed the electoral colleges to meet on the 5th July, and the next one to assemble on the 9th August, the anniversary of the King's accession. The interval was assiduously employed in every possible effort to gain a majority in the new Legislature.

55. It was not without reason that the King was so solicitous to obtain a Chamber which might support his Government, for the appearances in Paris were very threatening. The people were in that excitable, irritable state, when every little thing occasions a crowd, and every crowd becomes the cradle of a sedition. The trial of some young men, among others M. CAVAIGNAC, destined for celebrity in future times, for their conduct on occasion of the trial

of the ex-ministers in December, and their acquittal by the jury amidst thunders of applause, gave rise to disturbances which continued several days, and were not put down till a large military force had been called out. The restoration of the colossal statue of Napoleon on the summit of the column in the Place Vendôme, by order of the King, next violently excited the Napoleonists, and gave rise to alarming demonstrations of enthusiasm by crowds surrounding the column, and putting garlands of *immortelles* on its pedestal. At length these assemblages in the Place Vendôme became so serious that Government, with great good sense, stationed a company of *Pompiers* with fire-engines in the Place, who cooled the ardour of the Napoleonists by copious *effusions of water*, which at length dispersed the multitude. A more serious source of discord was found in a dispute relative to the decorations which were to be given by the King to the heroes of the barricades, which were objected to as inscribed with the words, "*Donné par le Roi des Français*," and accompanied by an oath of fidelity by the recipient to the reigning sovereign. The anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, on July 14, was made the pretext for large assemblages in Paris and several towns in the departments, which terminated in bloodshed. The humiliating condition of the King was evinced by his being obliged, a fortnight after, to sanction magnificent rejoicings in Paris, on occasion of the anniversary of the corresponding insurrection of the preceding year, which led to his own elevation to the throne.

56. Distrustful from these appearances of the capital, the King resolved to throw himself on the departments, and for this purpose he made two royal progresses—one into Normandy, one into Champagne. In the course of the first, he visited Rouen, Havre, Abbeville, and Amiens; of the second, Meaux, Château-Thierry, Chalons, Metz, Verdun, Luneville, Colmar, Strasbourg, Besançon, and Troyes. These, being the most revolutionary departments of France, were selected

for the display of the popularity of the Citizen-King, and, upon the whole, he had no reason to complain of the reception which he met with. In some places, however, the sturdy republican spirit evinced itself without control, and the King was reminded, like his ancestor Clovis at Soissons, even by a private soldier, of the precarious tenure by which he held his authority. At Metz, a leading member of the municipality, in the course of his address to the King, insisted on the unanimity of the country on the abolition of the hereditary peerage, and the ardent wishes everywhere formed for the independence of the Poles. The King cut him short. "You speak to me of what you say all the municipal councils in France have proclaimed: you are mistaken; they have proclaimed nothing. It is no part of their duty to do so, nor to take any part in the deliberations on subjects of state policy; that duty belongs to the Chambers alone." M. Voirhayé, a commander of the National Guard at the same place, expressed similar sentiments. "The National Guard," said the King, "should not occupy itself with political questions." "Sire," replied M. Voirhayé, "it is not an advice which it gives, it is a wish which it expresses." "The National Guard," answered the King, "should form no wishes; the armed force never deliberates: you are not its organ. I will hear no more." These words, repeated in the columns of the *Moniteur*, were soon known over all France, and made an immense sensation.

57. But the King soon found that it is easier to raise up than put down a revolution, and that the armed force which has overturned one government may think of overthrowing another. Notwithstanding the utmost pains taken by the Government, by circular letters to the prefects, and in every other imaginable way, to secure a majority for the Government candidates, they generally experienced defeat. The lowering of the qualification to two hundred francs told with decisive effect upon the returns. The Royalists, who were very powerful in some

departments, especially in the south and west, generally kept aloof and took no part in the elections, following an opinion, very common in such circumstances, that things must be worse before they are better, and that the only way to damp the ardour for revolutions is to let the people experience their effects. A great number of new deputies were elected; no less than two hundred and three members of the former Chamber were not found in the new. Nevertheless the majority of the new deputies were not absolute Republicans, but strong and ardent Liberals, thirsting for wealth, power, and distinction, and impressed with the idea that they could be obtained only by falling in with, and even anticipating, the public wishes. Among them were several celebrated men—M. Arago, M. Duvergier de Hauranne, M. Thiers, and M. Garnier Pagès. The Opposition had no acknowledged leader, but M. Odillon Barrot was the most ready orator and influential man among them. To follow out the Revolution of July, and establish a government in harmony with its spirit, was the prevailing wish of the electoral colleges; and the first triumph which they desired over the Legitimists was the abolition of the hereditary peerage. So general was the feeling on this subject that it was made the subject of a distinct pledge to the electors from the great majority of the representatives.

58. The Chambers met on the 23d July. "Gentlemen," said the King, in a speech dictated by Casimir Périer, and read from his manuscript, "I am happy to find myself in the midst of you, and in the hall which witnessed my oaths. Penetrated by a sense of the duties which they have imposed upon me, I will always look for support in the national will, of which you are the constitutional organs; and I expect from you that cordial co-operation which can alone give my government the strength without which it will be unable to respond to the expectations of the nation. I have said, gentlemen, that henceforth the charter shall be a truth: what I have said has

already been accomplished. The character is nothing but a constitutional monarchy, with its conditions loyally maintained, its consequences frankly accepted. In calling me to the throne, France wished that royalty should become national; it did not intend it should be impotent. A government without force can never be suitable for a great nation. I have just traversed great part of France; the marks of affection I have received have deeply touched my heart; they are ever present to my thoughts. You will assist me in accomplishing the objects I have so much at heart. Order shall be protected, liberty guaranteed, the efforts of the factions confounded and repressed. Thence will arrive that confidence in the future which can alone secure the prosperity of the State. I know the extent of suffering which the commercial crisis in which the nation has been involved has produced: I am grieved at it, and admire the courage with which it has been borne. I hope it is drawing to its close, and that ere long the maintenance of order will revive the security necessary for the expenditure of capital, and restore to our commerce and industry its wonted activity."

59. Notwithstanding the ardent wish thus expressed by the Sovereign for a strong Government, and the support of the majority of the Chamber, he soon found that he was not likely to obtain it. The crises on which support to the Government from the Legislature and the nation is most required, are generally those when it is most resolutely withheld; for every one is then striving for himself, and self counsels coincidence with the majority. At the very first division for the choice of a President, the weakness of Government and the democratic temper of the Chamber became apparent. The candidate of the Cabinet for the Presidency was M. Girod de l'Ain, and M. Latitte of the Opposition. The first had 171 votes, the second 163; so that M. Casimir Périer prevailed only by a majority of 3 votes. But the result was still more disheartening on the contests for the Vice-Presidencies; for M. Dupont

de l'Eure and M. Béranger, the Liberal candidates, had a majority of 10 over the Government ones. The defeat of Ministers was now apparent, as Casimir Périer had always declared that he would only rule by means of a parliamentary majority, which, he thought, should be at least of 40 votes. He and M. Sébastiani, Baron Louis, and M. Montalivet accordingly the same day tendered their resignations to the King. To all appearance, a change of Ministry was inevitable, when it was prevented, and they were induced to resume their seats, by the intelligence which reached Paris by telegraph on the very next day, that *the Dutch troops had invaded Belgium.*

60. To understand how this came about, it must be premised that the relative positions of Belgium and Holland had essentially changed during the nine months which had elapsed since the house of Nassau was precipitated from the throne at Brussels. Patriotic spirit, vigour of administration, wisdom of council, had done as much on the one side as tumult, selfishness, and disunion had effected on the other. There was no need for the intervention of a congress: a fair stage and no favour was all that the King of the Netherlands required to regain his lost dominions. Such had been the vigour of administration in Holland since the catastrophe occurred, that she had now sixty-eight thousand men on foot, of which four thousand eight hundred were cavalry, with a hundred and fifty guns ready for the field, besides four sail of the line, and a large fleet of smaller vessels ready for sea. On the other hand, the preparations of the Belgians had been on paper and in words only. Such had been the stagnation of commerce, and the misery of the industrious classes in consequence of the revolution, that the collection of taxes in most places had become impossible. The provisional government at Brussels was without either money, men, or consideration. The assembly there decreed the formation of an armed force of a hundred thousand men, but there were not

twenty-five thousand really present with the standards, and they were in the most miserable state, without magazines, equipments, or discipline. In addition to this, a strong party in the chief towns, particularly Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, and Brussels, composed of the richest and most eminent citizens, were desirous of resuming the connection with Holland, and the King was in daily expectation of a counter-revolution to that effect, or an election of one of his sons as king of the Belgians.

61. In these circumstances, what the principle of non-intervention required, and the five powers whose representatives were assembled at London should have done, if they had really been actuated by that principle, or influenced by a sense of justice, was very evident. They should simply have formed a cordon of troops round Holland and Flanders, and allowed them to fight it out without foreign interference either in favour of one party or the other. Considerations of the highest political importance, with a view to the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe, had suggested the formation of that united kingdom, and these considerations had only become the more pressing from the Revolution of 1830 in France, and the extreme violence with which the great majority there was now urging the Government to embrace the cause of the malecontents in all the adjacent countries, and adopt a system of general propagandism. Still these considerations did not authorise the armed intervention of the great powers; because, although they had all guaranteed the kingdom of the Netherlands to Frederick-William, that gave them a title to support him only against foreign aggression, not domestic revolt. But now the course of events had rendered the just course at the same time the wisest. Principle and expedience for once pointed in the same direction. The faith of treaties and the dictates of public morality alike prescribed non-intervention; and it at the same time promised to restore the barrier of Europe against France, and preserve that which the victories of Marlborough

had won, and those of Wellington had secured.

62. Obvious as these considerations were, and decisively as they would at any other time have spoken to any government of Great Britain, there were others which told with still more effect at the moment on the minds of the able statesmen who at that period directed the foreign affairs of France and England. Both these countries were then in a state of revolution, and foreign affairs were regarded in both, less with reference to the *future* interests of either country, than to their *present* bearing on the position of the party which had risen in each to the direction of government. M. Talleyrand was the representative of the Citizen-King, who had in a moment of public fervour, and by the aid of the popular party in Paris, dethroned his lawful sovereign, and now with difficulty restrained the loudly-expressed demand of the party to whom he owed his elevation, that France should lend its aid to the democratic interest in all the adjoining states, and in particular support the revolutionary government recently established in Belgium. Lord Palmerston was the foreign secretary of a ministry in England which had recently overturned the long-established dominion of the Tories, and only now maintained its ground against them by having awakened and by keeping alive a burst of democratic fervour, second only to that which had recently overturned the throne of Charles X. on the other side of the Channel.

63. However obviously the ultimate and lasting interests of both countries might require the maintenance of the barrier of the Low Countries to prevent their collision, and however loudly the principles of non-intervention demanded an entire abstinence on either side from any interference in the quarrels of Holland and Belgium, yet it was evident that such a course would at the moment be perilous to the government at the head of both. The Cabinet of Louis Philippe would never recover in France the discredit of having allowed the patriots of Belgium to

be put down by the advanced-guard of the Holy Alliance, and lost the opportunity of wresting from the Allies the inestimable barrier of the Flemish fortresses; the Whigs in England would have been seriously weakened in the estimation of their popular supporters at the critical moment of the Reform struggle, if they had looked tamely on while Frederick-William suppressed the insurrection in Belgium, and prevented the tricolor flag from waving at the mouth of the Scheldt. In a violent political crisis, considerations of party generally prevail over those of country; and thence the entire deviation which ensued in the policy of England from that which had been invariably pursued by its Government for two hundred years.

64. The leaders of the revolution in Belgium were well aware of the dangerous ground on which they stood. They knew that they were in a manner the advanced-work of revolution against Europe, and that Holland was the advanced-work of Europe against them; and it was on the support of France and England that they looked for their only effectual aid against the open or covert hostility of Russia and Prussia. No sooner, accordingly, did they receive Louis Philippe's refusal of the crown for the Duke de Nemours, than all shades of the Liberal party concurred in offering it to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Cobourg, by whom it was, after some hesitation, accepted. This hesitation was produced by a doubt as to the extent of territory which was to belong to the new kingdom on the side of Limburg and Luxembourg, as his declinature of the crown of Greece had been occasioned by the exclusion of Candia from its limits. Having, however, received satisfactory assurances from the Court of St James on this point, he accepted the proffered diadem, and soon after made a public entry with great *éclat* into Brussels. M. de Talleyrand had strongly supported the British Government in its efforts to procure that nomination; for he foresaw in it a termination of all discord between France and England on the subject, and the only real security

for the new-born royalty of Louis Philippe against the now scarcely disguised hostility of the northern powers.

65. But although the veteran diplomatist was undoubtedly right in supposing that the election of the widower of the Princess Charlotte, and the personal friend of the leading Whigs in England, would remove all jealousy on the part of its Cabinet to the new arrangement in the Low Countries, yet it was very far from having the same effect on the relations of Holland and Belgium themselves; on the contrary, it much aggravated the causes of irritation between these two rival states. The Belgian congress, which was audacious in proportion to its weakness, and could with difficulty be brought to reason or a just sense of its situation by the threatened hostility of the five powers, no sooner found itself supported by England, from whom most hostility was to be apprehended, than it rose in its demands, and insisted upon the cession of Luxembourg and Limburg to the new kingdom. On the other hand, the King of Holland was determined to make no more concessions, and to bring the negotiations which appeared to be interminable to an end. He therefore formally intimated to the Belgian Government his acceptance of the conditions of separation between the two states, as fixed by the protocols of 20th and 27th January last, but notified that if the Belgian Government did not intimate their adherence within five days, he would consider himself entitled to act for himself. In making this declaration, William was in secret much influenced by irritation at the election of Prince Leopold to the throne of Belgium. He had all along been supported by a strong party, composed of the most respectable, though not the most numerous, citizens in Belgium; and it was not till the election of Leopold was declared that he lost the hope he had always entertained of the crown being tendered to one of his own family.

66. The same election caused the feelings of the Government which ruled the destinies of Great Britain to undergo a

still more decisive change towards him. England was now convulsed by the Reform passion, and it was only by feeding it that the Whig Ministry could retain possession of the reins of power. As such, it naturally felt a secret leaning and partiality for a popular, and a distrust of a conservative power. Belgium was the advanced-work of the revolutionary, Holland of the legitimate monarchies. France was the protector of the former, Russia of the latter. This state of things—new in recent British history, though well known in the days of the Reformation—now began for the first time to influence the foreign policy of the country, and Holland was the first power which experienced the change. Leopold was a constitutional monarch; he was the *élève* of Great Britain, the personal friend of the existing Ministers, and they had placed him on the throne. In all these respects William of Holland was the very reverse: he stood on hereditary right; he was the *protégé* of the Holy Alliance, the pupil of Russia. Thus the ancient and long-established alliance with Holland insensibly turned, first into coldness, and ere long into hostility; while, on the other hand, sympathy of feeling and identity of party interest was rapidly converting the ancient jealousy of France into a feeling of cordial amity, which ere long terminated in alliance. Thence the immense importance of the political changes in Great Britain which were in progress at this time, and have occupied so large a portion of this history. They brought on not only an alteration in the internal constitution of Great Britain equivalent to a revolution, but an entire change in the alliances of Europe, and in the foreign policy of its principal monarchies.

67. Luxembourg was the point where this change in the foreign policy of England first appeared. It has been already mentioned that by article 2d of the Act of Separation between the two states, which had been sanctioned by all the powers, it had been stated that this province should belong to Holland, as part of the ancient patrimony

of the house of Nassau.* But no sooner was the election of Leopold as King of Belgium determined on, than the British Ministry, forgetting in the heat of party conflict alike the faith of treaties and the lasting interests of their country, passed over to the other side, and announced by a letter of Lord Ponsonby to the congress of Brussels, that, provided they submitted without reserve to the Conference, the latter would use their best endeavours to obtain the Grand-duchy of Luxembourg for them by negotiation, and upon giving to Holland a suitable indemnity, and in the mean time protect them from any attack on the part of the German Confederation.† Justly alarmed at this declared intention of despoiling him of part of his paternal inheritance on the part of the London conference, and anticipating nothing but coercion from the “powerful mediation” of such formidable pacificators, the King of Holland lost no time in protesting solemnly against any such project being entertained, and appealing to the faith of treaties to maintain him in the possessions of his family, and the limits assigned to him by the mediating powers themselves.‡

* “Les limites de la Hollande comprendront tous les territoires, places, villes, et lieux qui appartaient à la ci-devant République des provinces unies des Pays Bas en l'année 1790. La Belgique sera formée de tout le reste des territoires qui avaient reçu la dénomination du Royaume des Pays Bas dans les traités de 1815.” Luxembourg and Limburg were held instead of the old patrimony of the house of Nassau, formed a part of the Germanic Confederation, and never were included in Belgium at all.—*Protocole*, 20th Jan. 1831; *Ann. Hist.*, vol. xiv. p. 410. and ante, chap. xxv. sect. 22.

† “Si la Belgique consent à se placer dans le cercle des états Européens, reconnaissant les traités énoncés, la conférence l'aidera par une puissante médiation à obtenir le Duché de Luxembourg par un traité, et moyennant une indemnité équitable; et, par des moyens assurés, la conférence prévendra toute attaque militaire de la part de la Confédération Germanique pendant la négociation.”—Lord Ponsonby au Congrès de Bruxelles; *Ann. Hist.*, vol. xiv. p. 410.

‡ “Le Roi s'en tient à l'acte de séparation que les cinq puissances lui ont proposé, et qu'il a accepté sans réserve. L'article 2 de cet acte reconnaît expressément que le grand-duché appartient à la maison de Nassau. Il est donc difficile à concevoir qu'il pourrait

68. Without going into the tedious details of those negotiations, which continued without intermission for the next two months, and went the length of above fifty protocols, it is sufficient to observe that neither party abated in their demands, and it ere long became evident that a rupture had become unavoidable. The Belgian Assembly and King Leopold, in secret supported by England and France, insisted that negotiations should be begun between the two states for the purpose of severing the Grand-duchy of Luxembourg from Holland, and annexing it to Belgium; while William, more openly backed by Russia and Prussia, as strenuously insisted that nothing remained to negotiate about, that he accepted absolutely and unconditionally the Act of Separation as it had been fixed by the five powers themselves, and declined all proposals of exchange or compromise. Aware that matters were coming to extremities, and that hostilities might ere long break out, England and France entered into a secret treaty, the purport of which was, that Holland and Belgium should be forcibly restrained from coming to blows, and that for this purpose an English fleet should be cautiously collected in the Downs, ready to cross over to the mouth of the Scheldt, and a French army of 40,000 assembled on the Flemish frontier. M. Talleyrand said, in reference to this treaty, that "England and France were two gendarmes who forcibly intervened to prevent a duel;" and had such been the character of the intervention, there could be no question of its propriety or justice. But he forgot to add that the intervention assumed a very different character when the gendarmes interfered to enable one of the combatants with impunity to rob the other.

être question d'une négociation sur cette souveraineté, laquelle même par l'adhésion conditionnelle de la Belgique aux bases de séparation ne laisserait pas de rencontrer les plus grandes difficultés, attendu que le grand-duché a remplacé, pour le roi et les princesses de sa maison, ses états héréditaires, et qu'il est d'une valeur inappréciable à ses yeux."—*Le Roi au Congrès à Londres*, June 5, 1831; *Ann. Hist.*, vol. xiv. p. 415.

69. The pretensions of the Belgian Assembly rose in proportion as England and France manifested a disposition in their favour; and at length they arrived at such a point that they declared they would *not be bound* by the Act of Separation of the two states. Upon this the French and English Ministers, Lord Ponsonby and General Belliard, left Brussels. Negotiations, however, still went on in London, and Leopold formally accepted the crown, on condition of the Conference giving him the advantages stipulated in eighteen articles, which differed widely from the original Act of Separation, and gave Belgium much more than had belonged to it in 1790, besides leaving the question of Luxembourg open. To this the Conference in London agreed, deeming the settlement of the Belgian question by placing Leopold on the throne, an advantage so great that it was worth purchasing by the sacrifice of some of the rights of Holland. When this resolution was notified to the King of Holland, he declined to accept it, in calm but dignified terms; and orders were given to the troops on the frontier to move forward, while General Chassé announced the termination of the armistice, concluded on the 5th of November preceding, to the Belgian governor of Antwerp.*

* "Les 18 articles que vos Excellences m'ont fait l'honneur de m'adresser, et qui sont proposés aux deux parties comme un base de préliminaires d'un traité de paix, échangent toutes les combinaisons. Le contenu inattendu de cette pièce a d'autant plus douloureusement affecté sa Majesté, que, d'après ce qui en résulte, la Conférence n'a pas jugé devoir accueillir une seule des observations multipliées produites par les plénipotentiaires des Pays Bas. La plupart de ces articles semblent le résultat d'un concert avec ceux qui exercent le pouvoir en Belgique. Mais sans s'arrêter à cette apparence, il est de fait qu'ils furent simultanément communiqués à la Belgique et à la Hollande, et que principalement on ne consulta point sur leur contenu, le Cabinet de la Haye, comme sa Majesté, avait bien droit de l'attendre. A l'exemple des souverains les plus puissans, il pourra céder à la nécessité en abandonnant à leur sort ceux de ses sujets qui se sont soustraits à son autorité, mais jamais il ne leur sacrifiera les droits de la Hollande. Or, un examen réfléchi l'ayant convaincu que les articles préliminaires livreraient à la merci

70. The Dutch army, when it thus threw down the gauntlet to the greatest powers of Europe, was in a very efficient state, and, considering the resources of the country by which it was maintained, surprisingly numerous. It consisted of 70,000 men, recruited from the veteran soldiers of Prussia, Germany, and Switzerland, attracted to the standard of King William by the ample pay offered by the Dutch Government. Of this force 40,000 were stationed on the frontier in three corps: one under General Van Gheen, which had orders to move upon Antwerp from Breda; the second, under General Georges, was in front of Maestricht; while the third, under the Prince of Orange, was placed between them, and was to advance upon Brussels. On the other side, the Belgians had collected 12,000 men, who were dignified by the name of the Army of the Scheldt, at Malines, which was commanded by Leopold in person; while another corps, 10,000 strong, under General Daine, was stationed between Maestricht and Hasselt. The composition of these troops, however, was not such as to inspire any hope that they would be able to withstand the shock of the veteran soldiers who were collected round the Dutch standards, for they were nearly all raw levies, chiefly composed of the rabble of towns, ill equipped and worse disciplined, and totally destitute of the firmness and confidence in each other requisite to success in the field.

71. The corps of the Prince of Orange crossed the frontier on the 5th, and made itself master of Diest without opposition; from whence, advancing on its left towards Haelen, and on its right to Sichein, it interposed between the enemy's corps at Malines and the one on the Meuse,

de l'insurrection les intérêts les plus chers de la patrie, il ne peut dès-lors les accepter, et doit derechef réclamer de la part des cinq puissances, comme j'ai l'honneur de la faire en son nom. Désormais c'est une querelle, un débat entre la Hollande et la Belgique, états indépendants et séparés; il a ainsi le droit de paix et de guerre, sans qu'il y ait nécessité d'une intervention des puissances."

—*Protestation du Roi Guillaume*, 26th June 1831; CAPEFIGUE, vol. v. pp. 173, 175.

and rendered their junction impracticable. This was in itself a great advantage, which would probably be decisive of the issue of the campaign; but it was rendered still more important by what soon after occurred with the Dutch left on the Meuse. The Belgians were there attacked on the road between Hasselt and Tongres by General Georges's corps, and routed with such facility that the affair could not be called a battle. At the first shot the Belgian infantry took to flight; their artillery, in the confusion, fired on their own men, taking them for enemies; and the cavalry completed the disorder by wheeling about and trampling under foot their own foot-soldiers in the general flight. In frightful confusion the whole army fled to Liege, with the loss of its entire artillery, caissons, and baggage, leaving Brussels uncovered to its fate. That city was now at the mercy of the Dutch troops; for on the very day when this disaster happened to the army of the Meuse, Leopold, finding his right entirely uncovered, retired towards Louvain, and took up an intrenched position in front of that town. There he was followed by the Prince of Orange, attacked, and routed with so much facility that it was with great difficulty he escaped, after losing all his artillery, into Louvain, where he was shut up next day by the victorious Dutch. Leopold himself behaved with great gallantry in this affair, but he could not communicate his own spirit to the revolutionary rabble whom he commanded. In these disastrous circumstances, he wrote an urgent letter to Marshal Gérard, who commanded the French army on the frontier, to hasten his march; and a limit was thus put to the progress of the Prince of Orange, when he was at the gates of Brussels, held his rival blockaded in a town which could not hold out three days, and when, according to the republican journalists, "Belgium was within a hair's-breadth of destruction." *

72. But it was no part of the policy of France to allow this opportunity of

* "La Belgique était à deux doigts de sa perte."—L. BLANC, vol. ii. p. 422.

re-establishing its influence in Flanders to be lost, or of the new-born liberal policy of England to interfere with such an extension of the power of their ancient rival. On the contrary, the Governments of both countries leant to the young revolutionary state, and regarded with jealousy the pretensions of William, the protégé of the Holy Alliance, and the advanced-guard of the legitimist sovereigns. No sooner, accordingly, was the intelligence of the crossing the frontier by the Prince of Orange received in Paris and London, than instructions were sent by the two Governments for their respective forces to advance. The English fleet made sail from the Downs for the mouth of the Scheldt; the French army received orders instantly to cross the frontier and move upon Louvain and Brussels. With transports of joy the French troops began their march, the soldiers chanting songs of victory; they were advancing against the Holy Alliance; they were recommencing the career of the Grand Army; they were going to level the Lion of Waterloo! Forty thousand men, in the highest state of discipline and equipment, crossed the frontier on the 9th, and on the 12th the vanguard entered Brussels at the very moment when the victory of Louvain had opened to the Prince of Orange the gates of the capital.

73. Fortunately for the peace of Europe, the good sense of the King of Holland, which was equal to his resolution, led him to appreciate the dangers of his situation if he persisted any farther in hostilities. He had received a communication, signed by the ambassadors of all the five powers, to the effect that they were unanimously resolved to put a period to hostilities so eminently hazardous to the peace of Europe, and that France and England, in interposing to prevent them, acted in the general interest, and with the concurrence of all the powers. In fact, a protocol had been signed on the 6th, which regulated the intervention, declared that the Conference was satisfied that the French and English intervention was done in the intent and in order to preserve the peace of Eu-

rope, and provided that the mediating force should not cross the frontier of Old Holland, and neither invest Maestricht nor Venloo, and that the French troops should retire within the French frontier, and the English fleet to the Downs, as soon as hostilities ceased between the Dutch and Belgians. As soon as he was informed of this resolution on the part of the five powers, William despatched orders to the Prince of Orange to stop hostilities, and retire within the frontiers of Holland. The order reached him at Louvain on the 13th, and he immediately concluded a convention with General Belliard, who commanded the French advanced-guard, in virtue of which the Dutch army withdrew within their own frontier, and the French, after some delay, retired to their own country, without having had the satisfaction of destroying the Lion of Waterloo in the course of their expedition.

74. Nothing but the preponderance of France and England, from their united policy and geographical position, so near the seat of hostilities, and the danger to which they themselves were exposed by the still doubtful contest on the shores of the Vistula which will immediately be recounted, could have induced the northern powers to look quietly on, while the western potentates took upon themselves, in this manner, to arrange the affairs of Flanders at their own pleasure, and keep up by force the revolutionary state of Belgium, at the very moment when it had in reality fallen under the restored dominion of its lawful sovereign. In truth, the powers engaged in the Conference were as much divided on the subject, notwithstanding their apparent unanimity, as Holland and Belgium; and it was with great difficulty a rupture was prevented between them. A spark would then have lighted the flame of a Continental war; and had the affair of Poland been settled three months earlier than it actually was, the French invasion of Belgium would have proved that spark. But the terror of a general war, for which they were wholly unprepared, and an undefined dread of revolt in their own dominions,

if a strife of opinion were openly waged in Europe, prevailed over these views, and a sort of tacit agreement took place between the five powers, to the effect that France and England should be permitted to arrange at pleasure the affairs of Belgium, provided they allowed Russia and Prussia at will to settle those of Poland.

75. But although hostilities were thus stopped in Flanders, and William was prevented from recovering the lost part of his dominions, at the very time when he had decisively defeated the rebels in them, yet he gained much, both in material advantage and moral influence, by the brief passage at arms which had taken place. Short as the period of hostilities had been, it had proved both the vigour, patriotism, and unanimity of Holland, and the weakness, disunion, and inefficiency of Belgium. It was now demonstrated beyond all dispute, that the Belgian revolution had been the work merely of the heated democrats of a few great towns, and had no foundation in the solid sense or settled wishes of the great majority of the inhabitants of Flanders; for the revolutionary state, with four millions of inhabitants, had been vanquished in a few days by the conservative with two millions and a half. It was now evident to all the world that a democratic dynasty could not stand of itself in Flanders, and that, if not propped up by the adjoining Liberal Governments of France and England, it would at once fall to the ground. These conclusions flowed so evidently from what had occurred, that they soon came not only to affect general opinion over Europe, but materially to influence the views of the London Conference. After mature deliberation, the ambassadors of the five powers presented to the Kings of Holland and Belgium a project of a treaty for the separation of the two states, which they described in the accompanying letter as "final and irrevocable," but containing terms far more favourable to Holland than the former one of eighteen articles, which had been rejected. By this proposed treaty, the Grand-duchy of Luxembourg was

to be divided between the two powers, but with the fortress of Luxembourg belonging to the King of Holland, as grand-duke of that duchy, he receiving a portion of Limburg in indemnity for the part ceded; the district of Maestricht was also partitioned, but with the fortress of that name remaining to Holland; and the common debt of the kingdom of the Netherlands was to be apportioned on the footing of 8,400,000 florins to be annually paid by the Belgians, and 5,050,000 to be provided for by the Dutch Government. This treaty, which was signed by the representatives of the five powers on the 15th November 1831, was not implicitly adopted by either of the states concerned; fresh negotiations took place, and a memorable siege ensued, to be recounted in the next volume; but it formed the basis upon which the rival pretensions of Holland and Belgium were finally adjusted.

76. If the effects of the new-born alliance of the Liberal Governments of France and England were proclaimed to the world in the affairs of Flanders in this year, they were not less clearly evinced in an event which took place, inconsiderable in itself, but very significant of accomplished change, at the mouth of the Tagus. Some French subjects had grounds of complaint against the Government at Lisbon, and some abusive articles had appeared in the Portuguese newspapers against the French monarch. These grievances, which would have been the fit subject of pacific remonstrance and negotiation, were taken up by the Cabinet of Louis Philippe as the subject of national quarrel; and they resolved to demand reparation at the cannon's mouth. It was indispensable, however, to obtain the assent of the British Government to any armed intervention in the Tagus; but this was without difficulty procured, the English Cabinet and people being so completely absorbed in the Reform contest, that foreign affairs, even when of the most pressing kind, and touching on the most interesting recollections, excited scarcely any attention. The consent of the British Ministry to the hos-

tile demonstration being thus secured, the French Government fitted out a fleet of six ships of the line and three frigates, under the command of Admiral Roussin, which forthwith set sail, and arrived on the 8th July at the mouth of the Tagus.

77. The first step of the French admiral was to send a flag of truce ashore, with a statement of his demands, which were,—the dismissal of the captain of the Portuguese frigate which had captured a French packet-boat, the *St Helena*; a compensation in money for several proprietors who had suffered during the blockade of Terceira by the Royalist fleet; and the dismissal of all the magistrates who were said to have violated the privileges of French subjects. These terms not having been complied with, the French squadron entered the Tagus, passed, without sustaining almost any damage, the batteries of Fort Belem, on which the vessels, in moving up, opened a heavy fire, and, continuing their victorious course, anchored abreast of the royal palace. Nothing now remained to the Portuguese Government but submission. The conditions, so far as the individuals claiming damages were concerned, were at once complied with, and any questions of a general nature referred to the Conference at London; but the Portuguese fleet was carried off in triumph to Brest. This vigorous demonstration was not of any very material importance in itself; but it assumed great magnitude from the indication it afforded of the entire change in the policy of Great Britain, which the accession of the Whig party to power had occasioned. Don Miguel had appealed to the British Government for protection, when the attack was impending, and been refused. Europe was confounded at beholding England calmly abandoning its ancient ally to the hostile attacks of its former rival; and although the English people, engrossed with the Reform struggle, and incapable of taking in more than one idea at a time, paid little attention to the subject, there were many thoughtful persons in England who concurred in the mournful words of the Duke of

Wellington, in the House of Peers, “that it went to his heart to see the French dictate peace under the walls of Lisbon.”

78. Although these vigorous demonstrations of French power in Flanders and in the Tagus went far to restore the credit of France in the eyes of foreign nations, and beyond all question saved the ministry of Casimir Périer from the shipwreck with which it was threatened at the very commencement of the session, yet in the end they rather increased than lessened the difficulties of Government. The enthusiasm of the people at these successful foreign interventions became speedily such that it was altogether ungovernable. The spirit of propaganda into which democratic fervour, when successful, invariably runs, was ere long so violent that nothing within the power of Louis Philippe could satisfy it. The Parisian journals would gladly have faced the hostility of the whole world for the spread of their principles. They loudly demanded the immediate march of one army into Italy, to excite the Italian patriots; another into Belgium, to support the cause of insurrection in Flanders; and a third into Germany, to make its way through the three hundred thousand armed men of the Confederation to the shores of the Vistula, and lend its aid to the heroic and labouring Poles. Secure of the support, or at least the forbearance, of England, they felt confident against the world in arms. Such was the excitement produced by these events, that for long they exclusively occupied the attention of the Chamber, to the entire stoppage of all other business. The danger of the crisis, and the difficulties of the Government, will be best appreciated by recapitulating what, in a thousand different forms, and with the utmost violence of language, was advanced on either side.

79. The debates began in the Chamber on the 9th August, and lasted, without intermission, for three weeks. They elicited on both sides the whole oratorical talent of France, and were

characterised from the very first by uncommon violence of language. "We accuse you," said M. Bignon, General Lamarque, Marshal Clausel, and M. Mauguin, "of having compromised the interest of France, which lies in its honour, and the interests of humanity, which are centred in its greatness. Recollect what we were a year ago, and reflect on what we now are. How vast was the prestige with which we were then surrounded! In the midst of nations astounded, and kings struck with terror, we had grasped again, and for far nobler purposes than he wielded it, the sceptre of Napoleon. Never was situation so dazzling as ours then was, and we had no need to disturb the world to attain our object, for it lay at our mercy. Now, what can we do?—what influence do we possess in Europe? To know how to assist when you are strong is the mark of a wise moderation; but to tolerate injustice when you are strong, is the distinctive mark of pusillanimity. Look around you, and see what you have permitted! In Italy the Austrians trampling a noble people under foot, without any other title than that of the strongest; the Conference in London cutting asunder nationalities, without regard either to traditions, interests, or affections, at the dictation of four kings; the Russians proceeding to exterminate a generous people—to punish them for having found their tyranny intolerable. These are your works. This you have permitted, in this you have concurred. Everywhere around you, you have allowed the rude empire of force to be re-established, to our eternal disgrace, and the not less durable misfortune of those who loved us, who relied on our support, and who were betrayed.

80. "Boast not of your interventions; they are not so many titles of honour, but badges of servitude. You have demanded the retirement of the Austrians from Italy in March, and when did you obtain it? In July, when their work was done, the patriots were dispersed and destroyed, and your own influence in the peninsula lost. You have intervened in

Belgium, and in what character, and at whose dictation? Not as the apostles of freedom, not as the pioneers of civilisation, but as the gendarmerie of the Holy Alliance, to carry into execution the dictates of the London Conference, to place the sovereign of England's choice on the throne of Flanders. You might have had that beautiful country as you might have had the fields of Lombardy, and its inhabitants panted for a reunion with you, but you rejected their advances for fear of giving umbrage to England! Umbrage to England! It was not thus that our fathers felt: there was no terror of England then. If these are the fruits of the English alliance, better, far better, to brave at once its hostility. There is little cause for congratulation on the expedition to Lisbon, how honourable soever to those engaged in it. We went there, not of our own free will, but by the licence of England, to avenge her causes of complaint more than our own,—to displace a sovereign whom she deems it for her interest not to recognise. Such is the degradation to which we have been brought by the English alliance and the policy of Ministers, that the Cabinet of St James's has no longer any need to get out fleets or armies of its own to avenge its wrongs or carry into execution its decisions. It has only to issue its mandates from London, and the fleets and armies of France become the instruments of its vengeance—the ministers of its will.

81. "We are always told we must await the decisions of a congress, the resolutions of the Conference. Why a congress, why a conference? What is the need of a conference after the insurrection at Brussels—of a congress after the revolution at Warsaw? Had you at once recognised the nationality of Poland, what effect would it have produced on the banks of the Vistula? Lithuania, Podolia, Volhynia would immediately have been in arms; Galicia and Hungary would have responded to the cry; a word would have disarmed Russia and Austria, re-established the balance of power, and

restored France to its proper rank and lead in Europe. What could the Continental powers have done in presence of such a decided policy? Austria would have found its Poland in Italy, Prussia in the Rhenish provinces, England in Ireland. Driven back into their deserts by the heroic armies of the Sarmatians, the Muscovites would have ceased to be any longer formidable to the liberties of Europe—the independence of nations. Whereas the result of your timorous conduct has been, that England has disposed of the crown of Belgium, which was laid at your feet; that Austria has established her supremacy in Italy; and Russia has found in the treacherous neutrality of Austria, the open support of Prussia, the means of extinguishing the last remnants of Polish nationality.”

82. Strong as these arguments were, and powerfully as they spoke to the national and patriotic feelings which are ever springing up in the breasts of the French people, they were met on the part of Government by others, if not equally heart-stirring to the feelings, perhaps more convincing to the reason. “What,” said M. Casimir Périer, M. Guizot, M. Thiers, and General Sébastiani, “are the grievances of which the Opposition complain? Born of a tempest calculated to drive nations into chaos, the French Government has sought to appease everything around itself and in itself. Is there nothing grand in that lofty moderation? Was it blamable, because to the savage pleasure of overturning the world it preferred the glorious title of saving it at once from the double scourge of democracy and conquest? We are reproached for having abandoned Belgium to the English, Italy to the Austrians, Poland to the Russians. Vain and declamatory complaints! We have done all in Italy which could reasonably be hoped for. The Ministry of the 13th March (Casimir Périer), on arriving at the helm, found the Austrian army in the Roman States, the sad bequest of the weakness of the preceding Cabinet. It demanded, it obtained their evacua-

tion by the Austrian troops. What more could be expected of it? If our frontiers have not been advanced to the Rhine—if Flanders has not been incorporated with our dominions—if the King, doing violence to his family affections, has refused the crown proffered to his son,—it was because considerations of the highest political gravity were opposed to such projects of national or family aggrandisement. Was it expedient, for no other object but extending our frontiers or influence, to light up in Europe the flames of an immense conflagration? Was it advisable, in the hope of a doubtful conquest, to arm against us the English people, that powerful ally which has done so much to establish the throne of the Revolution? Would it have been wise to threaten the European nations with the revival of our ambition, which for fifteen long years kept them in agony and humiliation? Was France degraded because she showed herself at once formidable and disinterested?

83. “No one can admire more than we do the heroic valour of the Poles, and be filled with a warmer commiseration for their undeserved fate; but the question is not what all must feel, but what any could have done? Separated from us by a breadth of four hundred leagues, inhabited by neutral and powerful nations, our geographical position condemned us to a mournful and sterile sympathy. To have marched to their succour would have been to have resumed, at the point where they began to become fatal, the gigantic enterprises of Napoleon. And what would be the object gained, supposing it successful? To force Austria and Prussia, in their own defence, to conclude a close alliance with Russia, so that our troops, on arriving at Warsaw, would probably have found nothing but a desert and ashes. Napoleon himself at Tilsit was unequal to the task of restoring Poland, though he was at the head of five hundred thousand invincible soldiers. Could the Ministers of 1831 have undertaken with impunity that which Napoleon, with his gigantic forces, failed in ac-

complishing, possessing as they did a much inferior army, for the most part composed of mere conscripts? To have *recognised* the independence of Poland when we could not support it, would have been an idle rodomontade, alike evincing the weakness of the one country and the impotence of the other.

84. "Let us not deceive ourselves, therefore, or be led away by vain declamation. Government has done all that was in its power to do for the Poles, when it offered its own mediation, and invited that of the other powers. It is time now for the Opposition to explain themselves. What do they really desire; what would they be at? Is a universal war—a war for life or death—the object of their desires? If so, they had better announce at once that the question is no longer between war and peace, but between war and liberty, for no one supposes that freedom can take root or flourish amidst the dire crash of battles. Combats and hostilities abroad induce at home silence and repose: despotism is the counterpart of victory. Napoleon proved it; and before his time the Convention had proved it by deeds which will never be effaced from the memory of man. 'Have you concluded an agreement with victory?' was once asked in that terrible assembly. 'No,' was the reply of Bazire, 'but we have made a compact with death.' Death soon came to claim performance of the promise: a year had not elapsed when the head of Bazire fell from the scaffold. If the Opposition does not grow pale at the employment of such resources, and the mere memory of these terrible examples, let them at least have the courage to avow it."

85. Matters were brought to a perfect climax in the Chamber by a proposition of M. Bignon to insert in the address the words—"In the touching words of your Majesty regarding the misfortunes of Poland, the Chamber fondly hopes to find a '*certainly*' that the nationality of Poland shall not expire." M. Bodin, on the part of Ministers, contended that the expression "*firm hope*" should be used instead.

Such was the enthusiasm excited by this interesting topic, that at the words of General Lamarque, "Let us save Poland!" the whole Assembly rose like one man, and was proceeding, amidst loud acclamations, to adopt M. Bignon's motion, when Casimir Périer, foaming with rage and quivering with emotion, rushed into the tribune, and insisted to be heard. The cry of "Spoke, spoke! order, order!" arose on all sides, and he could not make himself heard. Still standing in the tribune, and making frantic gesticulations, amidst a din which rendered any voice inaudible, the minister contended for the privilege of being heard. Upon this a frightful tumult arose, some contending that he should be heard, others that he should not,—all with equal violence. Soon the whole Assembly, galleries and all, were on their feet, shouting and gesticulating in the most tumultuous manner; and at length the President, after in vain trying to restore order by ringing his bell, covered himself, and the Chamber broke up in an indescribable state of agitation.*

86. Great as was the excitement which these debates in the Chambers on the subject of Poland occasioned, it was as nothing to that which took place when the intelligence of the fall of Warsaw, to be recounted in the next chapter, arrived. It was on the 15th September that the mournful intelligence reached Paris, and the grief and excitement was so intense that it seemed a question whether it would not prove fatal to the new-born dynasty. It exceeded even that felt at the tak-

* In one of these violent debates, General Sébastiani, addressing General Lamarque, said, "C'est faux; vous en avez menti." These words led to a hostile meeting between the two generals, which happily terminated in no serious result. It is remarkable how often military and naval men, so cool in the field of battle or the quarter-deck, lose their temper, and become ungovernable in debate. It is that weakness which makes them in general incapable of ruling pacific assemblies. Accustomed to command, they cannot brook contradiction or resistance; and they too often forget that, in civil conflicts, the influence exercised is in general in the inverse ratio of the temper displayed.—See *Ann. Hist.*, vol. xiv. p. 249; *Chron.* p. 257; *CAPEFIGURE*, vol. v. p. 343.

ing of Paris in 1814, or the battle of Waterloo in the year after; for national humiliation was then softened by a sense of delivery from evil, but here it was aggravated by the extinction of hope. The public excitement was wound up to the highest point by an imprudent and ill-timed expression of General Sébastiani, in announcing the mournful intelligence on the 16th in the Chamber of Deputies—"Order reigns in Warsaw;" and again, on the 19th, when he said, "Poland will never rise from its ashes if France is wise." Such was the excitement produced by these words, that Casimir Périer and General Sébastiani were assailed by a furious mob when entering the hotel of the Minister of War in the Place Vendôme, and narrowly escaped with their lives. So universal was the grief, so passionate its expression, that the *theatres were all closed*—a thing which had not occurred in the worst days of Robespierre or the Convention. For four days Paris continued in a state of stupor and prostration, to which nothing had been seen comparable in any former period of its history; and the public sorrow, as that of an individual, at length wore itself out by excessive indulgence. The intensity of emotion evinced by the people on this occasion proved that it was not mere sympathy with a foreign state which agitated them, but an interest nearer home which was the cause of the excitement, and that the republican historian spoke the voice of millions when he said, "The fall of Warsaw and the sterile effervescence in Paris completed the ruin of the revolutionary principle in Europe."

87. In the midst of these violent storms and alterations, the Ministry of Casimir Périer not only stood its ground, but sensibly acquired strength—the evident necessity of supporting Government in the critical circumstances in which the country, both externally and internally, was placed, prevailing over the known democratic feeling of the majority of the Chamber. But at the same time the republican feeling, which had swayed the greater part of the elections, appeared in vari-

ous domestic acts of the Legislature. The majority in the Chamber, by the smallest possible number, was Liberal,* and their hostility to the Crown was evinced in two important subjects. The first was on the civil list for the monarch, which amounted to 18,000,000 francs (£720,000), and did not pass without the most violent opposition. The second was an amendment brought forward by M. de Bricqueville on the law for the banishment of the Bourbons, which, from having not been introduced in time, had not passed the Peers in the last session, though it had been carried by a large majority in the Deputies. It was now proposed, as an amendment, that the penalty of DEATH should be pronounced against any member of the elder Bourbon family who should set foot on the French territory. This sanguinary law, worthy of the worst days of the Convention, was voted almost unanimously, to the extent of being sent to committee; M. Berryer and M. de Chartroun alone opposed it. But the committee rejected the capital sanction, and reported that the family of Napoleon should be included in the decree of banishment. The discussion on the report came on on 15th November, and gave rise to some very striking observations on both sides.

88. "There is but one measure," said M. Pagès, "which really suits the dignity of our situation, and may signalise it in the eyes of Europe. Do not try to inspire fear; that only betrays fear in yourselves. Pass to the order of the day as to the five laws against the elder branch of the house of Bourbon; repeal the law of 1816 against the family of Napoleon; and prove to all the world by that lofty measure of prudence and courage that you labour under no apprehension,

* STATE OF PARTIES IN THE NEW CHAMBER.

	Ministerial.	Opposition.
Old members, . . .	145	150
New do., . . .	84	89
	229	230

A majority of ONE for the Opposition—the same as brought on the French Revolution, and the Reform Bill in England.—See CAPEFIGUE, vol. v. p. 278.

that you despise vain words and criminal enterprises, and that you know that no one can ascend the throne of France but by the will of the French. France, say the courtiers, is renowned among nations by its loyalty to its sovereign ; but history tells a different tale ; and truth gives the lie to flattery. It was by the murder of the last of the Valois that the first Bourbon ascended the throne. Henry IV. died cruelly assassinated. During their respective minorities, Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. found with difficulty a shelter for their heads ; the dagger of an assassin pierced the breast of Louis XV. ; Louis XVI. died on the scaffold ; Louis XVII. wasted away in chains. There is Bourbon blood to be seen in the fosse of Vincennes ; its stains are visible on the steps of the Opera. Louis XVIII. has been twice proscribed ; Charles X. has three times set out on the path of exile. Is it in a country which so often has brought before its eyes the miseries of royalty that it is allowable, under a monarchical government, to add to that load of oppression, and to inscribe deliberately in its statute-book a tyranny which has hitherto been found only in the dagger of the assassin, or the madness of the people ?”

89. Notwithstanding the historic truth and generous eloquence of these words, such was the terror inspired by the prospect of a civil war in La Vendée, lighted up by the threatened descent of the Duchess de Berri, that it is more than doubtful whether the sanguinary clause would not have been placed by a vote of the Chamber in the law, had it not been for a noble and most moving appeal of M. de Martignac. This able and estimable statesman, who had tried in vain to check the perilous career of Charles X., immediately before the accession of the Polignac administration, had risen from the bed of sickness to oppose the motion, and spoke now, in a feeble and faltering voice, for the last time in the Assembly. “Gentlemen,” said he, “banishment is in our law a punishment for infamous offences,

pronounced by the judge after a mature examination of the evidence ; and it is now proposed to declare it in advance against entire generations, without a trial, without evidence, without knowing even whom you are condemning ! One of your orators has lately said from the tribune, ‘In France proscription absolves.’ That profound and just sentiment condemns the amendment. Should a pretender arrive in France, the Government will immediately be warned of the danger which the public security will run, and the risk will be prevented. But if a proscribed person, condemned beforehand, arrives on your shores, where will you find a man who will clap the executioner on the shoulder, and say to him, ‘Look at that royal head ; get it identified, and cause it to fall ?’ When I had the misfortune to be minister, a proscribed regicide appeared on the territory of France. The minister, informed of his appearance, so far from causing him to be arrested, hastened to provide for his retreat. He was an old man, and he was nursed, for he was sick ; he received succour, for he had need of it : he was conducted, with the respect due to his age and misfortunes, to the frontier. I rendered an account of what I had done, and it was approved of, as I know I should be by you to-day.” “Yes ! yes !” broke from all parts of the Assembly. “What, then,” he added, “would have been the case if the penalty had been death ? I believe, in truth, I would not have spoken of it. Let one of the proscribed, whom the amendment submitted to the Chamber proposes to punish with death, return to France, to seek an asylum there ; let him knock at the door even of the mover of the amendment ; let him give his name and come in, and I will engage beforehand for his security.” The effect of this appeal was irresistible among a people so accessible to the generous sentiments as the French. Profoundly moved, the whole Assembly rose as one man ; and, amidst universal acclamations, the amendment, proposing the capital

sanction, was withdrawn, and the law passed as proposed by the committee, which bore, "The elder branch of the Bourbons is banished for ever from France."

90. These incidental discussions, however, were all preliminary merely to the grand question of the session, which was the ABOLITION OF THE HEREDITARY PEERAGE. This was so emphatically the question of the day, that it might be said without exaggeration that the mission of the new Chamber was to destroy the peerage, as that of the House of Commons in England, elected in the same year, was to destroy the nomination boroughs. So strongly was hatred of the hereditary aristocracy rooted in France, in consequence of the extravagant pretensions it had asserted, and the exclusive privileges it had acquired, that the first Revolution may be said to have been mainly directed to its overthrow. It was this which was meant by its watchword, "*Liberté et Égalité*." Its abolition, accordingly, was one of the first acts of the Constituent Assembly in 1791. Napoleon, however, who saw clearly that a hereditary monarchy could never exist without a hereditary aristocracy to support it, restored titles of honour, and declared them hereditary; and it was one leading object of his policy to effect a "fusion," as he called it, of the ancient and modern nobility. Louis XVIII. on his accession wisely followed the same conciliatory system, and pronounced several sonorous periods on the noblesse on one side of the throne recalling the ancient honours of the monarchy, and on the other the new-born glories of the empire. In secret, however, he was by no means favourably inclined to a hereditary nobility. A House of Peers *named by himself* was much more to his taste, and he was only prevailed on to permit its restoration upon condition that the Crown was to retain the form at least of calling the eldest sons of peers to the Upper House. During the tumult, however, of the Revolution of 1830, the prejudice against the aristocracy acquired great force, and the number of deputies

pledged to effect its overthrow was so much increased by the lowering of the suffrage, and the vast addition to the republican members whom this introduced into the Legislature, that its abolition in the next session became a matter of certainty.

91. The question first came on for consideration on the 27th August, when the Government proposed a simple decree "that the hereditary peerage should be abolished." M. Casimir Périer was known to be a decided supporter of that branch of the constitution, but, aware of the strong feeling which existed on the subject in the country, and the decided majority in the Chamber, he yielded to necessity, and concurred in the measure. Although all knew that the fate of the peerage was sealed, the arguments used on both sides were not the less worthy of attention, and, as not unfrequently happens, the more weighty were adduced on the side which proved unsuccessful. On the part of the abolition it was argued by M. Odillon Barrot, M. Bignon, General Lafayette, and M. Remusat: "In whatever way you consider the hereditary peerage, it appears equally useless, dangerous, and fatal. If we regard it as the hereditary branch of the Legislature, what security have we that it will not introduce into the possession of power persons without elevation of character, without patriotism, without talent? No function is more important than that of making laws,—none more difficult. What folly, then, can be so great a solecism as to deliver ourselves over to chance for the choice of legislators? Can there be such madness as to cast aside those who might be recommended to such high functions by their probity or their merit, and to select from the first comers the rulers of the state? Yet is not the folly of a hereditary legislature still greater, because a greater number of persons are there granted entrance to power, and the chances therefore of an overwhelming majority of fools is increased?"

92. "It is possible to conceive the advantages of a hereditary monarchy, because it is obviously expedient to

prevent contests for the crown, and a responsible ministry will always watch over an imbecile king. But who is to watch over an imbecile body of hereditary peers? Where is the cabinet of young aristocratic fools? England was never governed with more energy and wisdom than by Pitt, the minister at one time of an insane king; but what similar remedy could be applied to a numerous assembly? But the peerage, it is said, is a moderating power. If so, can there be so strong an argument for the instant abolition of its hereditary rights? for what can be figured so dangerous as to give to the steadying power a special and separate interest which may awaken the most dangerous passions? The pride of man feels a greater pleasure in exciting a movement than in arresting it: the reason is, that action supposes liberty, that is, force; while resistance implies necessity, that is, weakness. What is true of an individual is much more true of a numerous assembly, for it is the nature of all power to emerge from its limits, and to employ, for action and its own purposes, the arms which it has received for resistance and the common good.

93. "To what does this restraining power, of which so much is said, in reality amount? Nothing. If an aristocracy is strong, it takes possession of the movement; if weak, it follows it. It is a danger the more in every situation to the perils of the state; not a danger the less. Did the House of Lords oppose any barrier to the encroachments of the Long Parliament? It wished to save Strafford—it condemned him; it wished to preserve the bishops in itself—it voted their exclusion; it desired peace—it voted civil war. It is mere delusion to suppose you can moderate a movement which has got possession of society, by opposing to it a body of hereditary legislators. It is the same thing as to attempt to keep up an aristocracy in the middle of a republic. Reflect on the old contests between the patricians and plebeians, which so long kept on fire the Roman Republic. Do not suppose you lessen the chances of a

similar disaster by simply calling the aristocracy a mediating power. At best it will only be a war of two against one; an increase rather than a diminution of difficulties. And if we suppose our peerage hereditary and really independent, how are we to succeed in bending its will when, braving alike the throne and the elective legislature, it sets itself to oppose the reforms which are deemed necessary? Are we to have recourse to a creation of peers? If so, adieu to all consideration or respect for the hereditary body. It has ceased to moderate—it has come only to obey.

94. "If we consider the peerage as in reality a representative assembly, what interest does it represent? With what order is it allied in the state to which revolution has now brought the country? Have not the fiefs been abolished? Is not feudality dead and buried? Where shall we find in France the superior class which in England is united with the people against the oppression of the throne, and has acquired a sort of hereditary title to the respect of generations to come? Where shall we find in France any trace of the relations of patron and client, of proprietor and tenant? In this country, therefore, whatever may be the case elsewhere, a hereditary aristocracy is liable to the objection of being linked to no existing interest in the state, and yet recalling the remembrance of the odious privileges, against which, in 1789, the nation rose *en masse*. At this moment, what is it but the immense middle class which is striking down the aristocracy? What more is needed to prove it is adverse to the intelligence, the spirit, the light of the age? If the hereditary peerage had had its roots in the nation, would it of late years have given proofs only of its impotence? What has it done for Napoleon, vanquished at Waterloo? What has it done for Louis XVIII., when himself exiled by the exile of the island of Elba? What did it do on the 29th of July for Charles X.? What did it then do for liberty? and on the day following the 9th August 1830, what did it do for

its own credit or reputation? Impotent to save, it is powerful only to destroy; bereft of respect, it exists only to degrade.

95. "The supporters of the hereditary peerage are consistent only in error. They say that there are always in the world two opposite principles—movement and rest; that the elective chamber represents the first, the hereditary the second. But if it be really true that the coexistence of the antagonistic principles is not an accidental or transitory circumstance, but an essential and permanent condition of human society, what conclusion are we to draw from it? What but this, that society contains in its bosom the seeds of a permanent and lasting contest; that war without truce is the law of the world; that, condemned to undergo alternately the triumph of one or other of these opposing powers, the people must always be either swept up in the whirl of a devouring flame, or struck with stupor in a stagnation fatal to all improvement? Do you really suppose it is possible, by interposing a third party between these mighty antagonists, to prevent them from coming into collision? The Crown, which is supposed to be this intermediate power, must inevitably soon become a mere weapon in the hands of one or other of them. The truth is, the supposed existence of these antagonistic powers is a vain illusion, arising from their having been found, from accidental circumstances, in the states of modern Europe. There is but one lasting and eternal condition of society, and that is *durability in progress*. To doubt this, is to deny progress, to blaspheme God, to deliver the world in advance to the government of chance. The existence of these opposite principles in modern kingdoms is a fact, but it is an evil. It should be the object of the legislator to eradicate, not perpetuate it. *Unity in power* is the great principle of good government. England is no example to the contrary. Its three separate powers are in reality but so many emanations of one supreme authority: *tria juncta in uno* should be

its motto. To attempt to frame consistency out of opposition is to organise anarchy, to perpetuate chaos."

96. To these able arguments, which carried with them four-fifths of the Assembly, it was answered by a small but enlightened minority, headed by M. Guizot, M. Thiers, M. Royer Collard, and M. Berryer. "We are all agreed," said they, "that the great object in framing the constitution of a legislature is to adopt that which is likely to secure the greatest number of able and competent legislators. The only question is, which system is most likely to attain that object? But experience has proved that nothing but a hereditary peerage can effect this. It alone can create, on the side of Government, a number of fixed situations, the holders of which are identified in interest with the Crown, and yet have permanent possessions which may render them independent, and exempt from the passions or ambition which must animate the Government in its struggle with the democracy. What we have need of is to find in society a class of men who make of politics and the science of government *their fixed and habitual study*, their business, their profession, as others do of law, arms, merchandise, or physic. We need a class of men *essentially and by caste politicians*. By a hereditary peerage you attain that object; by no other means is it possible to do so. You rear up a class of men for whom situations are ready made, and who are in a manner born politicians. Placed at the summit, however, they will never fail to receive, at the proper time, the impulse of that democracy which is always the most extensive and powerful element in society, and from the most eminent members of which it will always draw its recruits. Madame de Staël says, 'A hereditary magistracy, of which the recollections of birth form a part, is an indispensable element in a limited monarchy.' The destruction of the hereditary peerage was an idea of 1789; but how many ideas of that year have now been found by experience to have been erroneous? The charter itself is based

upon the rejection of the greater part of them. Shall we then adopt this one erroneous idea from them, and in so doing destroy the constitutional throne which we profess a desire to establish?

97. "The peerage is essentially representative, and what it represents in society is superiorities—superiorities of every kind—of birth, of fortune, of services, of genius, of learning. Would you cause the peerage to spring, like the Chamber of Deputies, from popular election? All these classes will remain unrepresented; and elevate the elective franchise as much as you please, it will always represent material interests—it can never become that citadel of superiorities which a hereditary chamber, placed beside the Government, of necessity does. Would you form the Peers out of persons chosen by the sovereign out of a certain number of categories prescribed by law? Then the peerage would represent nothing but the will of the monarch, and become an instrument the more for ministerial corruption or tyrannic power. By the first system, you will merely have two chambers elected by the same persons, and devoted to the same interests, and alike hostile to the superiorities, now defenceless, and the Crown. By the second system, the Chamber of Peers is struck at the heart—its respectability, its independence are gone; it can serve only to veil the despotism of the sovereign. Take away its name, you will have a falsehood the less in the structure of society.

98. "It is in vain to oppose to these eternal truths the common argument that merit is not hereditary, that the talents of the father do not pass to the son, and that a hereditary chamber may become a mere chamber of fools. Be it so. Talents do not always pass; but traditions pass, feelings are communicated by descent, and that suffices for our argument. But is it true that talents are not hereditary? There are many examples to the contrary, especially in descent by the mother's side. The peerage is composed of two or three hundred fami-

lies: if talent is wanting in some of them, it will not be wanting in others; and allow me to say, if men of talent sometimes are the fathers of fools, fools are as often the fathers of men of talent. Nothing but hereditary succession can render the peerage independent of the influence of the Crown on the one hand, and the favour of the people on the other. If experience has proved that an upper chamber is indispensable to form a check upon the precipitance of the lower, is it not expedient that it should be respected? But how can it ever be so, if it is either the instrument of a sovereign's pleasure or a people's caprice? As now constituted, the peerage is not a privilege; it is a political right, like royalty or the elective franchise, accorded to particular persons or families, not for their own, but for the general good. Hereditary right, in forming the basis of a new aristocracy, can never now revive the abuses of the ancient régime; they have for ever been rendered impossible by civil equality, and the eligibility of all to all offices. Aristocracy, as an exclusive caste, has been destroyed, without return; but it is otherwise with a generic assemblage of great families, modern glories, scientific celebrities, senatorial services. *Their* preservation and progressive increase is an essential part of the social system as it exists in our day. By a universal and indelible instinct of our nature, so long as the transmission of fortunes is permitted will mankind look in the son for the illustration of the father.

99. "Families already founded exist in society; more are every day added to them. What is to become of their descendants? If you do not identify them with the Government, they will become hostile to it. By making the aristocracy hereditary, you do for it what you have already done for the throne by declaring its descent fixed; you neutralise all the tyrannies which might aim at elevating themselves to supreme power. In the hereditary peerage they will be blended together, and actuated by an interest conserva-

tive of society; standing separate, they might, from individual ambition, tear it in pieces. The most effective way to render an aristocracy harmless is to declare it hereditary; for then its members, for their families' sake, are restrained from doing evil; and every one seeking to preserve and transmit what he has acquired, becomes a check upon his neighbour. Should the system of an elective aristocracy triumph, it is easy to foresee what will be the consequence. The sons of the great families will no longer submit to be nullified in the elective peerage. They will aspire to seats in the Chamber of Deputies; and what barrier will be adequate to restrain their ambition, if to the lustre of ancient descent and the influence of present fortune, they add the prestige of popular favour, the sway of ready eloquence in a popularly elected assembly? It was thus that Cæsar overturned the liberties of ancient Rome. The elective chamber is, and ever will be, in a free country, the chamber of ambition. Thence it was that Chatham said to his son Pitt, 'Never enter the House of Peers.' If you deprive the peers of their hereditary right, the great families will throw themselves into the elective chamber, as formerly they did into the ante-chambers of the Emperor.

100. "It is from want of this element that all governments hitherto constructed have been incomplete. Republicanism is but a sketch; it leaves the principal figure unfilled up, which is that of royalty. Democracy is but a sketch; it also leaves a question unresolved, that of an aristocracy. A representative monarchy leaves none; it is complete in all its parts. As a government, it has the unity of monarchy; as a republic, it has the perseverance of aristocracy, the energy of democracy. That is the government which the country requires. The most liberal writers on government — M. Mannel, the President of the Commission on Government during the Hundred Days; M. Benjamin Constant, in his published work on Political Constitutions — admit this. It is now permitted to us, *probably for*

the last time, to arrest the course of our innovations, I dare not say of our destruction. We have had enough of ruin, of changes introduced against the lessons of experience. We are now invited to repose. Maintain then, consecrate anew, the hereditary peerage, and you will not only have preserved an institution, the protector alike of liberty and order, but you will have repelled the invasion of anarchy, and restored the social edifice tottering to its fall."

101. Such is a summary of the arguments on both sides on this great question, the stirring of which was the first lasting result of the Revolution of July. But it was known throughout what the result would be; the Chamber was bound, by imperious mandates from the electors, to destroy the hereditary peerage. Casimir Périer and the orator of the Commission confessed with a sigh that the hereditary peerage was on principle the most advisable, but that circumstances, which were irresistible, compelled its abandonment. The vote was taken, amidst great anxiety, on the 18th of October, and the result was a majority of 346 against the hereditary Chamber—the numbers being 386 to 40. The nomination of peers, who were to hold their seats for life only, was committed to the Crown; but it was restricted in the choice to certain "categories," as they were called—that is, certain classes of persons eminent in civil or military affairs—from whom alone the selection could be made. These categories, however, were so numerous and capacious as to admit nearly every person who could by possibility be dignified by the peerage, and thus gave the sovereign, practically speaking, the choice of the whole nation to form a senate for the purpose of putting the last seal upon the laws.

102. There remained, however, the existing Chamber of Peers for the bill to pass before it could become law; and servile as the Senate on many occasions had shown itself to be, it was doubtful whether it would put the final seal to its degradation by voting its own abo-

lition. A month elapsed before the question was brought before the Upper House, during which the point was anxiously deliberated in the Cabinet, what means should be adopted to overcome the opposition of the Peers. During this period of anxious suspense, it was ascertained that the majority against the proposed measure would be at least thirty. In these circumstances, the Cabinet, deeming a crisis as having arrived, which must terminate either in a creation of peers, a popular insurrection, or a *coup d'état*, preferred the former alternative. On the 20th November there appeared in the *Moniteur* a royal ordinance creating thirty-six persons—all, of course, of the Liberal party—peers for life. This step was decisive of the fate of the measure. Towards the end of the next month it was introduced into the now swamped and degraded House of Peers; but so strongly rooted was the opposition to the measure, that, even after the creation of 36 peers to carry it through, the majority was only 33, the numbers being 103 to 70. But for the creation, the measure would have been lost by a majority of 3. Next day thirteen of the peers, embracing the representatives of some of the oldest families in France, resigned their seats in the Upper Chamber.

103. Thus was finally effected, after its restoration by Napoleon and Louis XVIII., the destruction of the hereditary peerage in France. The unanimous concentration of the efforts of the Liberal party in France upon this object, to the entire neglect of others of far greater moment in the interest of freedom, is one of the most curious circumstances in the history of the Revolution, and most characteristic of the disposition of men, even the most enlightened, to look all day to the east, expecting still to see the sun rise there. In 1789, when the first Revolution broke out, the aristocracy was with reason the object of dread, because it was more powerful than either the king or the people; and it was against it, accordingly, that the fervour of popular indignation was in the first instance chiefly directed. But

in 1831, circumstances were entirely changed: the aristocracy had been, by the effects of the first convulsion, as much weakened as the executive had been strengthened, and the danger to the cause of freedom was no longer from the privileges of the nobility, but from the power of the sovereign. The confiscations of the Convention had deprived most of them of their estates; the revolutionary law of succession had parcelled out their fortunes; and the pitiable state of dependence of the majority of their number was revealed by the fact that they each received a pension of £300 a-year from the Crown. On the other hand, the centralising system, and the immense increase of government patronage, had augmented the power of the chief magistrate, whether emperor or king, as much as it had thrown into the shade the influence of the nobles; and the dispenser of £50,000,000 annual revenue might soon be able to despise the impotent resistance of the legislature which was to record his decrees. Yet, while the Liberals destroyed the hereditary aristocracy, the last barrier against despotism, they concurred in all measures likely to increase the power of the executive. "The triumph of the *bourgeoisie*," says the republican historian, "was complete, but its ruin was hidden in its victory."

104. Not less remarkable was the mode by which this great democratic triumph was effected, nor was the lesson which it taught to the friends of freedom in future times less important. From the first breaking out of the Revolution in 1789, every era had been marked by successive blows to the power of the aristocracy, and every one had been followed by a vast increase of the power of the executive, but no addition to the liberties of the people. By the union of the Chambers, and the abolition of nobility, its influence had been totally destroyed in the commencement of the struggle, and then ensued the tyranny of the Convention, the despotism of Napoleon. With the restoration of the Upper House, and the rights of he-

hereditary succession by the charter of Louis XVIII., a mixed constitution was given to the country during fifteen years—the only period, according to the confession of all the liberal historians, when real Liberty was enjoyed in France. But during this period successive *coups d'état* weakened the power of the Upper Chamber, and numerous *creations of peers* at once destroyed its independence and lessened its respectability. The placing of Louis XVIII. on the throne was immediately followed by the creation of eighty-two peers, required to neutralise the influence of the Napoleonists in the Senate. The famous *coup d'état* of 5th September 1816, which changed the constitution of the Lower House, was carried through the Upper House by a creation of sixty-three peers. Charles X. signalised his accession by a creation of seventy-six peers; and then followed, within a few years afterwards, the Polignac Ministry, and Ordonnances of July. The seizure of the throne by Louis Philippe was immediately succeeded by the expulsion of all these new members from the House of Peers; and within eighteen months after, the popular voice had become so strong that thirty-six were created to destroy their own hereditary rights! It will appear in the sequel whether the cause of balanced freedom gained anything by this step, and whether the remainder of the reign of Louis Philippe was anything more than a continued struggle of the people against the executive, now rendered wellnigh irresistible by the destruction of the last barrier against its influence. It is a singular circumstance, indicative of the inability of the lessons of experience to teach wisdom to a heated generation, that, at the very moment that the creation of peers was the engine employed to destroy the last barrier of constitutional freedom in France, the same step was vehemently pressed upon the King of England to lay the foundation, as it was thought, of general liberty in this country.

105. Probably the wit of man, to the end of the world, will add little to

the arguments, of which an abstract has now been given, drawn from general considerations, for and against the abolition of a hereditary peerage. But, without being so presumptuous as to attempt what is obviously hopeless, the English historian may be permitted to observe, that *experience* in his own country has added much to the strength of the arguments advanced against the abolition. What is very remarkable, it has done so chiefly by adopting and reducing to practice the strongest reasons adduced for that measure. No one can doubt that the interest of society requires that as able a body of legislators as possible should be secured for an independent branch of the Legislature; but experience has now proved, contrary to what was generally supposed, that this is not to be done by vesting its nomination for life either in the sovereign or the people. The House of Peers of England has not only exhibited for a century past, but *exhibits now*, an amount of statesmanlike talent and capacity which we will look for in vain either in the House of Commons in its own land, in the nominees of the French Emperor, or in the popularly elected Senate of America. If any one doubts this, let him read the debates on any of the great questions which have been agitated in the country, during the last half-century, in the Peers and the Commons: the superiority of the former is self-evident. The proof of the reality of this superiority is decisive. By the Reform Bill, the middle class in the towns have gained the entire command of the country; they have enjoyed for twenty-five years the appointment of the Cabinet, and by successive small creations of peers they have obtained the majority in the Upper, as, by the influence of the borough members, they have of the Lower House. The prerogative of the Crown, the votes of both branches of the Legislature, have been at their disposal; but they have never yet been able to form a government of their own. They have hardly been able to produce even a Cabinet minister. The more liberal the party has been which was called to the

helm, the greater has always been the number of the noblemen in its Cabinet. The abolition of the corn laws, and the imposition of the tax on landed succession, and many other measures, prove that this has not been owing to the want of power in the popular party, so far as votes are concerned. It has been entirely owing to the want of power in debate and statesmanlike wisdom in its leaders in Parliament.

106. The reason of this is apparent to any one who considers the structure of English society, and the mental training requisite for success in representative assemblies. The sons of the hereditary aristocracy have proved themselves superior to those of the middle or working class in the arena of Parliament, for the same reason that their ancestors were superior in the tournament. It is their *business to joust*, and practice improves the natural powers not less in the tilts of the mind than in those of the body. No amount of natural talent or of practice, or success in other professions, can supply the want of this essential requisite. The common observation, that even the most eminent lawyers seldom attain any great success in Parliament, is a proof that even the profession, the habits of which are most akin to those required in representative assemblies, does not afford the requisite training for their direction. No one supposes that a Cabinet could be formed out of the Manchester school, or the mercantile representatives of great towns; they are valuable, from their local or peculiar information, in Parliament, but they are incapable of taking a lead in it. The reason is, they have not been trained to its contests in their early years. Success in the other walks of life is not an earnest of eminence in Parliament, but a bar to it, because it has arisen from a long-continued bent of the mind in another direction. It inevitably leads to an undue bias in favour of the class interest in which the success has been gained. It is as impossible for great success at the bar, in the army, or in commerce, to qualify a person, even of the greatest talents,

to obtain the lead in Parliament, as it is for the lead in Parliament to qualify for a surgical operation, or the command of the Channel fleet, or the direction of a great siege.

107. While this cause of lasting influence renders the existence of a hereditary class of legislators the best security for capacity in the direction of affairs, by training a body of men to that direction as their end and aim in life, it operates not less powerfully in elevating the character and improving the talents of that class, and qualifying them for the direction of affairs. Foreigners often express surprise at the long-continued ascendancy of the English aristocracy in the affairs of their country, so different from the fate which has overtaken that order in so many Continental states; but whoever is acquainted with the different *strata of society* in the British empire will have no difficulty in discerning the reason. They have kept the lead so long, because the constitution had made them legislators, and thus trained them to its duties. Had they been as politically nullified as the nobles of France and Spain were under the old régime, they would have been equally inefficient. It is general freedom which invigorates and chastens the aristocracy, and qualifies them to keep the lead; it is the jousting of the tournament which renders them accomplished knights. If any one will compare the capacity and conversation of the landed proprietors, and still more of their wives and daughters, *below the line of Parliament and above it*, the difference will appear extreme. The moment we emerge from the class in which hunting, shooting, and fishing form the great objects of life, and rise into that in which political questions are the subject of thought and conversation, we feel as if in another world.

108. Add to this, that it is of the last importance that one branch at least of the Legislature should be for the most part composed of those whose position is fixed—*who have not their fortune to make*, whose interests are identified with those of production, and who have an inheritance to leave

to their descendants which might be endangered by precipitate innovation. A fly-wheel is required in the political not less than the mechanical machine. Without it the very force of the generated power may in critical periods tear it in pieces. The great danger in an old, wealthy, and mixed community is, that the inhabitants of towns will, from their superior wealth, concentration, and intelligence, get the command of those of the country, and in consequence pursue a series of measures, for their own immediate advantage, fatal in the end to the best in-

terests of society, and ruinous to the national independence. Without asserting that the existence of a separate chamber, composed of a hereditary legislature, is able entirely to obviate this danger, which seems inherent in the very structure of society, it may at least safely be affirmed that it tends greatly to lessen it, and that if perpetually recruited, as the English aristocracy is, by accessions of talent and energy from the middle classes of society, it may long serve as a barrier alike against the despotism of the executive and the madness of the people.

CHAPTER XXVI.

POLISH REVOLUTION AND WAR, FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT IN NOVEMBER 1830 TO ITS TERMINATION IN SEPTEMBER 1831.

1. SURVIVING all the changes of time, of religion, of empire, and of dynasty, one great contest has in every age of the world divided mankind. It is the war of Asia and Europe—the strife of the descendants of Shem with the sons of Japhet. All other contests sink into insignificance in comparison. The nations of Europe and Asia have had many and bloody wars among each other, but they have been as nothing compared to those terrible strifes which in different ages have in a manner precipitated one hemisphere upon the other. This enduring warfare has alternately pierced each to the heart: it brought the arms of Alexander to Babylon, and those of England to Cabool; it conducted the Saracens to Tours, and Attila to Chalons. In one age it induced the disasters of Julian, in another the Moscow retreat; it led to the fall of Rome and Constantinople; it precipitated Europe upon Asia during the Crusades, and Asia upon Europe during the fervour of Mohammedan conquest. Cæsar was preparing an expedition against the

Parthians when he was assassinated; Napoleon perished from attempting one against Russia. The Goths, who overturned the Roman empire, appeared first as suppliants on the Lower Danube, and they were themselves impelled by a human wave which rose on the frontiers of China. It is the North-East, not the North, which in every age has threatened Europe; it is in the table-land of Tartary that the greatest conquerors of mankind have been bred. The chief heroes whose exploits form the theme of history or song, have in different ages signalised themselves in the immortal contest against these ruthless barbarians. Achilles, Themistocles, Leonidas, Alexander, Pompey, Marius, Trajan, Belisarius, Constantine, Paleologus, Charles Martel, Godfrey of Bouillon, Richard Cœur-de-Lion, John Hunniades, Scanderbeg, John Sobieski, Don John of Austria, Prince Eugene, Charles XII., Lord Clive, Lord Lake, Napoleon, Lord Hardinge, Sir C. Napier, Lord Raglan, Pelissier, and Lord Clyde, have in successive ages carried it on.

It has been sung in one age by Homer, in another by Tasso; it has awakened at one period the powers of Herodotus, in another those of Gibbon. It began with the siege of Troy, but it will not end with that of Sebastopol.

2. It is owing to the different characters of the races of men who have peopled the two continents that this strife has been so long continued and terrible. Though all profane history, not less than Holy Writ, teaches us that the human race originally sprung from one family in the centre of the eastern continent, yet the descendants of Adam who sojourned in Asia were essentially different from those who wandered to Europe. Nor was this surprising: we see differences as great in the same household every day around us. It was the difference of character which rendered their seats different: the Asiatics remained at home, because they were submissive; the Europeans wandered abroad, because they were turbulent. Authority was as necessary to the one as it was distasteful to the other. So essentially was this the distinctive character of the two races, and the original cause of their separation, that it characterised the opposite sides in the very first ages of their existence. Priam governed the tributary states of Troy with the authority of a sultan; but the Grecian host elected the King of Men to rule them. It was composed of many different independent bodies; and the first epic in the world narrates the wrath of one of its chieftains, and the woes his insubordination brought upon the children of Hellas.* The first great strife recorded in authentic history was between the forces of the great king and the coalesced troops of the European *republics*; and the same character has

distinguished the opposite sides to this day. Athens and Lacedemon were the prototypes of France and England; Thermopylæ of Inkermann, Cyrus of Nicholas. So early did nature affix one character upon the different races of men, and so indelible is the impress of her hand.

3. From this original diversity in the character of the two great dominant races of men has arisen a difference not less remarkable in the sources of their strength and the means of their resistance. Unity renders Asia formidable; diversity has constituted the strength of Europe. Multitudes of slaves, impelled by one impulse, obeying one direction, follow the standards of the Eastern sultan; crowds of freemen, actuated by opposite passions, often torn by discordant interests, form the phalanxes of Western liberty. The strength of Asia consists mainly in the unity of power and administration which, in the hands of an able and energetic monarch, can be perseveringly directed to one object; that of Europe is found in the resources which the energy of freemen seldom fails to furnish to the state, and the courage with which, when danger arrives, it is repelled. The weakness of the despotic dynasties of Asia is to be found in their entire dependence on the vigour and capacity of the ruling sovereign, and the destruction of the national resources by the oppression or venality of subordinate governors. The weakness of the free states of Europe arises chiefly from the impossibility of giving habits of foresight to the ruling multitudes, and their invincible repugnance to present burdens in order to avert future disaster. If it were possible to give to the energy of Europe the foresight of Asia, or develop, under the despotism of the East, the energy of the West, the state enjoying even for a brief period the effects of such a combination would obtain the empire of the world. This accordingly is what happened to Rome in ancient and British India in modern times. But universal dominion, except under peculiar circumstances, and for a very brief period, is not part of the system of nature; and

* “Μηριν ἄειδε, θεᾷ, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος
Οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρὶ Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε’ ἔθηκε·
Πολλὰς δ’ ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς ἄϊδι προΐαψεν
Ἑρώων, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἑλώρια τεύχε κύνεσσιν
Οἰωνοῖσι τε πᾶσι — Διὸς δ’ ἐτελείετο
βουλή,—

Ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε
Ἀτρεΐδης τε, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν, καὶ δῖος Ἀχιλ-
λεὺς.”

Iliad, i. 1-7.

to eschew it, the gifts of power are variously distributed to its various offspring.

4. Two great sins—one of omission, and one of commission—have been committed by the states of Europe in modern times, and it is from their combined effect that the extreme difficulty of the Eastern Question, and the perils with which it is now environed, have arisen. The sin of omission was allowing the Byzantine Empire to be overrun by the Turks in the fifteenth century—the sin of commission, the partition of Poland in the nineteenth. It is under the effects of both that we are now labouring; for they broke down the barrier of Europe against Asia, and converted the outworks of freedom against despotism into the outworks of despotism against freedom. It is historically certain, but not generally known, that the balance between the Christians and Turks hung even a few years before the taking of Constantinople in 1454, and that a very slight support from the Western powers would have enabled the former to drive the latter back into Asia. In 1446, when John Hunniades, with his noble Hungarians on the Danube, and Scanderbeg in Epirus, with heroic constancy made head against the Osmanlis, Constantinople was still in the hands of the Greek emperors; all the fortresses on the Danube had been wrested from the Turks; and Macedonia and the western provinces were in arms for the Cross. Twenty thousand auxiliary troops from France or England would have enabled Hunniades, in the decisive battle of Varna, in 1444, or at the siege of Belgrade in 1446, to have for ever expelled the ruthless invaders from the soil of Europe. But the Western powers, divided by separate interests, or incapable of just foresight, did nothing: the Pope in vain endeavoured to form an efficient league of Christendom against the Mohammedans; the strength of Europe held back, that of Asia was brought to the very front by the genius of Mahomet II.; Constantinople was taken, the Greek empire overthrown, and a chasm made in the defences of Europe against Asia, which all the efforts of later

times have been scarcely able to repair.

5. The sin of commission has been still greater, for it was done from baser and more guilty motives, and it was obviously attended by a more formidable and lasting danger. The partition of Poland was not the work merely of Muscovite strength or ambition, great as they were—the frontier powers of Europe concurred in it; and Austria, in particular, which had been indebted to Polish valour for deliverance from the sabres of the Osmanlis, requited her gallant deliverers by joining in their destruction, and receiving a share of their possessions as a reward of her ingratitude. To say that this partition was a flagrant violation of the law of nations, a shameless instance of national ingratitude, and unparalleled even in the annals of Christian atrocity, is to express only what has since been the unanimous opinion of mankind. It is of more importance to observe what lasting political effects this great measure of spoliation has had on the subsequent balance of power in Europe, and how completely the justice of the Divine administration has been vindicated by the results, especially to the partitioning powers, with which it has been attended.

6. The partition of Poland first broke down the northern barrier of Europe against Asia, and brought the might of the Orientals to the very heart of European civilisation. What the conquest of the Byzantine Empire had done in the south, that fatal spoliation effected in the north of Europe. The atrocious aggression began with a profligate woman: the Empress Catherine was the life and soul of the partitioning powers. Being the most powerful, the Semiramis of the north obtained the lion's share to herself. By the successive partitions of 1772 and 1794 the whole of Poland was divided between Russia, Prussia, and Austria; and Lithuania, Volhynia, and Podolia, which fell to Russia, contained no less than nine millions of inhabitants. By the treaty of 1815, Russia obtained in addition the grand-duchy of Warsaw, containing four mil-

lions, which had been raised up by the Treaty of Tilsit, and her frontiers were brought to within one hundred and eighty miles of both Berlin and Vienna. It may safely be asserted that by these acquisitions the strength of Russia as against the states of continental Europe was more than doubled; for not only was the barrier which had hitherto restrained her advances swept away, but the strength, great in a military point of view, of the Sarmatian nation, was added to her arms. Thenceforward she became irresistible in eastern Europe; nothing but a coalition of the Western powers, the last hope of freedom, could arrest her advance. The great war of 1854 was the legacy bequeathed to Europe by the partition of 1794.

7. Yet, because the guilt of the partitioning powers was great, it is not to be supposed that the fault of the Poles themselves had been small, or that they are justified in raising the cry of injured innocence among the other nations of Europe. On the contrary, they fell mainly in consequence of their own misconduct; and every other nation which imitates them will, to the end of the world, undergo the same punishment. The Sarmatia of the ancients, Poland, on the first settlement of the northern nations after the fall of the Roman empire, was the most extensive kingdom in Europe. Extending from the Baltic to the Black Sea, from Smolensko to Prague, it was the most powerful state on the Continent, as far as material resources went. Prussia, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, the Ukraine, Podolia, Volhynia, as well as Poland Proper and Lithuania, were comprised in its mighty domains. Its forests, abounding with fir and oak, formed inexhaustible supplies for the construction of houses and ship-building; its soil, everywhere perfectly flat, and enriched in most places, like the American, by the perennial vegetable decay of the forests, was admirably adapted for grain crops, and has ever rendered its harbours the granary of Europe for wheat. Its great rivers supplied, ready-made by the hand of Nature, as in the valley of the Mis-

issippi, the immense advantages of a network of water-communications penetrating every part of the country. Its inhabitants, of the same original stock as the Russians, are yet as unlike them as possible; intrepid and brave almost beyond any other people in Europe, they have always been distinguished by a passionate love of freedom and attachment to their country; and they have been characterised, with truth, by Napoleon, as the men in Europe who most readily and quickly form soldiers. There must, therefore, have been some great national fault, some overpowering defects in constitution or character, which neutralised all these advantages, and rendered the nation to which Nature had given the greatest means of power, and placed on the frontier of civilisation to shield it from the barbarians, the weakest and most unfortunate.

8. It is not difficult to see what it was which brought this about. The "ignorant impatience of taxation" did the whole. Poland being a country in which, probably from homogeneity of original race, and the absence of any of the distinctions of rank consequent on foreign conquest, equality was really and practically, not nominally, established, the preservation of their equal rights became the ruling passion of the people, to which every other consideration, how pressing soever, was sacrificed. Among these rights the most important and the most valued was that of being free from taxation. In all countries where the people have really got the power of government into their own hands, and where they are not ruled, as in ancient Rome, by a hereditary senate—or in *old* England, by a landed and commercial aristocracy—or in modern France, by a despotic Committee of Public Safety—this is a favourite object; and accordingly, in Rome, the first use which the people made of the conquest of Macedonia was to declare themselves free of all imposts; and in America, no statesman, prior to the civil war, ever ventured to hint even at any direct taxes for the general purposes of the Union. So strong was this feeling.

in Poland that it amounted to a perfect passion. No danger, however great—no calamities, however threatening—no perils, however overwhelming—could induce them to submit to the smallest present burden to ward off future disaster. In Sidney Smith's words, "they preferred any load of infamy, however great, to any burden of taxation, however light." They constantly trusted to their own valour and warlike spirit to avert any dangers with which their country might be threatened; but although their heroic qualities often extricated the republic from perils which seemed insurmountable, it could, in the long run, not supply the want of a regular army, or the preparation in peace of the means of effective defence in war. When all the adjoining states were putting on foot powerful standing armies and constructing strong fortresses, they had only a few regiments of mercenaries as a durable force, no fortified towns or arsenals, and they trusted the national defence entirely to the *pospolite*, or armed convocation of the nobles. The consequence was, that, in the last struggle under Kosciusko, they could not oppose 25,000 men to the united armies of Russia, Austria, and Prussia. In a word, the Poles did, during three hundred years, what Mr Cobden and the Peace Conference so strenuously urged the English Government to do; and had their advice been equally implicitly followed, England, like Poland, would, beyond all question, in the course of time have been swept from among nations.

9. A strange and mysterious connection has existed for a long period between the cause of Poland and that of European democracy. It is more than a mere ardent sympathy of the one for the other; it is a linking together of fate, apparently by the decree of Supreme Power. As Poland was the frontier state of European civilisation, so it seems to have been destined to stand as the advanced-guard to warn the other nations by its fate of the danger which awaited them if they listened to the voice of the tempter within their own bosoms. Its long-

continued misfortunes, despite the valour of its sons, and ultimate subjugation, were beyond all doubt owing to the violence of the passion for equality in its inhabitants, which led them to retain an elective government when they should have exchanged it for a hereditary, and neglect all provision for defence when their neighbours were daily augmenting their means of attack. When the volcano broke out in France, and Polish nationality was extinguished, the same connection continued. It was the anxiety of the partitioning powers to provide for the division of Poland in 1792, 1793, and 1794, which led them to starve the war with France, and permit its insane demagogues to precipitate the French nation into the frightful career of the Revolution, when they might, by uniting their forces, with ease have captured Paris, and restored a constitutional monarchy in a single campaign. With the crushing of the revolutionary spirit in France in 1814, and the capture of Paris, Poland again emerged from its ashes; it obtained, from the efforts of Lord Castlereagh at the Congress of Vienna, the shadow at least of nationality, and the progress it made during the next fifteen years, and the strength it displayed during the contest with Russia in 1831, proved that the division and weakness of democracy had hitherto been the cause of its ruin.* With the triumph of the barriades, the dark cloud again came over the fortunes of Poland; her nationality was destroyed, and a long period of humiliation, of suffering, again presented the lesson to Europe

* The first article of the General Treaty of Vienna states: "The Poles, who are respective subjects of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, shall obtain a representation and national institutions, regulated according to the degree of political consideration that each of the governments to which they belong shall judge expedient and proper to grant them." And the third article of the separate treaty between Russia and Prussia says: "The Poles, subjects respectively of the high contracting parties, shall obtain institutions which shall insure the preservation of their nationality, in such form as each of the governments to which they belong may think it useful and proper to grant them."

of the national punishment of democratic institutions.

10. Though far from enjoying the blessings of real freedom, the small portion of Poland which was erected in 1815 into a separate state, with the Emperor of Russia on its throne, enjoyed a degree of prosperity, and made an amount of progress, far beyond any that it had ever experienced under the weak government of its elected kings, or the blind rule of its stormy Diets. Statistical facts of certain accuracy place this beyond a doubt. The army was thirty thousand strong, and in the very highest state of discipline and equipment; while the growing information and intelligence of the people, owing to the great extension of the means of education among them, and the vast increase of their material comforts, had augmented in a surprising degree the resources of the country. Many grievances, indeed, were still complained of, and some existed. It is scarcely to be expected they should at once disappear under the sceptre of the Czar. Though fond of Poland, to a native of whom he was married, and proud beyond measure of its troops, Constantine, its viceroy, was by nature capricious and passionate. Several acts of tyranny occurred during his government, and it was too evident that the attempt to ingraft the constitutional freedom of Europe upon the traditional despotism of Asia was of all human undertakings the most difficult. The Czar was far from being blameless in this particular. He kept his promises to the ear, but broke them to the sense. He said to the Poles in 1815, after the treaty in their favour had been signed—"You have received a constitution, the restoration of the Polish language in public documents, the restitution of public appointments to Poles, freedom of commerce, and a national army." This was all true—they had done so: but what they received was the ghost only of free institutions. The sittings of the Chambers, which never lasted more than a few weeks, had been discontinued for five years before 1830, when they were held for a month by the Emperor Nicholas.

The debates were not made public, and the most rigorous censorship of the press shut out the communication of independent thought throughout the community. But with all these restraints and evils, which were far from imaginary, the condition of Poland had marvellously improved, from the mere effect of a steady rule, since it fell under the government of Russia. The proof of this is decisive. Strong as Russia was, and immensely as her resources had augmented since the last partition in 1794, the strength of Poland had grown in a still greater proportion. Skrzynecki made a very different stand from Kosciuszko; and a quarter of its old territory and population maintained, for the first time, in 1831, an equal contest with the forces of the Czar.

11. But this very circumstance of the increased strength and improved condition of the people only rendered more intense the desire for independence, and more galling the sense of subjugation. The sight of the Polish arms over the public edifices, of the Polish uniform on the soldiers, of the Polish standards over their ranks, perpetually recalled the days of their independence; while the sense of the growing prosperity and resources of the country inspired the hope of at length succeeding in re-establishing it. The reviews of Constantine's guards and the garrison of Warsaw, often twenty thousand strong; the magnificent squadrons of the cavalry, the steady ranks of the infantry, the splendid trains of the artillery, all in the Polish uniform, composed of national troops, and in the finest possible state of discipline and equipment, inspired them with an overweening idea of their own strength. No force on earth seemed capable, to their fond and ardent imaginations, of resisting the gallant arrays of armed men, equal to the *élite* of the French or Russian Guards, which were constantly passing before their eyes. The military spirit became universal, from the frequent exhibitions of its most attractive spectacles; patriotic ardour widespread, from the progressive revival of its hopes. The officers of the Polish regi-

ments, composed entirely of the nobles, in whom the passion for independence burned most strongly, mutually encouraged each other in these sentiments; the young men at the military schools and the university of Warsaw, all drawn from the same class, embraced them with still more inconsiderate and generous ardour. Out of the rising prosperity of Poland, and the gradual removal of its grievances, sprang very naturally a consciousness of national strength, and a desire for the restoration of national independence. It is a mistake to suppose that the most serious insurrections arise from the extremity of suffering; it breaks rather than excites the spirit. It is true, as Lord Bacon says, that the worst rebellions come from the stomach; but it is not when it is most sorely pinched that they are most formidable. It is when the pinching is coming on, or going off, that they are chiefly to be dreaded.

12. Ever since the year 1825, when the great rebellion broke out in the Russian army, which was repressed, as already recounted, by the vigour and intrepidity of Nicholas, and even before that time, an immense secret society had existed in Poland, having for its principal object to restore the national independence. It was not so much directed, like the Carbonari of Italy, the Red Republicans of France, or the Ribbonmen of Ireland, to objects of social change or disorder, as to the grand object of replacing Poland in its ancient place in the European family. Accordingly, it embraced a greater number of classes, was actuated by more generous sentiments, and was less likely to be stained by crime. It was a fixed principle in these societies, that nothing should ever be committed to writing, but everything trusted to the fidelity and honour of the affiliated. And so worthy did they prove of the trust, that the existence of the gigantic organisation, which had its ramifications not only in the kingdom of Poland, but in Galicia and the grand-duchy of Posen, the portions which had fallen to Austria and Prussia on the final partition, was not even sus-

pected when its designs were approaching maturity. There is no example recorded in history of so great a conspiracy, embracing so many thousand individuals, having been so long and faithfully kept secret,—a decisive proof of the ardent spirit and sentiments of honour by which its members were actuated.

13. The French Revolution of 1830, as might naturally be supposed, excited the warmest sympathy, and produced the most unbounded enthusiasm in Poland; and the subsequent democratic movements in Switzerland, Italy, and Germany, still further fanned the flame. The effervescence soon became such that it was obvious it could not be restrained; and the chiefs of the conspiracy, accordingly, held several meetings at Warsaw, in the end of September, at which the plan of operations was discussed and agreed on. Two different projects were laid before the meeting, and their respective chances of success fully discussed. The first was, to embrace not merely the kingdom of Poland, now under the domination of Russia, which was comparatively of very small extent, but the whole ancient provinces of the empire, in the insurrection. According to this plan, not only Poland Proper, but Lithuania, Podolia, Volhynia, the Ukraine, Galicia, and the grand-duchy of Posen, in all of which the conspiracy had ramifications, would have been embraced in its flame. The conspirators calculated that, taking into view the regular troops in these provinces, all of whom, it was expected, would join them, and the landwehr, which might immediately be rendered available, they might reckon within a few weeks on bringing a hundred and eighty thousand men into the field, with two hundred and seventy-six guns; and in six months this force might be doubled. On the other hand, the objection to this plan obviously was, that it would induce the certain hostility of Austria and Prussia as well as Russia, and these united powers might, within a few months, bring three hundred thousand men against them. The second project was, to confine the insurrection

to Poland Proper, make Warsaw its headquarters, and provoke an insurrection only in Lithuania, Volhynia, and Podolia, with which Russia only was concerned. After mature deliberation, it was determined to adopt the latter project, as likely to embroil them, in the first instance at least, with a lesser number of enemies, and as withdrawing more from the ranks of their opponents than it added to those of their friends.

14. The insurrection was originally fixed for the 20th October, on which day the Polish regiment of the Guard would be on service, and occupy all the posts, which were held two days alternately by the Poles and Russians. Thirty determined young men, armed with pistols, and wrapped in cloaks, were, at the inspection of the troops, to mingle with the crowd which always surrounded the Viceroy on such occasions, and despatch him; while fifty more, with drawn sabres, were to destroy the Russian generals by whom he was surrounded. The immediate and unanimous support of the Polish Guard, and the whole Polish troops, 10,000 strong, in Warsaw, was confidently relied on; and, with their aid, it was hoped they would, without difficulty, succeed in surrounding and disarming the Russian troops, only 7000 in number, most of whom were of Polish origin, in the capital. A provisional government was to have been immediately proclaimed by acclamation, the members of which were all fixed on, leaving its formal appointment to flow from the Diet, which was to be immediately convoked. The whole details of this plan were arranged, and it had every prospect of success; but it was prevented by the police having obtained some dark hints of what was in agitation, and arresting some of the leaders. It was fortunate for Poland that it was so; for little could have been expected from an insurrection, even in the most justifiable of all circumstances, which was to have commenced with the murder of the Viceroy and the principal persons in the state.

15. Meanwhile Constantine, with that mixture of ferocity and *insouciance* which formed the leading feature of his character, and is the distinctive mark of savage descent, did nothing. Though he had taken an active part in several general battles, especially Austerlitz, his personal courage was seriously doubted; of moral resolution he was entirely destitute. Like most other men who are not gifted with that commanding quality, he persisted in declaring there was no danger, because he could not bear to look it in the face; he made no preparations against it because he shrank from its contemplation. Though the police were very imperfectly informed as to the details of the conspiracy, and entirely ignorant of its extent and formidable character, they knew enough to be aware that serious danger threatened; and they repeatedly warned the Viceroy to be on his guard, and be prepared for an outbreak. But he uniformly declared that there was no danger, and that he was too popular with the troops to render any insurrection possible. Encouraged by this supineness, the conspirators proceeded rapidly with their preparations, and several new clubs were formed, which came at length to embrace nearly all the officers in the army, and the whole youth at the university and public schools. In this conduct of Constantine there is nothing extraordinary, considering his character. To look danger calmly in the face, and make preparations to meet it when still afar off, is the mark, not of a timid, but of a resolute mind. The greater part of the want of previous arrangements, which so often doubles the weight of misfortune to nations as to individuals, is the result of cowardice. Men are *afraid of being afraid*, and therefore they do nothing till the evil day has arrived, just as they delay making their wills till it is too late.

16. After having been several times adjourned, the insurrection was finally fixed for the 10th of December, when several events, without and within, made its leaders sensible that it had

become necessary to strike sooner. Numerous arrests were made by the police, which led the conspirators to apprehend they were discovered, or on the point of being so. The national troops in Galicia were all withdrawn into Hungary, and replaced by Austrian or Hungarian regiments; while, in the grand-duchy of Posen, the whole landwehr, thirty thousand strong, was either disbanded or removed into the fortresses of Silesia, and their place was supplied by battalions of German troops. These steps at once showed that the objects of the conspiracy were known, and that the powers interested in the partition were taking precautions against it. It was resolved, accordingly, to delay no longer; and the insurrection was fixed for the 29th November, when the Polish Guards were to be on service at the palace and in the city. On that day, at seven o'clock in the evening, a messenger from the conspirators came to the gate of the barrack military school, where he was anxiously expected, and announced that the "hour of liberty had struck." Instantly the guard turned out, and were joined by the whole scholars, armed to the teeth, who proceeded at a rapid pace, without saying a word, by the bridge Sobieski, from whence they came to the Belvidère Palace, inhabited by the Grand-duke, without experiencing any resistance. The guards at the palace, in part in the secret of the conspiracy, in part intimidated by the sight of so many young men whom they knew to be of the first families in Warsaw, made scarcely any resistance; those who attempted it were instantly cut down. The victorious conspirators in a few minutes inundated every part of the palace; and while part of them despatched Ludowski, the chief of the police, and General Legendre, the first aide-de-camp on service, the main body, containing the most determined, made straight for the private apartments of the Grand-duke. So rapid was their approach that Constantine had the utmost difficulty in making his escape by a back way; and the

Princess Lowicz, his wife, for whom he had renounced the throne of Russia, had only time to carry with her a casket of diamonds and three shifts.

17. Masters of the palace, the insurgents, whose numbers rapidly increased, spread themselves over the streets, calling out, "To arms! to arms!" The agitation in the barracks was soon extreme. The officers did not venture to lead out the men for fear of their joining the insurgents, and in many cases they were in the secret and favoured their cause. Soon the 4th regiment of the line, an especial favourite of the Grand-duke's, and one of the finest in the service, issued from its barracks, and joined the insurrection. The greater part of the regiment of grenadiers, the horse-artillery, and the sappers of the Guard, followed their example. Such was the enthusiasm which prevailed, that the inmates of the hospitals who were able to walk, left their beds and joined their comrades. Meanwhile a body of the students made themselves masters of the arsenal, where there were forty thousand muskets, which were immediately distributed among the people. A part of the Polish troops, especially the chasseurs of the Polish Guard, and all the Russians, remained faithful to Constantine, and several combats took place in the dark between them and the insurgents, in which General Potocki, commander of the Polish infantry, Generals Sernontkowski and Blume, and several other officers of distinction both in the Polish and Russian armies, were slain. But when morning dawned it was evident that they were overmatched. The whole city was in a state of insurrection, and more than half the troops in it had joined the insurgents. In these circumstances, Constantine, who was far from having displayed the courage and energy with which his brother Nicholas had fronted the rebellion of the Guards in St Petersburg in 1825, despaired of the cause, and retired with the troops which still adhered to him, consisting of nine thousand men, including the whole Russians, the Polish Guards, and foot-artillery, to

Wirzba, a village a mile and a half from Warsaw, leaving the capital in the entire possession of the insurgents.

18. The insurgents had gained an immense advantage by obtaining command of the capital, and of the banks, arsenal, and seat of government; but they were without rulers, and the worst dangers might be apprehended if the people, now wrought up to the highest pitch, were not speedily subjected to some sort of government. Already conflagrations had broken out in several quarters, which were with difficulty arrested, and pillage had begun, and many murders been committed. There existed at Warsaw, at this time, a council of government, which, in the absence of the Viceroy, was intrusted with the executive power, and to it the leaders of the insurrection turned to establish order in the mean time, and form the skeleton of a future government. This council, which consisted of seven members, including Prince Lubeki, who afterwards became distinguished, met during the frightful tumult of the night of the 29th, and resolved to continue its functions, in the hope of obtaining the direction of the movement; but in order to appease the people, and induce them to submit to their authority, they associated several of the most respected and popular of the nobles with them in the government. These were Prince Adam Czartoryski, Prince Michael Radziwil, the Senator Kochanowski, General Lewis Pac, M. Julian Niemcewicz, a celebrated writer, and companion of Kosciuszko, and GENERAL CHLOPICKI. The known patriotic spirit and high character of these distinguished men gave a consideration to the government which it could never otherwise have obtained, and enabled it to acquire a degree of authority even over the stormy elements of a revolution.

19. It could hardly be said, though Constantine had been driven from the capital, that the country was in a state of insurrection. The enlarged government still administered in the name of the Czar. A proclamation, issued by it on the day of its installation,

earnestly counselled order, and abstinence from blood;* and its first care was to despatch a deputation to Constantine with proposals for an accommodation. The declared objects of the insurgents, as stated by the deputation, which had Prince Czartoryski at its head, was to obtain the faithful establishment of the constitution as it had been established in 1815, and, in particular, the fulfilment of the promises of Alexander, that Lithuania, Volhynia, and Podolia should be incorporated with the kingdom of Poland, and detached from the empire of Russia. The deputation was instructed also to sound Constantine on his designs, and, in particular, to inquire whether the army of Lithuania, stationed on the Polish frontier, had received orders to advance towards Warsaw. He assured them, on his honour, that none such had been given, and evinced the utmost courtesy and respect towards the deputation. He even went so far as to assure them of his favour to the "culpable." "There are none such," proudly replied Ostrowski, one of the deputation.

20. It rested with the Emperor Nicholas, not Constantine, to say what terms were to be granted to the insurgents; but the latter, seeing the tem-

* "Polonais! Les événemens aussi attristans qu'inopinés, qui ont eu lieu hier au soir, et pendant la dernière nuit, ont déterminé le Gouvernement supérieur à se compléter par des personnes de mérite, et à vous adresser la proclamation suivante. Son Altesse Impériale le Grand Duc et Czarowitz vient de défendre aux soldats Russes toute opération ultérieure; car il ne faut charger que les Polonais de la réconciliation entre les esprits divisés de leur compatriotes. Le Polonais ne doit pas tendre sa main du sang de son frère; et ce ne peut être votre intention de donner au monde le spectacle d'une guerre civile. C'est la modération seule qui peut détourner de vos têtes les malheurs qui sont prêts à fondre sur vous. Revenez donc à l'ordre et à la tranquillité; que la nuit qui vient de se passer couvre de son voile toute l'effervescence qu'elle a vue naître. Réfléchissez à l'avenir et à votre patrie menacée de tous les côtés: Eloignez tout ce qui peut mettre son existence en question. Quant à nous, notre devoir nous prescrit de maintenir la tranquillité publique, les lois, et les libertés assurées au pays par la constitution."—*Warsaw*, 30th Nov., 1830; *CAPÉFIGUE*, vol. iv. pp. 54, 55.

per of the Polish troops which remained with him daily declaring itself more strongly in favour of the Revolution, had the generosity to issue a proclamation, granting permission to such of them as still adhered to his standard to withdraw and join their comrades in Warsaw.* They set out one and all immediately for the capital, which they entered the same day amidst transports of joy such as had never before been witnessed within its walls. The nation seemed invincible, now that the whole of its gallant defenders were engaged in its cause. Meanwhile Constantine, with the Russian troops, now not more than six thousand strong, retired by slow marches towards the frontier of Volhynia, without being molested in his retreat. He seemed more anxious about his adored princess, who fell dangerously ill on the road, from fatigue, hardship, and anxiety, than the loss of a viceregal throne, second to none in the world for importance and splendour.

21. Meanwhile the provisional government, though still keeping up a negotiation with the Emperor Nicholas and his brother Constantine, were making considerable preparations for an appeal to arms. The enthusiasm of the people, which had been strongly excited by the arrival of the Polish corps from the Russian camp, commanded by Generals Szembek and SKRZYŃECKI, on the 2d December, was roused to the highest pitch on the following day by the entrance of additional Polish troops from the camp of Mokotow. The soldiers broke from their ranks and embraced the citizens as they passed through the streets; the windows were all filled with ele-

gantly-dressed ladies waving their handkerchiefs in the highest state of rapture; and every steeple rang forth a merry chime to usher in the approaching deliverance of their country. Yet, even in this moment of universal joy, symptoms of danger appeared, and it was too evident how nearly allied are overthrow of government and licence to crime. General Krasiński, who had alone voted for the death of the prisoners implicated in the conspiracy of 1826 in Poland, marched in at the head of his regiment of Polish grenadiers of the Guard. He was immediately recognised; hisses and murmurs were heard; the mob fell upon him, and he would have been murdered on the spot but for the efforts of Chłopicki and Szembek. The same fate awaited General Kuratowski, who had ordered the troops to fire on the people during the insurrection of the 29th. He was dragged from his horse, and the sabre was already at his throat, when he was saved by the earnest entreaties of Chłopicki.

22. Taking advantage of this universal enthusiasm, the administrative council began to take steps for the formation of a powerful national army. The Diet was convoked for the 18th December. A hundred thousand national guards were ordered to be put on permanent duty, and efforts made to raise corps of volunteers in various quarters. But this measure was far from corresponding to the ardent passions of the people, which were daily increasing, and soon reached such a point that the administrative council saw they were no longer able to stem or direct the torrent. They resigned accordingly, and a provisional government, composed of Prince Czartoryski, Kochanowski, Pac, Dembrowski, Niemcewicz, Lelewel, and Ladislaus Ostrowski, of their own authority, but with general consent, took possession of the government. It soon appeared, however, that a central and vigorous power was required—disorders were increasing on all sides; and Chłopicki, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the army and national guards, cut the

* "Je permets aux troupes Polonaises qui sont restées fidèles jusqu'au dernier moment auprès de moi, de rejoindre les leurs. Je me mets en marche avec les troupes Impériales pour m'éloigner de la capitale, et j'espère de la loyauté Polonoise, qu'elles ne seront pas inquiétées dans leurs mouvemens pour rejoindre l'empire. Je recommande de même tous les établissemens, les propriétés, et les individus à la protection de la nation Polonoise, et les mets sous la sauve-garde de la foi la plus sacrée.—CONSTANTINE, *Warsaw*, Dec. 3, 1830."

matter short by declaring that he would accept the command on no other terms but that of being declared dictator. On the 5th December he suddenly entered the hall where the Government was sitting, and after breaking out into a violent invective against the disorders of the people, the fury of the clubs, and the insubordination of the army, he said, "It is time to put a period to these vacillations. The country, in such grave circumstances, stands in need of a man devoted to its cause, and who will watch over its interests. I take upon myself the dictatorship—a burden which I will relinquish with joy when the Diet meets." Such was the universal sense of the necessity of the measure, that although these words were wholly unexpected, and excited at first unbounded astonishment, they provoked no resistance, and Chlopicki assumed without opposition the functions of dictator.

23. It is one thing to assume the government of a country when it opens the prospect of a pacific or glorious reign; it is another, and a very different thing, when it seems the avenue only to danger, difficulty, and death. The seizure of power by Chlopicki proceeded from very different motives, and was a very different thing, from that of Napoleon. The character of the two men was not less opposite; unfortunately for Poland, their intellectual capacities were not less dissimilar. Chlopicki was a noble character,—a brave soldier, a devoted patriot, a great general; but he wanted the audacity and recklessness necessary for success in revolutions. Born of an ancient but not illustrious family, he had entered the army in 1790, and made the disastrous campaign of 1794 under Kosciusko. After the fall of Poland in the close of that year, he entered the Polish Legion, which was organised in Italy under the orders of Dembrowski, and bore a part in all the glorious actions under Napoleon by which its career was distinguished. At the head of the 1st regiment of the Vistula he signalled himself in the campaigns of 1803 and 1807 in Prussia

and Poland, and not less so in the checkered fields of Spain. In 1812 he was appointed general of brigade by Napoleon, and in that capacity was distinguished at the battles of Smolensko and Valoutino, in the last of which he was wounded. In 1814, when Poland fell again under the dominion of Russia, he had risen to the rank of general of division; but he quitted the service soon after the accession of Constantine to the viceroyalty, in consequence of an altercation with that irascible prince.

24. Accustomed to military rules and subordination, Chlopicki had a perfect horror for conspiracies and the domination of clubs. Accordingly, he kept himself entirely clear of the great conspiracies of 1825 and 1826, connected with the insurrection in Russia in those years, and lived in retirement down to 1830. He was inspired with a thorough contempt for levies *en masse*, and all those devices by which the ardent but inexperienced in all ages endeavour to supply the want of regular soldiers. He dreaded the clubs of Warsaw even more than the Muscovite bayonets. It was his great object to achieve the liberation of his country and the establishment of its rights by other means than democratic fervour, which he considered as alike shortlived and perilous. Thus he was the man of all others least calculated to retain the suffrages of the clubs of Warsaw, which early acquired so great a weight in the revolution; and one of his first steps, after he became dictator, was to close them by a general military order. But he possessed an immense military reputation, and was known to have military talents of the very highest order, which rendered his sway over the soldiers unbounded; and as his patriotism was undoubted, and his character elevated and disinterested, his rule was for some time unresisted even by the burning democrats of the capital. He despised and detested them as much as Napoleon did the "*avocats et idéologues*" of Paris; and it was his great object, without their aid, and while retaining the direction of their movements, to work out the independence

of Poland by negotiation with the Czar, and without coming to open rupture with his authority. But to achieve this object he was well aware that military preparations were indispensable, and his measures to attain this end, though not of the sweeping kind which the clubs demanded, were energetic and successful.

25. His first care was to organise a considerable increase to the regular army, which he effected by several decrees recalling all the old soldiers to their standards, and calling out the first bans of the levy *en masse*, embracing all persons between twenty and thirty years of age, which was estimated as likely to produce eighty thousand men. Those from thirty to fifty, who were also to be enrolled but not moved from their homes, would, it was calculated, amount to two hundred thousand more. The national guard of Warsaw alone was twenty thousand strong — an immense force in a city at that period containing not more than a hundred and forty thousand souls. The regular army was by this means raised to forty-five thousand men; and officers, though by no means in adequate numbers, were obtained for the national guard from the retired officers — nearly three thousand in number — who existed in Poland. At the same time, cannons were made with the metal of bells melted down, muskets were manufactured with the utmost rapidity, and considerable purchases of arms made in foreign states. Several battalions in the country were, in default of better weapons, armed with the scythes which they used in husbandry. Patriotic gifts flowed in on all sides; the ladies, even of the highest rank, were employed night and day in preparing bandages and sheets for the wounded; and considerable stores of ammunition and provisions were laid in by the Government. Everything, however, was done by the authority of and through the Dictator; and not only were several tenders of volunteer corps refused, but several free bands of some thousand horse, which had formed themselves in the forests, were dissolved. To this re-

pression of the republican spirit at the outset of the insurrection, the patriotic writers of Poland ascribe much of the misfortunes which afterwards befell them; but, in the mean time, Chlopicki deemed himself more than compensated for its loss by the surrender of the fortresses of Modlin and Zamosc, which opened their gates at the first summons of the patriotic forces.

26. While these events were in progress in Poland, Constantine, irresolute and dejected, was moving by slow marches towards Russia. A mutual intercourse of civilities took place between him and Chlopicki. The Polish dictator sent to the Grand-duke eight hundred Russian soldiers who had been surrounded and disarmed near Warsaw, without exchange; and the Grand-duke, in return, treated kindly and hospitably entertained such of the Polish troops as he met on the road to Russia, hastening to their respective corps. The strange character of the Prince strongly appeared on these occasions. "There," said he, "is another of my brave Polish soldiers: ah! the Polish army is the first in the world;" then, approaching the man, he would say, "*But your belts are not straight*: see that you put them on better the next time." Then he would break out into the most violent invectives against the Polish troops for their ingratitude and shameful return for all his kindness, and conclude by again praising them, and dismissing them to a copious repast.* The generals who surrounded

* "J'ai tout oublié," said the Grand-duke, "car je suis au fond meilleur Polonais que vous tous. Je suis marié à une Polonaise, je suis établi parmi vous. Je vous ai donné des preuves de mes sentimens en défendant aux troupes Impériales de tirer. Si j'avais voulu, on vous aurait anéantis dans le premier moment. J'étais le seul dans mon état-major qui voulût qu'on ne tirât pas; car j'ai pensé que dans une querelle Polonaise les Russes n'avaient rien à faire. J'aurais désiré que nous pussions entrer parmi vous; nous avons tous des liens bien chers à Varsovie; mais votre gouvernement m'a fait dire par la députation que je devais m'en aller ou me mettre à la tête des troupes Polonaises pour rentrer dans la capitale. J'ai refusé ce parti pour ne pas être rebelle à mon souverain: Jamais je ne jouerai le rôle du Prince d'Orange. Mais mon cœur a été navré, je l'avoue, et ce qui me peine le plus c'est que cette révolution

him, if less generous, were more consistent in their language. Looking at the white ribbons and cockades, the national colour of Poland, which were on the breasts of the soldiers, they said, "You do well to mount white cockades, for they will show off the scarlet. They will soon be stained with your blood."

27. Clinging to the last to the hope of a reconciliation with the Czar, Chiopicki, soon after his seizure of the dictatorship, sent a deputation to St Petersburg, consisting of Prince Lubbecki, the Minister of Finance, and Count Jezierski, to explain the causes of the insurrection, the grounds of the Polish complaints, with the concessions which would convert them from determined rebels into faithful subjects. These were the same as those which were shortly after published to the world on each side, and shall be immediately given. They embraced chiefly three points: The union of the provinces of Lithuania, Volhynia, and Podolia with the kingdom of Poland, in conformity with the promises of Alexander; the strict observance of the Charter; and the removal of the Muscovite garrisons from the entire kingdom of Poland. But the envoys met with the coldest possible reception from the Emperor Nicholas. They who hoped to bend that soul of iron little knew him. With a stern air and a determined voice he reproached them with their treason and ungrateful oblivion of all his benefits, and threatened them with the last extremities of military vengeance if the insurrection were any longer persisted in. He warned them that "the first cannon-shot fired would be the signal of the ruin of Poland." At the same time, declaring that he knew how to distinguish the guilty from the innocent, he offered an unconditional amnesty to all except the leaders of the revolt, and those actually engaged in the murders at Warsaw. These terms were of course

rejected; and the envoys having returned to Warsaw, and the substance of the conference been published in the papers there, the public effervescence was greatly increased, and all classes, seeing an accommodation hopeless, prepared with magnanimous resolution for the decisive conflict.

28. The neighbouring powers were far from being indifferent spectators of the revolution at Warsaw. No sooner did it break out than the Russian ambassadors at Vienna and Berlin inquired of these Courts what would be the conduct of their Cabinets if it terminated in a war. The answer was in the highest degree satisfactory to the Government of St Petersburg. Austria and Prussia both declared that they would collect an army of observation on the frontiers,—the one of Galicia, the other of the grand-duchy of Posen; and they both entered into the following engagement, which was rigorously acted upon during the war: "To permit no correspondence to pass from Poland through their dominions; to give no succour or assistance to the insurgents; to keep the harbours of Dantzic and Königsberg closed against all convoys of ammunition, of provisions, even if they should come from England or France; to sequester the funds belonging to the kingdom of Poland in the Bank of Berlin, and place them at the disposal of the Emperor Nicholas; and should the revolt extend to Cracow, the grand-duchy of Posen, or Galicia, immediately to unite their forces to those of the Emperor of Russia, to maintain in full force the treaties of 1814 and 1815, without paying any regard to the notes or menaces of France." The effect of this agreement was to surround the little kingdom of Poland on all sides with a hedge of bayonets, and leave it no chance of foreign succour in maintaining the contest with its gigantic enemy.

29. But although Austria and Prussia were thus to appear united on the subject, and their measures were throughout the war entirely regulated by the policy thus agreed on, yet in reality there was a wide division be-

a été teinte de sang, et marquée de rapines. La postérité accusera de barbarie cette armée et cette nation Polonoise que j'ai tant, et fera peser cette tâche ineffaçable sur leur mémoire."—CAPEFIGUE, iv. 58, 59.

tween them, and little was wanting to have made the former of these powers take part with France and Poland in the contest. Had the efforts of the Poles been founded only on the principle of independence, and unconnected with the cause of revolution, she in all probability would have done so. The danger to Austria from the incorporation of the kingdom of Poland with the Russian empire was so obvious and pressing that it overcame all the terrors of the Cabinet of Vienna as to a revolutionary state. The Austrian consul, accordingly, in the first instance, did not leave Warsaw; and a secret negotiation was opened with the Cabinet of Vienna, the result of which was, that Austria would not object to the restoration of the nationality of Poland, and even to contribute to it by the abandonment of Galicia, provided Poland would agree to accept as king a prince of the *house of Austria*, and that the whole arrangements were made with the concurrence of the Cabinets of Paris and London. M. Walewski, accordingly, was charged with a mission to sound these two Cabinets on the subject. He met with a favourable reception at the Tuileries, where he arrived in the beginning of March; but M. Casimir Périer, who had just succeeded to the lead in the French Government, said he could do nothing without the concurrence of the Cabinet of St James's.

30. In consequence of this answer, M. Walewski came on to London, where he had some conferences with Lord Palmerston, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the subject. The hands of the English Government, however, were sufficiently full at that time with the affairs of Belgium, in regard to which it was extremely difficult to keep the representatives of the five powers assembled in London at one. It was thought, therefore, and probably with justice, that if, in this unsettled state of the several Cabinets, a fresh apple of discord were thrown amongst them, and Russia was irrevocably alienated by support given to Poland, the conference would at once be broken up, Belgium would be in-

corporated with France, and a general war would ensue, in which it was more than probable that, from their superior resources and state of preparation, the legitimate states would prevail over the revolutionary. The Polish envoy, therefore, was informed, with every expression of regret, that England could not interfere; and Poland, for the present at least, was left to its fate.* The British Cabinet in several energetic notes remonstrated against the

* The note of the English Government, in answer to the proposal of the French for an intervention in favour of Poland, was in these terms: "Le soussigné, en réponse à la note que lui a présentée l'ambassadeur de France, a l'effet d'engager le Gouvernement britannique à intervenir de concert avec la France dans les affaires de Pologne, par une médiation qui aurait pour but d'arrêter l'effusion de sang, et de procurer à la Pologne une existence politique et nationale, a l'honneur d'informer S. E. le Prince de Talleyrand, que malgré tous les desirs que pourrait avoir le Roi de la Grande Bretagne de concourir avec le Roi des Français à toute démarche qui pourrait consolider la paix en Europe, surtout à celle qui aurait pour effet de faire cesser la guerre d'extermination dont la Pologne est aujourd'hui le théâtre, S. M. se voit forcée de décliner; qu'une médiation toute officieuse, vu l'état actuel des événements, ne pourrait pas manquer d'être refusée par la Russie, d'autant plus que le Cabinet de St Petersburg vient de rejeter les offres de ce genre qui lui ont été faites par la France; que par conséquent l'intervention des deux Cours, pour être effective, devrait avoir lieu de manière à être appuyée en cas de refus. Le Roi d'Angleterre ne croit devoir adopter aucunement cette dernière alternative; l'influence que peut avoir la guerre sur la tranquillité des autres états, n'est pas telle qu'elle doive nécessiter ces démarches, et les relations franches et amicales qui existent entre la Cour de St Petersburg et S. M. ne lui permettent pas de les entreprendre. S. M. B. se voit donc forcée de décliner la proposition que vient de lui transmettre le Prince Talleyrand par sa note du 20 Juin, jugeant que le *temps n'est pas encore venu de pouvoir l'entreprendre avec succès*, contre le gré du souverain dont les droits sont incontestables. Pourtant S. M. charge le soussigné de témoigner à S. E. l'ambassadeur de France combien son cœur souffre de voir tous les ravages qui ont lieu en Pologne, et de lui assurer qu'elle fera tout ce que ses relations amicales avec la Russie lui permettront pour y mettre fin, et que déjà les instructions ont été données à l'ambassadeur de S. M. à St Petersburg pour déclarer qu'elle tiendra à ce que l'existence politique de la Pologne, établie en 1815, ainsi que ses institutions nationales lui soient conservées. PALMERSTON. 25th June 1831."—L. BLANC, vol. ii pp. 451, 452.

violation of the Treaty of Vienna by the Czar, but did nothing more. All that France did was to send M. de Mortemart to St Petersburg to endeavour to obtain favourable terms for the Poles; but Nicholas gave him his answer by a significant motion of his hand across his throat, showing he was not unmindful of his father's fate, and which may be rendered by the familiar English phrase, "It is neck or nothing with me."

31. Faithful to his promise, Chlopicki resigned his dictatorship as soon as the Diet met, on the 20th December. So much had the benefit of his firm and intrepid hand been felt since the overthrow of the former government, on the 29th November, and so general was the hope among the more moderate that he might yet bring matters to an amicable arrangement with the Czar, that this resignation excited a great and general consternation. The Diet hastened, however, to allay it, by reappointing him, with full powers, civil and military, under this restriction only, that his powers were to cease when he was displaced by a commission named by the Diet itself. This appointment was made by a majority of 108 to 1, so that it had almost the weight of unanimity. It was received with unbounded applause, the members embracing each other with tears of joy. The transports were increased when Chlopicki, amidst profound silence, with a noble air, but a voice trembling with emotion, said, "Gentlemen, I only accept the power with which you have invested me, with the firm intention to employ it for the good of the country: I will retain it only till it is your pleasure to resume it; then, obeying the commands of the nation, I will peaceably retire to my home, rich only in the approbation of a pure conscience, and proud of having consecrated my last efforts to the liberation of my unhappy country."

32. Unbounded general enthusiasm succeeded this moving scene, and the patriotic efforts of the Poles were such as seemed to give a hope of success even against the colossal power of

Russia, and unquestionably against any lesser state would have secured it. No less than 800,000 florins (£80,000) were next day subscribed for the service of the state by the citizens of Warsaw—a prodigious sum in a city only containing a hundred and forty thousand inhabitants, and without manufactures or external commerce of any kind. Chlopicki added to the general enthusiasm by refusing for himself the salary of 200,000 florins (£20,000) a-year, which the decree of the Diet had attached to his office. His first act, after his election, was to appoint a national council, consisting of Prince Czartoryski, Ladislaus Ostrowski, Prince Radziwil, Leon Dembrowski, the senator Kartellan, and the deputy Barzykowsky, to administer the government under his authority. At the same time, the utmost efforts were made to increase and render efficient the military force of the kingdom, which the official states published by the Government made amount to 80,000 regular troops and 300,000 national guards. But it turned out that these estimates were greatly exaggerated, and the effective force in the field never amounted to a half of either of these numbers. Meanwhile powerful batteries were erected in front of Praga, and intrenchments begun around Warsaw, on the left bank of the Vistula, which proved of the greatest service in the last extremity of the nation. But though doing his utmost to augment the regular force, the dictator still declined all offers to form detached corps of volunteers, under the orders of partisan leaders, deeming the hazard of that species of force greater, in the excited state of the country, than any advantage that might be expected from it.

33. The Poles, however, had need of all their efforts and all their enthusiasm, for the forces which the Czar was accumulating against them were immense. An army of 110,000 men had already been collected in Lithuania, stationed in echelon along the road from St Petersburg to Warsaw. An animated proclamation, menacing to the Poles, was addressed by the Em-

peror to the Russian nation, in which he called on them to aid him in crushing their ancient enemies the Poles, who had made no other return for all the kindness they had received from Russia but treachery and treason.* Count Diebitch was appointed generalissimo, with the command, at the same time, of the governments of Grodno, Wilna, Minsk, Podolia, Volhynia, and Bialystok, which were all declared in a state of war; and a few days after, Diebitch, who added the proud title of Sabalkansky to his name, set out for the army, attended by a numerous and magnificent staff, in the full confidence that to the surname of *Passer of the Balkan* he would soon add that of Conqueror of Warsaw. The ancient and unforgotten animosity of the Russians against the Poles appeared in the strongest manner on this occasion. One only feeling existed in the whole nation, which was, that they must strain every nerve to crush the traitors; and great as was the enthusiasm of the Poles to regain their independence, it was equalled by

* "Une infame trahison a ébranlé le royaume de Pologne uni à la Russie, des hommes malintentionnés qui n'ont pas discerné les bienfaits du restaurateur de leur patrie, le magnanime Empereur Alexandre d'éternelle mémoire, et qui, jouissant sous la protection des lois octroyées, du fruit de sa bienveillance, ourdirent en secret des intrigues pour renverser l'ordre qu'il avait établi, et choisirent le 29 Novembre pour commencer l'accomplissement de leurs desseins par la rébellion. . . . Le peuple Polonais, qui, après tant d'infortunes, jouissait de la paix et du bien-être à l'ombre de notre puissance, se précipite de nouveau dans l'abîme de la révolte et des calamités, et un ramas d'êtres crédules, quoique déjà saisis d'effroi à la pensée du châtiement qui les attend, osent rêver quelques instans la victoire, et nous proposer des conditions, à nous, leur maître légitime. Russes! vous savez que nous les repoussons avec indignation. Vos cœurs, brûlant de zèle pour les intérêts du trône, comprennent tout ce que le nôtre éprouve. A la première nouvelle de trahison, votre réponse fut un serment répété d'inébranlable fidélité, et dans ce moment nous ne voyons qu'un mouvement dans toute l'étendue de notre vaste empire, dans le cœur de chacun vit un seul sentiment, le vœu de ne redouter aucun effort pour l'honneur de son empereur, pour l'inviolabilité de l'empire, et d'y sacrifier sa fortune et même sa vie. NICHOLAS. Dec. 24, 1830."—*Ann. Hist.*, vol. xiii. p. 179; *Doc. Hist.*

the ardour of the Muscovites to retain them in subjection.

34. Before throwing away the scabbard, the Polish Diet, on January 10, 1831, addressed a manifesto to the other nations of Europe. It was stated in that noble document: "The world knows too well the infamous machinations, the vile calumnies, the open violence and secret treasons which have accompanied the three dismemberments of ancient Poland. History, of which they have become the property, has stigmatised them as political crimes of the deepest dye. The solemn grief which that violence has spread through the whole country, has caused the feelings of nationality to be preserved without interruption. The Polish standard has never ceased to wave at the head of the Polish legions; and in their military emigration, the Poles, transporting from country to country their household gods, have never ceased to cry aloud against this violation; and yielding to the noble illusion, which, like every noble thought, has not been deceived, they trusted that, in combating for the cause of liberty, they were combating also for their own country.

35. "That country has risen from its ashes, and, though restrained within narrow limits, Poland has received from the hero of the last age its language, its rights, its liberties,—gifts in themselves precious, but rendered doubly so by the hopes with which they were accompanied. From that moment his cause has become ours, our blood become his inheritance; and when our allies, and heaven itself, seemed to have abandoned him, the Poles shared the disasters of the hero; and the fall together of a great man and an unfortunate nation extorted the involuntary esteem of the conquerors themselves. That sentiment produced a deep impression; the sovereigns of Europe, in a moment of danger, promised to the world a durable peace; and the Congress of Vienna in some sort softened the evils of our unhappy country. A nationality and entire freedom of internal commerce were guaranteed to all parts of ancient Po-

land, and that portion of it which the strife of Europe had left independent, though mutilated on three sides, received the name of a kingdom, and was put under the guardianship of the Emperor Alexander, with a constitutional charter and the hope of future extension. In performance of these stipulations he gave a liberal constitution to the kingdom, and held out to the Poles under his immediate government the hope of being ere long reunited to their severed brethren. These were not gratuitous promises: he had contracted anterior obligations to us, and we, on our side, had made corresponding sacrifices. In proclaiming himself *King of Poland*, the Emperor of Russia was only faithful to his promises.

36. "But the hopes inspired by these circumstances proved as short-lived as they were fallacious. The Poles were ere long convinced, by dear-bought experience, that the vain title of Poland, given to the kingdom by the Emperor of Russia, was nothing but a lure thrown out to their brothers, and an offensive arm against the other states. They saw that, under cover of the sacred names of liberty and independence, he was resolved to reduce the nation to the lowest point of degradation and servitude. The measures pursued in regard to the army first revealed this infamous design. Punishments the most excruciating, pains the most degrading, were, under pretence of keeping up military discipline, inflicted, not for faults of commission, but mere omission. The arbitrary disposition of the commander-in-chief, his unbounded control over the courts-martial, soon rendered him the absolute master of the life and honour of every soldier. Numbers in every grade have sent in their resignations, and committed suicide in despair at the degrading punishments to which they had been subjected. The deliberative assembly, from which so much was expected, has remedied none of these evils—it has rather aggravated them; for it has brought, in a sensible form, the reality of servitude home to the nation. The liberty of the press, the

publication of debates, were tolerated only so long as they resounded with strains of adulation. The moment that the real discussion of affairs commenced, the most rigid censorship was introduced, and after the sittings of the Diet closed, they prosecuted the members of it for the opinions they had expressed in the course of the debates.

37. "The union, on one head, of the crown of the Autocrat and of the constitutional King of Poland, is one of those political monstrosities which could not by possibility long endure. Every one foresaw that the kingdom of Poland must be to Russia the germ of liberal institutions, or itself perish under the iron hand of its despot. That question was soon resolved. If Alexander ever entertained the idea of reconciling the extent of his despotic power with the popularity of liberal institutions amongst us, it was but for a moment. He soon showed by his acts that the moment he discovered that liberty would not become the blind instrument of slavery, he was to be its most violent persecutor. That system was ere long put in execution. Public instruction was first corrupted; it was made the mere instrument of despotism: an entire palatinate was next deprived of its representatives in the council—the Chambers of the power of voting on the budget; new taxes were imposed without their authority; monopolies destructive of industry were created; and the treasury became a mere fountain of corruption, from whence, in lieu of the retrenchment which the nation had so often solicited, pensions and gratuities were distributed with the most scandalous profusion amongst the supporters of Government. Calumny and *espionage* soon invaded the privacy and destroyed the happiness of domestic life; the ancient hospitality of the Poles was converted into a snare for innocence. Individual liberty, so solemnly guaranteed, was every day violated; the prisons were filled, and courts-martial, proceeding to take cognisance of civil offences, inflicted infamous and degrading punishments on citizens whose only fault was to have

endeavoured to stem the torrent of corruption which overspread the country.

38. "In the ancient provinces of Poland now incorporated with Russia matters have been still worse. Not only have they not been incorporated with Poland, in violation of the promise to that effect made by the Emperor Alexander to the Congress of Vienna, but, on the contrary, everything has been systematically done which could eradicate in them any sentiment or recollection of nationality. The youths at school have been in an especial manner the object of persecution. All who were suspected of a leaning towards liberal or patriotic sentiments were torn from their mothers' arms and sent off to Siberia, or compelled to enter the army as private soldiers, though belonging to the first families in the country. In all administrative or public acts the Polish language was suppressed, as well as in the common schools; imperial ukases annihilated alike the Polish rights and tribunals; the abuses of administration reduced the landed proprietors to despair. Since the accession of the Emperor Nicholas, all these evils have rapidly increased, and intolerance, coming to the aid of despotism, has left nothing undone to extirpate the Catholic worship, and force the Greek ritual in its stead."

39. When such were the feelings and manifestoes on the opposite side, there was evidently little chance of an accommodation without an appeal to arms. But Chlopicki still clung to the hope of a pacific arrangement, relying partly on the great danger to Russia of a war of *raees*, if once fairly roused, and embracing the whole Sarmatian family, partly on the magnanimous disposition which their flatterers generally ascribe, though seldom with justice, to absolute sovereigns. He continued to address Nicholas, accordingly, in terms of the most profound respect, adjuring him in the most touching terms to take pity on a gallant people, whom he could by a word raise up to the summit of happiness from the depths of woe.* But it

* "Plein de confiance dans la magnanimité de votre cœur, Sire, j'ose espérer qu'une effu-

was all in vain. The mind of Nicholas, lofty and magnanimous, but stern and unrelenting, was incapable of succumbing before difficulties; and even if he had been disposed individually to accede to the entreaties of the Poles, it was no longer in his power to do so. Public opinion is on great occasions not less irresistible in Russia than in England; and, when thoroughly roused, it makes itself heard in a still more decisive way, for its instruments are armed men, not pacific legislators, and its appeal in the last resort is not to the press but to the bowstring. The national feelings of the Russians were so thoroughly excited by the revolt of their ancient enemies the Poles, that it would have cost the Czar his throne and his life if he had entered into any compromise with them. Absolute, unconditional surrender was therefore sternly insisted on; and as the Diet could not hear of this, both sides prepared for war. Upon this Chlopicki resigned the dictatorship, declaring his readiness to serve his country as a private soldier. "If," said he, "your conscience permits you with so much ease to break the oaths you have taken to your lawful sovereign, it is well. I feel differently. All that I do here is in the name of Nicholas. I resign the dictatorship."

40. The Diet met on the 19th of January 1831, to determine on the momentous question of peace or war. All minds were made up upon it; but the deliberations of the Assembly were such as befitted the solemnity of the occasion, and were worthy of a gallant people courageously making, in circumstances all but desperate, the last struggle for their independence. "Poles," said Prince Czartoryski, the

sion de sang n'aura pas lieu, et je me regarderai comme le plus heureux d'hommes si je puis atteindre au but que je me propose par la réunion intime de tous les élémens de bon ordre et de force. Sire, en ma qualité d'ancien soldat et de bon Polonais, j'ose vous faire entendre la vérité, et je suis persuadé que V. M. J. et R. daignera l'écouter. Vous tenez, Sire, dans votre main les destinées de toute une nation; d'un seul mot vous pouvez la mettre au comble du bonheur, d'un seul mot la précipiter dans un abîme de maux."—CHLOPICKI TO THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS, 29th Dec. 1830; *Ann. Hist.*, vol. xiv. p. 174; *App. Doc. Hist.*

president, "our cause is sacred, our fate depends on the Most High; but we owe it to ourselves to transmit intact to posterity the honour of the nation enshrined in our hearts: 'concord, courage, perseverance,' such is the sacred motto which can alone insure the glory of our country. Let us put forth all our strength, in order to found for ever our liberty and national independence." On the 21st January the Diet conferred the command of the army on Prince Radziwil in lieu of Chlopicki, who received the perilous trust with these words: "I only accept the command in order to hold it till the war has raised one of those great men who save nations. My sole wish is for the independence and happiness of our beloved country. Such I have been—such I ever shall be." Then, on the motion of Roman Soltyk, the Diet *unanimously* passed a resolution deposing the Czar and his whole family from the throne, and absolving the Polish nation from their oath of fidelity to the reigning sovereign, and the *whole assembly* of both Chambers, amidst enthusiastic cheers, signed the Act of Dethronement.*

41. Before proceeding to recount the memorable war which ensued on the banks of the Vistula, and which cast a last ray of glory on the long

* "Les traités les plus sacrés et les plus inviolables, ne sont obligatoires qu'autant qu'ils sont observés fidèlement. Nos longues souffrances sont connues du monde entier. La violation, tant de fois renouvelée, des libertés qui nous avaient été garanties par les sermens de deux monarques, délie également aujourd'hui la nation Polonoise du serment de fidélité qu'elle a prêté à son souverain. Les paroles propres enfin, de l'Empereur Nicolas, qui a dit que le premier coup de fusil tiré de notre part, deviendrait le signal de la ruine de la Pologne, nous ôtent toute espérance de voir nos griefs réparés, et ne nous laissent plus qu'un noble désespoir.

"La Nation Polonoise, réunie en diète, déclare donc qu'elle forme désormais un peuple indépendant, qu'elle a le droit de donner la couronne Polonoise à celui qu'elle en jugera digne, à celui qu'elle jugera capable d'observer fidèlement la loi qu'il aura jurée, et de conserver intactes les libertés nationales.—Le Prince Adam Czartoryski, Président du Sénat; Le Comte Ostrowski, Maréchal de la Chambre des Nonces; et tous les Membres du Sénat et de la Chambre des Nonces."—*Ann. Hist.*, vol. xiv. p. 488.

annals of Polish heroism, it is essential to state the comparative strength of the two nations who then entered into the lists. Such a detail, how brief soever, will add much to the fame of the vanquished, and take somewhat from that of the conquerors. Fortunately, a statistical survey of the whole Russian dominions, made in this very year, has furnished the materials of both with perfect accuracy. The Russian population at this time, including the Poles, amounted to 51,343,000 souls; without the latter, to 47,300,000; and its revenue was 100,000,000 rubles, or £16,000,000 sterling. Of this immense multitude 17,555,089 were free peasants on the crown-lands, or those of individuals; 18,781,812 were serfs, for whom the capitation-tax was paid; and 747,557 were on the rolls of the army.*

42. Inconsiderable when compared to these gigantic forces, the material strength of the fragment of Poland which was in the hands of Russia, and engaged in the war, was yet very large, considering its limited extent and number of inhabitants. The kingdom embraced at this period 4,050,000 inhabitants, of whom Warsaw alone contained 140,000, being an increase of 50,000 souls over its numbers in

* The details were as follows of the inhabitants:—

Russia Proper,	43,700,000
Finland,	1,250,000
Kingdom of Poland,	4,050,000
Georgia, and to south of Caucasus,	1,200,000
Cossacks, Calmucks, &c.,	743,587
Siberia,	400,000
	<hr/>
	51,343,587

The revenue was raised thus:—

Capitation,	Rubles. 15,000,000
Crown peasants' capitation,	17,500,000
Levied on merchants,	900,000
Custom-house,	12,500,000
Monopoly of spirits,	22,500,000
Salt-tax,	2,000,000
Mines,	2,500,000
Mint,	2,000,000
Stamps,	1,750,000
Miscellaneous,	1,500,000
Revenue unknown,	21,850,000

100,000,000
or £16,000,000

—*Ann. Hist.*, vol. xiv. p. 647.

1814. The revenue of the state amounted to 80,000,000 Polish florins, or £2,000,000 sterling, a national income by no means contemptible in a country where money was so scarce that the wages of rural labour were 3d. a-day in winter, and 4d. in summer. The national bank had a treasure of 120,000,000 florins (£3,000,000), and a reserve of 20,000,000 florins (£500,000) was in the public treasury. These considerable resources in a country wholly agricultural, and not exceeding in extent the surface of Ireland, were the result of the peace and protection to industry which, despite all the rigour of the Muscovite rule, it had enjoyed under its firm government. No other testimony to this is required than that of the historian of the revolution, and the man who had the courage in the Diet to make the motion for the dethronement of the Emperor. "In general," says Roman Soltyk, "the public credit was firmly established, manufactures were arising on all sides, and their produce *since 1815 had increased tenfold*. Excellent roads facilitated transport in every direction, and establishments of beneficence, monuments of the arts, and splendid edifices were arising on all sides in the capital. Nor had the kingdom of Poland alone shared in this material prosperity; the little republic of Cracow possessed now 120,000 inhabitants, and enjoyed a revenue of 2,000,000 florins (£50,000)."

43. The population and resources of the provinces of Old Poland, acquired on the different partitions by Austria and Prussia, were more considerable; and if they could have been rendered available, the contest would have been less unequal. Galicia had greatly increased in population and resources since it was ceded to Austria in 1772; it numbered now 4,000,000 of inhabitants, and rendered to the Government of Vienna 60,000 excellent soldiers. The salt-mines in the Carpathian mountains yielded the Treasury a profit of 30,000,000 florins (£750,000) annually; the revenue amounted to 90,000,000 more (£2,250,000); and although this large revenue was generally felt as op-

pressive, yet it was tolerably well paid. Five hundred leagues of roads had been made through the territory, which opened up markets in every direction to the produce of the industry of its inhabitants. The grand-duchy of Posen was in a still more flourishing condition. The wise policy of the Prussian Government had been to extirpate the national feelings of its Polish subjects by a gentle administration and experienced benefits. Predial servitude was in course of being abolished; property was much subdivided; roads and canals had been constructed; manufactures and machinery had been introduced in some places, and agriculture had flourished to an extraordinary degree. Considerable immigration of German settlers had taken place into its fields, and many sturdy Poles had left them, and settled in the kingdom of Poland, in anticipation of the re-establishment of Polish nationality. Provincial assemblies were established, and the Polish language was no longer used in public instruments. The population amounted to 2,000,000 souls, and yielded a revenue of 40,000,000 florins (£1,000,000) to the Government of Berlin.

44. The vast territories which in the different partitions had fallen to the lot of Russia—viz., Lithuania, Volhynia, Podolia, the Ukraine, and White Russia—were far from presenting so satisfactory an aspect. Asiatic despotism pressed with its iron hand upon their immense natural springs of prosperity. The population of the whole provinces did not exceed 9,000,000 inhabitants, being a very small increase upon what it had been at the partitions; and notwithstanding the marvellous fertility of the greater part of their soil, the revenue they yielded was only 50,000,000 florins (£1,250,000). In addition to this, the Polish provinces which had been conquered by Russia before the first partition—viz., Smolensko, Tchernigov, and Starodub—contained 2,000,000 of inhabitants, but they had been so long dismembered from Old Poland that their inhabitants had been almost naturalised in Russia. Predial servitude, in all its severity,

pressed on these magnificent provinces; the industry of the country was languid, that of cities in its infancy; commerce of every kind in the interior was entirely in the hands of the Jews, who made a lucrative profit of the labour or simplicity of the peasants; and the grain trade of the southern districts, which had formerly been the main source of the riches of Athens and Venice, was scarcely felt, from want of internal communication, beyond a circuit of seventy miles around Odessa. These provinces were still governed by the ancient Lithuanian code, mingled with Russian ukases; but even in their rude state they presented immense resources in men and horses; and as the Russian domination was to the last degree hated over their whole extent, much might be expected from them, if opportunity could be afforded for shaking off the authority of the Czar.

45. The military resources of the contending parties, though disproportionate, were not so much so as might at first sight have been expected, from the immense difference in their material resources. On the side of the Poles, 14,000 old soldiers had repaired to their standards, and increased the regular army to 42,000 infantry and 9400 cavalry; the artillery, consisting of 126 pieces manned by 2500 gunners, and 4000 new levies, presented a total of 58,500 combatants, all regular soldiers, brave, admirably disciplined, and animated by the highest spirit. From this, however, was to be deducted 10,000 men for the garrisons of Praga, Zamose, and Modlin, and 4500 on detachment, so that not more than 44,000 men could be calculated upon for active service in the field. There was, it is true, a reserve which had been decreed, which was expected to produce 47,600 men; but the greater part of these were still unequipped when the war broke out, and the whole were very imperfectly disciplined. On the other hand, the Russian army, which had been by great exertions collected on the frontiers of Lithuania under the orders of Field-Marshal Diebitch, consisted of 110,620 men, with 396 pieces, of which no less than

23,500 were regular and 4500 Cossack cavalry.

46. When the disproportion between the opposite parties was so great, it seems almost impossible that the contest could have been of more than a few weeks' duration; nevertheless, it lasted nine months, was often very nearly balanced, and at last determined only by the active intervention of Prussia in favour of the Muscovite forces. The reason is to be found not merely in the valour of the Polish army, or the ability of their generals, great as they undoubtedly were, but in the military advantages of their situation. Small as the Polish forces were, they had the advantage, like those of Frederick the Great in the Seven Years' War, or Napoleon in Champagne in 1814, of being concentrated: vast as the legions of the Muscovites were, they laboured under the disadvantage, like those of the Allies on both these occasions, of being dispersed, and having an enormous distance to march to the theatre of conflict. The Polish troops, concentrated in a space not much larger than Yorkshire, rested on the fortresses of Warsaw, Zamose, and Modlin, which were sufficiently fortified to be beyond the reach of a *coup-de-main*; while the Vistula, which flowed through its centre, gave them the advantage of water-carriage, and all the bridges over it were in their hands. On the other hand, the Russians, spread over a space of four hundred miles in breadth, from Kowno to Wlodzernierz, were at an immense distance from their magazines and resources, and this distance increased every mile they advanced into the Polish territory. The military resources of the empire had been strained to the uttermost, to produce the army under Diebitch on the frontier; and from the vast distance of the reserves in the interior, no reinforcements of consequence could be looked for for a very considerable time. Add to this, that if the Polish partisans could succeed in lighting up the flames of civil war in Lithuania, Volhynia, and Podolia, they might turn the resources of nine millions of Russian sub-

jects against their enemies, and more than double their own. In these circumstances, much would obviously come to depend on the Russians striking a decisive blow in the outset, and taking advantage of their great numerical superiority to destroy the Polish power before it had an opportunity of extending the flame of the insurrection into their own dominions.

47. Diebitch broke up from his quarters in Lithuania on the 5th February, and advanced in three columns towards Warsaw. The right wing, under Generals Szachofskoi and Manderstein, twenty thousand five hundred strong, entered the Polish territory by Kowno and Grodno, so celebrated in the wars of Napoleon. The left, numbering ten thousand, almost entirely cavalry, with forty-eight guns, under General Geismar, debouched by Włodawa, and moved upon Lukow and Lublin; while the centre, eighty thousand strong, with two hundred and eighty guns, under Diebitch in person, and divided into four corps, under the orders of General Pahlen, Rosen, the Grand-duke Constantine, and General Dewitt, advanced by Tykoczin, towards Sierock, on the direct road to Warsaw. The whole of these troops were admirably organised, and provided with everything necessary for an active campaign. Unable to contend against forces so immense, Radziwil wisely retired, without attempting any resistance, towards the capital, in the hope that the invaders might be weakened by the waste and fatigues of the march, as Napoleon had been in the advance to Moscow, and that an opportunity might occur near Warsaw for engaging the enemy on terms more nearly approaching to equality.

48. But the dimensions of the kingdom of Poland were very different from those of the empire of Russia, and the Poles soon found that they had retreated as far as was possible, and that a stand must be made to defend the capital. Diebitch at first directed his march on Sierock, at the summit of the angle formed by the junction of the Bug and the Narew; but finding that the spring was at hand, when the

flat, marshy country, without roads, lying between these rivers, becomes impassable, he turned to his left, designing to cross the Bug and gain the great *chaussée* from Siedlce to Praga. No serious resistance was experienced at the passage of the Bug, and the Polish army, gradually retiring, but in perfect order, took post, after a few skirmishes, on the evening of the 18th February, a league in advance of Warsaw, near the village of Grochow. The forces on the opposite sides, though still disproportionate, were not so much so as might have been anticipated from the great difference between them which existed at the opening of the campaign. Diebitch had not more than seventy-four thousand men, as his centre alone was in the field; while the army of Radziwil had been raised, by reinforcements drawn from the national guards and depots, to forty-eight thousand men. But the Russians had a great superiority in artillery, which amounted to two hundred and seventy-six pieces, while the Poles had only one hundred and twenty-six. The Russian army was divided into two columns: the right, twenty-seven thousand strong, was under the orders of Rosen; the left, of no less than forty-seven thousand combatants, was under Count Pahlen and General Dewitt. The Polish army was drawn up in battle array in the open space where the woods end in front of the village of Grochow: the right, under Szembek, rested on the marshes which adjoin the Vistula; the centre, consisting of the divisions Zimirski and Krukowiecki, under Radziwil in person, occupied in force the great road to Warsaw; the left, under Skrzynecki, extended as far as the village of Grodzisk. The cavalry, with the exception of three regiments close to that village, was in reserve behind the infantry. The Russians had the advantage of the position, for they had the forest in rear, in which their columns would find shelter in case of disaster; while the Poles, with their backs to the Vistula, traversed by the single bridge of Praga, were exposed to total ruin in the event of defeat.

49. The battle commenced at ten in the morning, by an attack by Pahlen, who debouched from the forest by the great road, and, turning to the left, attacked Szembek's men; but he was received with so warm a fire from the Polish right that his troops fell into confusion, and a charge from the Polish hussars, who were brought up from the rear, drove them back headlong into the wood. Upon this Rosen's corps, which had by this time emerged from the wood, advanced to his aid, and took Szembek's corps, which had advanced considerably in pursuit of Pahlen's men from the ground it had occupied at the commencement of the action, in flank. In consequence Szembek fell back to his original ground; and as the whole Russian army had by this time got clear of the wood, and deployed in its front, directly opposite to the Poles, the battle became general along the whole line. Diebitch, taking advantage of his immense superiority in men and guns, made the utmost efforts to force the centre, where the great road to Warsaw passed through both armies; but although above a hundred pieces of cannon were brought to bear on that point, to which the Poles could not oppose more than half the number, night fell without the Russians being able to gain any decisive advantage. Diebitch renewed the attack the following day (20th February), directing his principal effort against a small wood held by three battalions of Skrzynecki's division on the Polish left. The Poles fought, however, with the most heroic resolution, and although, towards the evening, after combating all day, they lost a few hundred yards of ground, yet, when the firing ceased, their ranks were unbroken, their courage unsubdued, and they had to lament the loss of neither prisoners, cannon, nor standards in the fight.

50. To have maintained so obstinate a conflict with forces so superior was not less honourable to the Polish arms than advantageous to their cause; but the Russians were numerous, ably led, and inured to victory; and as they

had driven the enemy a short distance from the field of battle, they attributed to themselves, not without reason, the advantage. The resistance of the Poles, however, had been so obstinate that Diebitch did not venture to renew the offensive till he had called up great part of his right wing, which again raised his forces to nearly 80,000 men. Radziwil, on his side, had also repaired his losses, though chiefly with new levies, little inured to discipline. In moving from the Russian right to its centre, where Diebitch was concentrating his forces, the Russian division Szachoffskoi was attacked and worsted by the Poles under Krukowiecki, who had been detached to meet them, but they nevertheless continued their march, and by nightfall were in line with Diebitch opposite the Polish army, which maintained its old position in front of PRAGA. There it was attacked on the following day (25th February) by the Russians in the same position which it had occupied on the 20th, with this difference, that SKRZYNECKI with his division was now in the centre, and Zimirski with his on the left, with which he occupied in strength the little wood which had been so obstinately contested in the preceding action, and became the theatre of a still more murderous conflict in that which succeeded; while Krukowiecki manœuvred so badly that he did not rejoin the main army until the evening of the 25th, when the contest was decided.

51. The battle began at daybreak, and continued with the utmost obstinacy and various success the whole day. There was little generalship or manœuvring on either side: like Waterloo in former years, it was a regular stand-up fight between two gallant nations; like Inkermann in after days, it was a duel rather than a battle of manœuvres. The principal efforts of both parties were directed to get possession of the little wood on the Polish left, and it was repeatedly won and again lost during the strife. At length, after a bloody conflict of two

hours' duration, it was carried by Diebitch, who succeeded in bringing eighty pieces of cannon to bear upon it, and fairly shelled the Poles out. Some of his aides-de-camp having come to Chlopicki, who commanded there, to ask for orders, he replied, "Go and ask Radziwil; for myself, I only seek death." He did not find it, but was soon after severely wounded, and carried off the field of battle in an insensible state. General Zimirski, who tried to regain the wood, soon after fell, desperately wounded; and Szachoffskoi, who had now effected his junction with the general-in-chief, succeeded in establishing himself in it in a durable manner. The Polish army, disheartened by the loss of its chiefs, now fell back on all sides, and took post under the cannon of Praga, still, however, maintaining an undaunted front, and without sustaining any loss in prisoners or cannon. Diebitch endeavoured to convert the retreat into a rout by a vigorous attack of cuirassiers in the centre, but it led to a signal disaster. The Russian horse, by a headlong charge, succeeded in forcing their way through the middle of the Polish line; but, pursuing their advantage too far, they came within the range of the batteries of Praga, which opened a tremendous fire upon them, and while recoiling in disorder from the terrific cannonade they were charged in flank by a brigade of Polish cavalry under General Kicki, and almost totally destroyed. The Polish generals, however, fearful of having the bridge of boats in their rear cut off by the swelling of the Vistula, retreated at night into Warsaw, leaving Praga occupied by a strong rearguard.

52. Such were the desperate battles of Grochow and Praga, which signalised the commencement of this terrible strife; and though they terminated, upon the whole, to the disadvantage of the Poles, since they were driven back into Warsaw, yet they conferred more honour on the vanquished than the victors, and presaged a frightful contest before the conflict could be terminated. The loss on the opposite

sides was nearly equal. The Poles were weakened by eight thousand men, the Russians by ten thousand. Few prisoners, and no guns or colours, were taken by either party, which, considering the prolonged and obstinate nature of the battles, sufficiently evinced the courage and resolution which had been displayed on both sides. The Poles might with reason attribute to themselves, upon the whole, the advantage, since, though driven from the open country, their army in unbroken strength still held the capital; the Vistula had not been passed at any point; Warsaw was not even invested; the *tête-de-pont* of Praga was still in their hands, which enabled them to debouch at pleasure on the right bank; and the first effort of a hundred thousand Russians had failed in crushing less than half that number of their opponents. On the other hand, though the Poles had inflicted a loss on their adversaries greater than they themselves had sustained, their own loss was the more sensibly felt, from the inferior strength of their army, and less considerable resources from which it might be recruited.

53. While these dreadful battles were signalising the commencement of the war on the Russian right and centre, a most brilliant success attended the opening of the campaign on the Polish right. There Dwernicki, who had crossed the Vistula on the ice at Mniszew with not more than two thousand eight hundred foot and horse and six guns, was left to make head against Geismar, who had nine thousand three hundred horse and forty-eight pieces of horse-artillery under his orders. It seemed scarcely possible for the weaker party, with such a disproportion, to avoid destruction; nevertheless, such was the talent of the Polish general, and the heroism of his followers, that he achieved the most brilliant success. Geismar's great superiority of numbers induced him to form the design of surrounding his opponent, and with this view he arranged his troops into two columns—the first of which, consisting of 4450 horse and

twenty-four guns, met Dwernicki near Sierocyn on the 13th February; while the second, of equal force, which was intended to attack the Poles in flank and rear, was sent round by a circuit, at such a distance as to be unable to lend aid to the first in a sudden fight; but as each column was of greater strength than the whole Poles, it was thought there was no danger in making the division. But Geismar little knew the quality of the troops with whom he had to deal; and Dwernicki, with the eye of a real general, instantly resolved to assume the offensive, and attack the one division before the other came up. Forming his horse, which consisted only of nine squadrons about one thousand strong, into two columns, he charged Geismar's men with the utmost vigour, who awaited the attack with their twenty-four guns advantageously placed in battery. Such was the prowess of the Polish horse, whose exploits rivalled those of the Paladins of former days, that both attacks proved entirely successful. In a few minutes the first column routed the cavalry opposed to it, and took three guns; while the second, disregarding the showers of grape which fell upon them, threw themselves on the guns, captured eight, and, passing through them, charged twelve Russian squadrons drawn up behind with such impetuosity that they were totally routed, and their commander slain by a sabre-stroke from Lieutenant Dunin, one of Dwernicki's aides-de-camp. Upon this the whole Russian division took to flight, leaving in the hands of the Poles eleven guns and three hundred and eighty prisoners, taken in fair fight, besides four hundred killed and wounded.

54. This brilliant success elevated the Poles as much as it depressed the Russians, and it would have been attended with the most important consequences had the Government of Warsaw possessed any reserve force to support it. But as Radziwil's army had been obliged to seek shelter behind the cannon of Praga, it was justly deemed too hazardous to allow Dwer-

nicki, with his little band of heroes, to maintain an isolated contest with the immense forces of the Muscovites on the right bank of the Vistula. Add to this, the Polish Government were alarmed by the progress of General Kreutz with four regiments of cavalry, who had crossed the river at Pulawy, and threatened to cut off the communication between Warsaw and Cracow. Dwernicki, accordingly, received orders immediately to recross the Vistula, which he did on the 17th at Gora. Two days after, he met the advanced-guard of Kreutz near Kozienice, which he defeated, and took four pieces of cannon; but having pursued their advantage too far, the Poles fell under the cross fire of some Russian guns, and were driven back with heavy loss. After this Dwernicki took post opposite Karczew, and hindered the left of the Russian main army from crossing the Vistula; and soon after turned against his old antagonist, Kreutz, whom he forced to recross the river, with the loss of two entire squadrons, which were made prisoners in the town of Pulawy. Such was the exaltation of the Polish cavalry and depression of the Russians at these repeated defeats, that Dwernicki, on the 3d March, again crossing the Vistula on the ice, attacked the Russians in position on the road leading to Kurow, totally defeated them, and drove them headlong through that town, taking four guns and three hundred men prisoners. Dwernicki, upon this, got the surname of the "Furnisher of Cannon" in the Polish army; and such was the terror which his hussars inspired in the enemy, that whole squadrons took to flight at the sight of a few Polish uniforms. Kreutz retreated with the utmost expedition, recrossed the Wieprz, and never rested till he got across the Bug; while Dwernicki, to whom the route of Zamosc was thus opened, reached that fortress, which he entered in triumph, and gave some rest to his heroic followers. His ranks were there rapidly recruited by volunteers, who flocked from all quarters to join his victorious standard; but they

did little more than compensate the losses by the cholera, the fatal bequest of the retreating Russians, which in a few weeks carried off five hundred men.

55. Although the Poles might well congratulate themselves upon these glorious actions, and derive confidence from the stand they had made in the commencement of the war against the gigantic forces of their opponents, yet alarm not the less prevailed in the capital, and the public voice loudly demanded a change in the direction of the armies. Though their courage had attracted the admiration of all Europe, and rendered abortive the first efforts of the enemy, yet they could not disguise from themselves that their situation was beset with dangers, and that a single false step on the part of their General might land them in destruction. Their forces had been driven back into Warsaw; the fire of Praga had alone repelled the enemy from the capital; and rumour, with its hundred tongues, had already spread abroad through Europe the report that it was taken, and all was lost. Radziwil's military talents had not proved equal to the emergency: during the battles of Grochow and Praga he had given scarce any orders, and the troops had obeyed the commands of Chlopicki and Skrzynecki, whose coolness and military talents, in spite of themselves, forced them to the lead. The former, desperately wounded, lay stretched on the bed of suffering. The command of the armies was accordingly taken from Radziwil, and unanimously bestowed by the Diet on Skrzynecki, whose exploits and military talents are long fully justified the choice.

56. Born in Galicia of parents in affluent circumstances, SKRZYNECKI received a liberal education, and he was introduced into the world under the auspices of the Czartoryski family. In 1809, when the war broke out between the French and Austrians, and Galicia was invaded by the Russian forces, he entered a regiment levied by Prince Constantine Czartoryski, and acquired, during the short campaign which followed, the reputation of a good infantry officer. Afterwards,

when the kingdom of Poland was re-established, he was promoted to the foot-guards of the Grand-duke Constantine, but having, like many others, fallen under the displeasure of that capricious tyrant, he was transferred to a regiment of the line; and being a sort of martyr, he immediately became popular with the army. After this he was for a time tinged with the mystical ideas of religion which, spreading from the Congregation in France, were, during the Restoration, so widely diffused over the higher classes in Europe. But this did not cause him to abandon his patriotic feelings; and during the trials in 1826 of the persons connected with the secret societies in Poland, he contributed not a little, by his energy and intelligence, to the acquittal of several of the accused. When the revolution broke out at Warsaw on the 29th November, he was in command of a regiment there, and was one of the first who joined the popular side. Though far from sanguine as to the issue of the contest, and by no means led away by the illusions which generally prevailed among the liberal enthusiasts on that subject, he actively contributed his part to the liberation of the country; and his military capacity and courage in danger at the battles of Grochow and Praga were such as clearly pointed him out for the situation of commander-in-chief, when the wound of Chlopicki disqualified him for further service in the field. He was at this time forty-five years of age; his figure was tall and countenance handsome, and his address and talent in conversation had already obtained for him much envied success in society. His ambition, like that of most eminent men, was great; but it was set on lofty things, and concealed from all but his most intimate friends under the charm of a polished and captivating manner.

57. The first care of Skrzynecki, on being elevated to the supreme command, was to endeavour to open a negotiation with Marshal Diebitch for the restoration of peace. It was soon found, however, that this attempt was

hopeless, as every similar one is with Russia when not preceded by defeat. The Russian commander had no power to treat, except on the terms of an unconditional surrender, and to those conditions the Poles could not for a moment be brought to listen. Both parties, therefore, made preparations for a renewal of the struggle; and the roads having become impassable in the two last weeks of March by the sudden thaw, both had a short leisure to complete these preparations. Diebitch spread his army out in extended cantonments, reaching over a breadth of eighty English miles, for the sake of provisions and lodgings for his numerous followers; and Skrzynecki made the utmost efforts to raise the spirits and increase the number and efficiency of his troops. The recruits were clothed, armed, and disciplined with the utmost diligence; the new intrenchments round Warsaw were pushed forward with all possible rapidity—the whole inhabitants, male and female, labouring night and day in the trenches; and the greatest efforts were made to provide the necessary supplies of ammunition for the troops. By these means, the chasms in the ranks occasioned by the battles of Grochow and Praga were rapidly filled up by ardent recruits; and the general-in-chief raised the enthusiasm to the highest pitch by a noble proclamation, in which he called upon them to conquer or die in defence of their country.*

58. Skrzynecki's plan of operations, which bore the signet-mark of genius, was to take advantage of his central position, protected by the fortifications of Warsaw, and fall with his concentrated forces upon Diebitch's men while still dispersed in their cantonments, and inflict upon them, by a

sudden irruption when unprepared, as great a loss as possible. The weight of the attack was to be directed towards Siedlece, in order to pierce the Russian centre and isolate their wings: after which he designed either to turn against their right near Ostrolenka, and, forcing it back, to reopen the communication with Lithuania, or to attack their left, and roll it up against the Vistula. At the same time, taking advantage of the consternation produced by the sudden attack in the centre, Dwernicki with his little band of heroes was to move rapidly into Volhynia, and rouse the insurrection in that province and Podolia, where a large body of insurgents, for the most part cavalry, awaited only their approach to join the national cause. Everything here depended upon the success of the first attack on the Russian centre by Skrzynecki in person; but the straggling positions of the Muscovites, and the vigour and secrecy of the Polish general, joined to the advantages of his central position, gave the prospect of decisive success in that quarter.

59. The forces with which the Polish general had to undertake these various operations, though not considerable, were yet nearly adequate to their accomplishment. The troops at his disposal amounted to 55,000 men, of whom 16,000 were cavalry, with 125 guns. The first division, under Rybinski, 9540 strong, with 18 guns; the second, under Gielgud, of 8288 men, with 18 guns; the third, under Malachowski, 11,096 bayonets, with 20 pieces of cannon; and the fourth of 7665 combatants, were under the immediate command of Skrzynecki in the centre, with Lubinski's and Skarzynski's cavalry, 7000 sabres. Umin-

* "Soldats! nous avons devant nous un ennemi fier de son bonheur, de ses forces, et du rang qu'il tient en Europe. Mais, s'il est formidable par sa puissance, les outrages dont il nous a accablés ont comblé la mesure, et le rend coupable aux yeux de Dieu et des hommes. Pleins de confiance désormais dans la sainteté de notre cause, et dans la Divine Providence, nous pouvons sans crainte nous mesurer avec lui. Jurons en notre âme et conscience que nous resterons fidèles à cette devise, '*Vaincre ou mourir pour la patrie!*'

et nous servirons d'exemple dans l'histoire du monde aux défenseurs des droits sacrés et inviolables des nations. Si la victoire ne doit pas couronner nos efforts, du moins nous ne vivrons pas pour nous soumettre à son joug odieux. C'est à cette gloire que je vous convie, et je vous assure la couronne du martyr, si ce ne sont des couronnes de lauriers, au bout de cette carrière héroïque et semée de dangers. Nous les gagnerons certainement, si vous me secondez par votre valeur et votre soumission. SKRZYNECKI."—ROM. SOLT., vol. ii. p. 24.

ski, with 5000 men, principally horse, was to advance up the right bank of the Narew towards Pultusk, to watch the movements of the Russian Guard, who were slowly approaching along the great road from Kowno, and protect the Polish left. Sierawiki and Pac, with about 15,000 new levies imperfectly organised, were to guard the left bank of the Vistula from Pulawy to Warsaw, and secure their right; while Dwernicki, with his 4200 sabres, was to advance from Zamosc into Volhynia. If the insurrection in these provinces could acquire consistency before the Muscovite legions were upon them, the Poles had every chance of success; but the risk was very great that they would be cut to pieces before they were either disciplined or equipped as real soldiers. Everything depended, in the first instance, on the vigour and secrecy of Skrzynecki's blows in the centre, which were to be struck with not more than 47,000 combatants against not less than 80,000; and this great inequality could be overcome only by the skilful use of a central position, and superior rapidity of concentration.

60. Skrzynecki's measures were taken with equal ability and secrecy; and so far was Diebitch from anticipating them that he was at this very time concentrating the bulk of his troops, to the number of 42,000, on his own extreme left, between Siennica and the junction of the Wieprz and Vistula, in order to cross the latter stream; and had detached 13,000 under Kreutz to Lublin; whilst he had left only about 20,000 men in his centre under Geismar and Rosen. At midnight, on the 30th March, Skrzynecki set out from Warsaw at the head of the divisions Rybinski, Malachowski, and Gielgud, and in the utmost silence crossed the bridge of the Vistula, which, with the roads for a little distance beyond it, had been laid with straw. With such skill was the movement conducted, that the Russians were in total ignorance of what was going forward, and the Polish advanced-guard, favoured by a thick fog, was upon them before they were aware that it had

crossed the Vistula. The surprise was complete, the success beyond all hopes great. Geismar's corps, which was the first to be reached, was suddenly assailed when the men were for the most part asleep, and almost entirely destroyed. The few that escaped endeavoured to rally on the corps of Rosen, which was in battle array at Dembewielkie, sixteen miles from Warsaw. The position of the Russians was strong, the left being covered by the marshy banks of a stream which flows into the Vistula, their centre protected by thick brushwood, and their right by a wood. The approach to the position was rendered extremely difficult by the spongy nature of the ground, which was all but impassable for artillery.

61. Vain, however, were all these advantages of position against the heroic valour of the Poles. Part of Malachowski's division advanced on the right of the *chaussée*, supported by Skarzynski's horse; while Gielgud's division, and the remainder of Malachowski's, operated on the left. The Russians at first made a stout resistance; the fire, especially of artillery, was soon warm along the whole line; and the contest was prolonged the more that the extreme wetness of the ground almost everywhere prevented the Polish cavalry from charging. The battle continued, with various success, and great loss on both sides, till the evening; but at seven o'clock a brigade of Skarzynski's horse, by a vigorous charge, carried the village of Dembe, broke the enemy's centre, and took nine pieces of cannon. Upon this the whole of Rosen's corps took to flight, and nothing but the darkness of the night, and the extreme exhaustion of the Polish troops, who had marched and fought since the preceding midnight, saved any part of them from destruction. As it was, the Poles took six thousand prisoners, besides inflicting an equal loss in killed and wounded on the enemy, who dispersed in all directions, no longer preserving even the appearance of an army. Such of them as could be reached by the Polish horse surrendered without resistance;

the peasants brought in great numbers who were straggling in the woods; and such was the consternation of the Muscovites, that next morning the extraordinary spectacle was exhibited of two peasants, without arms, bringing to the Polish headquarters twelve Russian soldiers, whom they allowed to carry their muskets, to avoid the trouble of taking them from them!

62. The extreme fatigue of the troops prevented Skrzynecki from continuing the pursuit far on the 31st; but at day-break on the 1st April it was resumed by Lubienski, with his brigade of cavalry, who, having now got on the highway, pushed on with the utmost vigour, and rendered it totally impossible for the Russians to rally at any point. At the head of his lancers he passed in full trot through the towns of Minsk and Kaluckzyn, amidst the loud cheers of the inhabitants, and, without ever drawing bridle, pushed on above twenty miles, collecting prisoners at every step. So great was the consternation of the Russians, that whole battalions threw down their arms and surrendered at the sight of the Polish advanced squadron. Before he halted for the night he had made six thousand additional prisoners, which was the more important as the greater part of them were Lithuanians, four thousand of whom entered the Polish ranks. Altogether the Poles in these two days made twelve thousand prisoners, besides six thousand of the enemy killed or wounded, and twelve guns taken,—a victory about as great as that which, thirty years before, had broken the strength of Austria in the forest of Hohenlinden.

63. After this terrible disaster, Rosen retired with the few remains of his troops to Siedlece, and Skrzynecki advanced his headquarters to Kaluckzyn, where he was joined two days after by General Milberg with the fourth division, seven thousand strong, which much more than repaid the losses of the preceding actions. A great career now awaited the Polish commander, and he was strongly urged by his generals to adopt it. This was, to draw together all his disposable

troops, which would have amounted to full forty thousand men, attack the enemy in Lukow; and, after taking it, advance and assail the rear of the main body, above forty thousand strong, commanded by Diebitch in person, which, shut in between the Wieprz, the Vistula, and the Polish army, would have been in the most perilous situation. A council of war was held on the subject. "I have completely beaten," said Skrzynecki, "a part of the Russian army; I have got the command of the centre of operations, and it is in my power either to push forward my left, pass the Bug at Nur, and attack the Russian guard which is opposed to it; or turn to my right and take Diebitch in flank, who has not had time to collect the troops cantoned between the Vistula and the Wieprz. But the roads are impracticable for artillery; my information on that subject is positive: I am chained to the great road of Siedlece; I cannot profit by my victory."

64. The other generals did not estimate so strongly the difficulties of an immediate advance either to the right or left. "We cannot," said Prondzynski, "it is true, carry with us our guns, but the Russians are in the same situation; they have the same difficulties to contend with that we have. If we cannot drag forward our cannon, they cannot take theirs away, or bring them up to the front; our relative position is unchanged: let us then instantly advance; let us take advantage of the consternation into which the enemy has been thrown. We shall meet them with the ascendant of victory, and fortune will crown our efforts." Had Skrzynecki been supported by the resources of the French Republic, or even had the despotic authority which Napoleon wielded in Italy, he would probably have followed this bold advice, and possibly success as decisive might have attended his efforts as had done those of that great commander in Lombardy in 1796. But he had no reserves behind him; his army was the last hope of Poland; a single reverse might at once prove fatal; and he with reason feared that,

if he pushed farther forward on the great road without having his flank secured, Diebitch would collect his troops and cut off his communication with Warsaw by occupying Minsk or Dembe in his rear. Roman Soltyk strongly urged an immediate advance to Siedlece, where the Russian grand park of artillery was placed, and which would fall an easy prey, as it was not defended by more than ten thousand men; adding that this would be sure to draw on Diebitch, and expose him to a flank attack while striving to cut off the Polish communications. But this step was deemed by Skrzynecki too hazardous, and without moving further forward, or advancing to Siedlece, he remained inactive on the great road, though Uminski with his division of cavalry, coming up from the banks of the Narew, joined him in the night between the 3d and 4th April.

65. At length, having drawn together every disposable sabre and bayonet, protected his left flank by moving Uminski to Liw on the Liwiec, and adequately secured his rear, Skrzynecki determined on a forward movement, and for this purpose advanced with twenty-five thousand of his best troops against Rosen, who, having been reinforced by a division of Pahlen's corps and one of lancers, was in position with an equal force on the Kostrzyn, covering the approach to Siedlece. The Polish plan of attack, which was very ably combined, was as follows: Prondzynski was to march by Jerusalem, Wodynie, and Domanicie with nine thousand men, so as to turn Rosen's left, while Skrzynecki himself with eleven thousand assailed him by the highroad in front, and Chrzanowski was to advance with five thousand men to Stoezek, so as to threaten Diebitch in person, and lead him to suppose the attack was to be directed against him, and prevent him from sending succours to his menaced lieutenant. If these attacks succeeded, Rosen would be thrown back on the Liwiec, a river flowing through marshy beds, and overwhelmed at the crossing of the bridge of Iganie. Had these plans been carried out as pro-

posed, beyond all doubt Rosen's corps would have been totally destroyed. But by one of those chances so common in war, he had withdrawn the bulk of his forces from their position on the Kostrzyn before the attack was made upon the 10th April, and half of them had defiled in retreat over the bridge of Iganie before Prondzynski was upon them. That general, too, had only six thousand men in hand when he commenced the attack on fifteen thousand, and Skrzynecki was not yet come up. Thus his position was critical, but such was the valour of the Poles that they overcame all opposition. Putting themselves at the head of their troops, the Polish chiefs advanced courageously against the enemy, of nearly double their strength, with twenty-four guns placed in battery. So disheartened were the Russians by their previous defeats that they made very little resistance, but fled tumultuously to the bridge, abandoning half of their guns and fifteen hundred prisoners to the victorious Poles. This success was the more remarkable that the troops thus defeated were the *élite* of Pahlen's veterans; and the old soldiers, in shame after their defeat, and indignant at their officers, who gave the first example of flight, tore their eagles from their shakos and trampled them under their feet.

66. Siedlece was now open, and must, with the park of artillery placed in it, have fallen into Skrzynecki's hands had he immediately advanced against it; but he was prevented from doing so by the dread of bringing the cholera into his army, which was raging in the Russian hospitals at that place. Vain precaution! The Poles took the contagion from the Muscovite prisoners taken at the bridge of Iganie, and it soon made as great ravages in their ranks as in those of their opponents. This misfortune for some days arrested Skrzynecki's advance; and the Russians, seeing they were not pursued, remeasured their steps, and advanced a body of twelve thousand men against Uminski, who had crossed the Liwiec near Liw with

only six thousand. Notwithstanding the most heroic efforts on the part of the Poles they were overwhelmed by numbers, and driven back over the river with the loss of five hundred men, though not before they had inflicted a loss of double that amount upon the enemy. This check, however, terminated Skrzynecki's offensive operations in the centre at this time. He drew back his outposts to the left bank of the Kostryzn; while Diebitch, who had shown great indecision in the crisis, and was far from having sustained the reputation of the "Passer of the Balkan," was too happy to let him rest for a short time while he reorganised his own shattered columns and concentrated them on his centre, between Siedlece and the Kostryzn.

67. During these brilliant operations in the centre, the right wing of the Poles, under Pac and Sierawiki, was ordered to cross the Vistula and advance—the former so as to cover Skrzynecki's right flank, the latter against General Kreutz, who was at Lublin, with twelve thousand Russians, observing Dwernicki, who was at Zamose, ready to throw himself into Volhynia, and stir up an insurrection in that province. Pac, with 9000 men, crossed near Ossiek and advanced to Stozek, near Latowicz, where he took post. Sierawiki, with 6000, passed the river at Jozefow, and advanced cautiously against Kreutz, of the amount of whose forces he was ignorant. Unfortunately, the Polish general, when with his cavalry in part detached, came upon Kreutz, who lay near Belzyec, in a strong position at the entrance of a forest, with twenty-four guns. The forces on the opposite sides were too unequal to admit of success; but as his orders from Skrzynecki were positive to engage the enemy, the brave Pole stood fast at Wronow and offered battle. He had only six thousand men, entirely new levies, and six guns, all of light calibre; but nevertheless they made so vigorous a fight, that, though the Russians at last carried the position, they were unable to follow up their advantage, or make any prisoners. Next day he retired to

Kazmierz, on the banks of the Vistula, and there was again assailed by the Russians. Notwithstanding the immense disparity of force, the Poles made a gallant resistance, but at length were driven across the river with the loss of fifteen hundred men in killed and wounded.

68. This misfortune drew after it another still more considerable. Dwernicki, who was to have been supported by Sierawiki, advanced in the first week of April into Volhynia with his active and intrepid squadrons, and at first with signal success. He had only one thousand three hundred infantry, and two thousand seven hundred horse, with twelve pieces of light horse-artillery. With these inconsiderable forces he crossed the Bug at Krilow on the 10th April, and marched against the Russian general Rudiger, who had thirteen thousand troops under his orders, and was to be supported by Roth, with twelve thousand more. Dwernicki's reliance to combat forces so immense was on the insurrection which was ready to break out in Volhynia, and the aid he would derive from the admirable light-horse of the steppes, and the skilful marksmen of the forests, of whom twelve thousand were expected to be in arms as soon as the Polish uniforms were seen amongst them. He defeated a Russian detachment which tried to oppose his passage, and addressed an animated proclamation to the Volhynians, in which, referring with just exultation to the victory of Dembe, he called on them "now or never" to combat for their ancient liberties.* Few, however, at first answered the appeal; they knew too well the forces of the Russians, who had been long quartered amongst

* "Nous avons déjà avec l'aide de Dieu battu les ennemis sur votre propre territoire; le régiment de dragons Russes de Kargopol a été presque entièrement détruit, et moitié de ses soldats sont nos prisonniers. Confians dans la sainteté de notre cause, levez-vous simultanément: les Polonais et les Lithuaniens combattent en ce moment les Moscovites et remportent des victoires. Je vous apporte la nationalité et vos anciennes libertés.

"A PRÉSENT OU JAMAIS."

—ROMAN SOLTYSK, ii. 105.

them. Ignorant of the small number of his opponents, whom he estimated at twelve thousand men, Rudiger retired before the Poles, and several skirmishes ensued entirely to their advantage; but at length, having learned that they were only two thousand three hundred horse and one thousand foot, he turned about and attacked them on the 18th with all his forces at Boromel on the Styr. Despite their inferior numbers, Dwernicki's hussars made several successful charges, took eight pieces of cannon and eight hundred prisoners, and succeeded in maintaining their position behind that river until night against the Russians, four times their number. Next day Dwernicki advanced towards Podolia, and on the 23d reached Kolodno; but there he was beset by Rudiger on one side, and Krasucki, with part of Roth's corps, on the other. Thus pressed by forces nine times his own, the brave Polish general had no alternative but to cross the Austrian frontier and enter Galicia, where his men were immediately disarmed, and conducted into the interior. But so little zealous was the Austrian Government at this time in favour of Russia, that they were negligently guarded, and almost all, though without arms, regained the standards of independence.

69. Although it terminated in this manner in disaster, the intelligence of the irruption of Dwernicki and his early successes roused a formidable insurrection in Podolia, the southern parts of Volhynia, and the Ukraine. The inhabitants of those immense plains, trusting, like the Scythians of old, in the fleetness of their horses, and the ease with which they could escape in the boundless solitude of the steppes, eagerly hoisted the standard of independence. The insurrection was commenced before it was ready in other quarters by the brothers Sobanski, who took the field at the head of 250 horse; and their followers soon swelled to 2000 cavalry and 500 excellent chasseurs under Kolysko. With this small band they advanced against the city of Kiow, containing 80,000 inhabitants, where they would have

found ample supplies of all sorts, closely followed by 4000 men of Roth's division. The Polish rear-guard faced about, and by a headlong charge routed the Russian horse; but, following up their advantage with the ardour of young troops, they came on the enemy's infantry and artillery, by whom they were repulsed with great slaughter, and forced to retreat. This disaster had a ruinous effect on the insurrection. Tracked by a host of enemies, displaying in many detached actions all the valour of their chivalrous ancestors, and defeated only by forces four times their numbers, their loss was great at every step; and at length, after performing prodigies of valour, this little band of heroes, now reduced to 700 men, was obliged to cross the Austrian frontier, and take refuge in Galicia, where they were immediately disarmed.

70. While those calamitous events were extinguishing the last hopes of national existence in the southern provinces, the two grand armies in the centre remained in a state of inaction. Diebitch was awaiting reinforcements to supply the immense chasms made in his ranks; and Skrzynecki, although his forces, including Pac's division, were about 57,000 men, did not deem it expedient to resume the offensive. Poland has since had abundant reason to regret that inaction, for so favourable an opportunity of striking a decisive blow never again occurred, the two armies being of nearly equal strength, and the Poles exalted by victory, while the Russians were depressed by defeat. At length, yielding to the solicitations of the patriots in Lithuania, who were eagerly requesting a body of regular troops to enable them to commence their insurrection, he sent two detachments of troops, under Lowinski and Jankowski, to endeavour to penetrate into Russian Poland, but they were both met by superior bodies of Russians, and obliged to retreat. Nevertheless the insurrection, headed by some brave partisans, broke out in that province, and gave the Muscovites great uneasiness, as it lay directly on their line

of operations. At length Diebitch, having been largely reinforced, resumed the offensive, and advanced with 40,000 men to Jerusalem, so as to menace Skrzynecki's right flank, while 15,000 marched on Kaluckzyn against his front. The Polish commander, instead of attacking him, fell back on his approach, anticipating what soon happened, that want of supplies, and the wasted state of the country, would speedily compel him to retreat. On the 28th the Russians were again in Minsk, but they remained there only a few days, and then retired to their old position between the Kostrzyn and Siedlece, while the Poles again resumed the ground in their front.

71. Having been informed of the first successes of Dwernicki in Volhynia, and not yet apprised of his ultimate disasters, Skrzynecki resolved to support him by a division of his best troops. With this view he detached Chrzanowski with six thousand three hundred men, with orders to advance upon Lublin, attack Krentz, and march by Zamosc into Volhynia. The Polish general, in the first instance, gained several advantages in detached combats, in one of which, near Lubartow, he made eight hundred prisoners. But Krentz, having collected his forces, attacked him with greatly superior numbers on the day following, and after an obstinate conflict, in which the Poles displayed the most heroic valour, they were obliged to retire with considerable loss. They made good their passage, however, to Zamosc, which they reached on the 14th May, from whence Chrzanowski made various excursions into Volhynia, which had no decisive result, as the defeat of Dwernicki had extinguished all the hopes of the insurgents in that quarter.

72. While these operations were taking place on the right, Skrzynecki was engaged in a movement ably conceived, and which was likely to be attended with the most important results. His object was to force back the Russian right, consisting of the corps of Guards, which was posted be-

tween the Narew and the Bug, from Ostrolenka on the former to Ostrow in the direction of the latter river, and thereby open the communication with Lithuania, where the insurrection was making considerable progress, and which he intended to support by a partisan corps one thousand strong, under Chlapowski. This project was not without its dangers, as it left Warsaw nearly uncovered; but the prospect of rousing the great strength of Lithuania for the national cause, and the paramount necessity of moving the seat of war out of the Polish territory, which was wellnigh exhausted, rendered it advisable to run the risk. In effect, though with severe loss to the Poles, it in the main succeeded. The Polish army, forty-six thousand strong, with one hundred guns, broke up on the 12th May from their position on the Kostrzyn, and advanced against the Russian Guards, who were cantoned between OSTROLENKA and Ostrow, hoping to overwhelm them before the remainder of Diebitch's corps could come up to their relief. Uminski, with six thousand men, was left to make head against Diebitch, who, little suspecting what was going on on his right, advanced with twenty-four thousand men against him, expecting to encounter the bulk of Skrzynecki's army, but subsequently fell back to his old position without having discovered his adversary's absence. Finding that the Guards were unconscious of his approach, Skrzynecki, on reaching Sierock, which he did on the 14th, divided his troops into three columns, and advanced to the attack on the following day. One, four thousand strong, under Dembinski, ascended the right bank of the Narew against Ostrolenka, which it occupied on the 18th without much resistance. A second of ten thousand, under Lubieniski, moved up the right bank of the Bug to Nur, to watch Diebitch; while Skrzynecki with the third, forming his main body, thirty-two thousand in number, marched straight on Dugliesiodlo in the centre. The Russians, though they embraced the élite of the Guards, did not venture to await the

attack. Their advanced-guard was driven from Duglie-Siodlo after a smart skirmish on the 16th, and fell back to Xienzopol, where the whole corps was concentrated on the 17th, and where it remained for the following day, Skrzynecki refraining from attacking them until assured of the capture of Ostrolenka on his left. On the 19th, however, they retired towards Bialystok, closely followed by Skrzynecki, who on the 21st attacked and defeated their rear-guard with great slaughter at Tykoczyn, which fell into his hands. By this advance the Russian right was so far driven back that the road to Lithuania was thrown open, and Chlapowski, with his partisan corps, was immediately pushed forward into that province.

73. So far great success had attended this bold and well-conceived movement of Skrzynecki, and in its main object—that of opening up a communication with, and throwing succours into, Lithuania—it may be said it had answered every expectation. But the difficulty was for the Polish army to get back and regain its communications with Warsaw after having gained this advantage. Diebitch resolved to concentrate his forces and attack them, as he had done the Turks at Kouleftcha, when striving to regain their stronghold in Schumla two years before. With this view, having drawn together all his disposable troops, amounting to sixty-five thousand men, he marched against Skrzynecki—who, after the detachments he had made, could not collect above forty thousand—crossed the Bug at Granne, nearly enveloped Lubienski at Nur, who fell back in haste on the main army; united at Wysoki on the 24th with the Guard, and on the 25th advanced straight on Ostrolenka. Fearful of being assailed in flank by this superior force, Skrzynecki rapidly retired and crossed the Narew at Ostrolenka with the greater part of his forces. But the advance of Diebitch had been so swift that it had in a manner cut the Polish army in two. The divisions of Gielgud and Lubienski, the former of which had been left at Lomza, while the latter

now formed the rear-guard, were separated by the Narew from the remainder of the army behind Ostrolenka. Having, by a night-march between the 25th and 26th, come close up to the last-named division, which was by no means aware of his approach, Diebitch commenced a vigorous attack on Lubienski with forces four times his own. Only two bridges were in the hands of the Poles to effect their retreat over the Narew, and if Diebitch's attack had been as vigorous as his night-march had been rapid, Lubienski's division would have been totally destroyed. But so completely had the Polish victories disconcerted the Russian commanders, that they attacked with so little vigour as gave Pac time to recross the Narew, and issue from Ostrolenka to his support.

74. This brought on a general battle. Lubienski, seeing his communications so seriously threatened, and that certain destruction awaited him if his retreat were turned into a rout, made the most vigorous efforts to keep his ground. He was long seconded by the steady valour of his troops, but at length they were overwhelmed by numbers and driven back in disorder through Ostrolenka to the bridges over the Narew, which the Russians passed *pêle-mêle* with the last of the fugitives. The bulk of Lubienski's and Pac's men got safely over, and drew up in two lines in good order on the right bank of the river. The Russians, however, crossed rapidly over, and supported the passage by two powerful batteries, one of thirty-four and another of thirty-six guns, on the left bank of the stream, which thundered with terrible effect on the Polish lines on the opposite side. The moment was to the last degree critical; for if the Russians succeeded in establishing themselves *à cheval* on the river at Ostrolenka, the Polish army was cut in two, and Gielgud's division, which was still on the right bank, in all probability would be destroyed. The surprise was complete. Skrzynecki only reckoned on a warm affair of the rear-guard when crossing the river, and now he had the bulk of the Russian army upon his hands.

75. Though taken unawares in this manner, the Polish general did all that skill and courage could effect to repair the check which had been sustained. Both parties brought up fresh forces every minute, and the field of battle, which was extremely narrow, was speedily crowded with combatants; the Poles straining every nerve to drive back the Russians to the left bank, the Russians to make good the footing they had got on the right. The Polish artillery consisted only of twelve pieces, which were quickly dismounted and silenced; while dense masses of Russians, soon wholly unopposed by artillery, crowded down to the water's edge. In despair, Langerman made a gallant charge with the bayonet, which checked the enemy, and two battalions laid down their arms; but the Poles were unable to collect the prisoners for want of cavalry, and they all escaped. Skrzynecki, who arrived on the field of battle at eleven o'clock, made the most incessant efforts to prevent the enemy from extending themselves on the right. Wherever danger was greatest he was to be seen, animating the troops by his voice and example; his clothes were pierced with balls, and nearly all his aides-de-camp were killed or wounded. The Polish artillery of Col. Bern, which was at last brought up, replied with effect to the enemy's batteries, and made deep chasms in his ranks. Towards evening the fire slackened on both sides, owing to want of ammunition and the fatigue of the combatants; and at nightfall the Russians withdrew the bulk of their forces to the left bank of the river, leaving only strong detachments to guard the *têtes-de-pont* on the right.

76. In this terrible battle, in which both parties displayed the most heroic valour, the Poles lost seven thousand men killed and wounded, including Generals Kieki and Kaminsky, who fell gloriously on the field. The Russian loss was not less than ten thousand men, owing to the dense masses in which they fought, and the unerring precision with which the Polish balls fell on their crowded ranks. Yet, although their loss was considerably

greater than that of their opponents, and the Russians withdrew from the most obstinately contested part of the field, the battle was attended, to the Poles, with the consequences of the most serious defeat. Seven thousand men to them was a much greater loss than ten thousand to the Russians; and they found themselves entirely cut off from the division of General Gielgud, eight thousand strong, which was lost to the grand army, and abandoned to a doubtful fate in the forests of Lithuania. So strongly did these circumstances present themselves to the minds of the generals, who assembled in a council of war next day, that, with the exception of Skrzynecki, who resolutely maintained they should keep their ground, they all counselled a retreat. The opinion of the majority prevailed, and the army retired leisurely by Pultusk to Praga, without being disquieted in their retreat. But they were permanently severed from the division of Gielgud, who possibly might, by a prolonged stay at Ostrolenka, have been enabled, by a circuitous march, to rejoin the army.

77. Diebitch did not long enjoy the gleam of success which closed his long and honourable career. He had been severely chagrined at the previous disasters which his troops had undergone, and which had excited great irritation in the breast of the Emperor, who had resolved on his dismissal. The knowledge of this preyed upon his mind, and he sought a momentary relief in the immoderate use of ardent spirits, to which he was unhappily at all times too much addicted. The consequence was, that he became predisposed to the cholera, which at that time was raging in both armies. He died of that pestilence suddenly at Pultusk, on the 10th June, and this was followed a few weeks afterwards by the death of the Grand-duke Constantine, who expired at Witepsk, in the arms of his beloved wife, for whom he had sacrificed the throne of Russia. The sudden death, at the same time, of the two men who had borne the most prominent parts in the war in Poland, naturally led to a suspicion of poison or suicide; but

there appears nothing to justify this surmise, and the termination of the lives of both is sufficiently accounted for by the pestilence which at that time prevailed with so much violence in Poland, and the disasters which, by their depressing influence, had so much predisposed both to receive it.

78. After the battle of Ostrolenka, the two principal armies remained nearly a month in a state of inaction. Both parties had suffered too much to admit of hostilities being speedily resumed by either. Skrzynecki lay under cover of the cannon of Praga, recruiting his shattered ranks, and incorporating with them the new levies; while the Russian army, which, after Diebitch's death, was intrusted to the skilful hands of Paskiewitch, was engaged in reorganising its divisions, and receiving reinforcements from the interior. The retreat of the chief army to the neighbourhood of Warsaw, however, and the knowledge of the severance of Gielgud's division, and the suppression of the insurrection in Volhynia, spread a great gloom in the capital, which was the more felt that it immediately succeeded the joyous anticipations which had been indulged in on Skrzynecki's former victories. This was sensibly increased by the hostile attitude of Austria and Prussia, which was daily inclining more from professed neutrality to open adhesion to Russia, and the certainty that no effective support was to be expected from the distant Cabinets of London and Paris. So strongly did these feelings prevail in Warsaw, that it soon became evident that a political crisis was at hand. With the sovereign multitude continued success is as essential to the continuance of power as with the sovereign despot: the disaster of Ostrolenka presaged the fall of Skrzynecki as much as the rout of Dembe did that of Diebitch. The clubs were soon reopened, and resounded with violent declamations; the cry of "Treason!" was heard in the streets; an effort was made in the Diet to deprive the dictator of the command; and although the constitutional party succeeded in maintaining him in power,

yet his authority was violently shaken, and it was evident that the next misfortune would overturn it altogether.

79. Such a disaster was not long of occurring, and it was felt the more sensibly that it occurred in the quarter where the most sanguine hopes had been entertained of decisive success. Chlapowski and Gielgud having been, by the retreat of the Russians from Ostrolenka, entirely cut off from the main army, had no alternative but to throw themselves into Lithuania, and endeavour to find support in the insurrection in that province. At first their advance was attended by surprising success. Immediately after Skrzynecki's movement on Tykoczyn, Chlapowski had crossed the Niemen at Mosty, entered the country, and advanced to Zyznory. Some thousand insurgents at once joined the Polish standard; but they were ill armed, destitute of cannon or magazines, and very imperfectly disciplined, and were repeatedly defeated by the Russians in detached bodies. Such, however, was the spirit of the country, that they continued the contest under every disadvantage, seeking shelter in the forests when defeated, and again rejoining their standards when the danger had passed away. No less than three hundred and forty young men from the university of Wilna had joined their ranks, and twelve hundred under Prince Oginski, and the conflict was still going on in the very centre of the country. Chlapowski, at the time of the battle of Ostrolenka, was at the head of seven thousand men, in which a heroine, Mademoiselle Plater, held a command. Gielgud, when that fatal event severed him from all communication with headquarters, took the bold resolution of throwing himself at once into Lithuania. Setting off from Lomza he encountered at Raygrod General Sakien, who with four thousand men endeavoured to bar his progress. Defeating him with great loss, he passed the Niemen at Gielgudyszki and formed a junction with Chlapowski at Zeymy. With their united forces, twelve thousand strong, with twenty-four guns, they marched

through the heart of Lithuania upon Wilna. A powerful and enthusiastic party only waited their arrival to join the insurrection. This forward movement roused the whole country. Eleven thousand Lithuanians flocked to the Polish standards, but there was no time to organise or arm them before the contest was decided under the walls of the capital.

80. The Russians, who were seriously alarmed at the progress of the insurrection in their own dominions, had made the greatest efforts to strengthen themselves in Wilna. They had collected there twenty-one thousand men, eighteen thousand of whom occupied an intrenched camp under General Kreutz in front of the town, while three thousand were kept in reserve within its walls to overawe the discontented, who, on the first reverse, were ready to break out into insurrection. The Polish generals had only fourteen thousand, of whom not more than one-half were old troops fit to engage in a regular combat, and, what was even worse, they had little confidence in Gielgud, who had the chief command. Dembinski, with four thousand more, was at a distance on the opposite (right) bank of the Wilia river, and took no part in the conflict. Zalewski, who commanded the Polish right, defeated the Russian left opposed to him; but Gielgud was repulsed in the centre, his guns were dismounted by the superior fire of the Russian artillery, and in the end the Poles were obliged to retreat with the loss of a thousand men. This check, as is generally the case in wars of invasion and insurrection, proved fatal to the Polish cause in Lithuania. Zalewski, who remained last on the field of battle, was cut off from Gielgud, and driven to Merez, where he passed the Niemen, and sought refuge in the forests of the palatinate of Augustow. Gielgud himself, whose forces were weakened at every step by the desertion of the Lithuanian levies, who despaired of the cause, retreated with the troops which still remained with him across the Wilia, through Samogitia, towards the Polish frontier, leaving Dembinski and Zalewski to

their fate. He was vigorously pursued by Kreutz, and nothing but disaster attended his retreat. Repulsed in an assault on Szawle, the Polish division rapidly melted away, and at length, tracked by different corps of Russians, it was compelled to take refuge in the Prussian territory, where the men were immediately disarmed. Such was the indignation of the Polish officers at this catastrophe, that one of them, named Skalski, dashed out of the ranks mounted on a fiery steed, and, galloping up to Gielgud, discharged a pistol at his breast. The unfortunate general instantly fell, and died a few minutes after, protesting with his last breath his fidelity to his country. The event proved that he had been the victim of unmerited vengeance; for Roland's corps, to which the assassin belonged, was a few days after obliged to follow his example, and take refuge in the Prussian territory, where it also was disarmed. More fortunate than either, Dembinski, who had rejoined Gielgud before the attack on Szawle, and again separated from him after that disaster, held to the south, and conducted his retreat with such skill, that, passing between all the divisions of the Russian grand army, stationed to intercept him, he made his entry into Warsaw on the 3d August, amidst the enthusiastic cheers of the inhabitants. Sixty thousand persons went out to meet him; the crowd pressed round his horse, embraced and kissed his feet, imploring on him the blessing of Heaven. They might well be proud of their hero. He had marched five hundred and fifty miles in twenty-five days, crossed ten rivers, and brought his corps intact through a host of enemies to Warsaw. The annals of war do not record a more memorable exploit.

81. The disastrous issue of these attempts to spread the insurrection in Volhynia and Lithuania, and the irreparable loss of nearly twenty thousand men to the grand army with which they were attended, were fatal to all the hopes of Polish independence. Nothing remained to its supporters but, like Cæsar, to meet their fate with re-

solution, and fall with honour. Yet such was the valour and constancy of the Poles, that they continued for above a month longer, with heroic courage, a contest which all the world saw had now become hopeless. Paskiewitch, who was a man of true military genius, as his brilliant campaigns in Asia Minor demonstrated, resolved to adopt an entirely different plan of operations from that which had proved so unfortunate under the direction of his predecessor. Instead of advancing, as Diebitch had done, by Siedlece, or following the direct road by Ostrolenka and Pultusk to the capital, where he would have the Polish army, backed by the formidable fortifications of Praga, to encounter, and a country utterly wasted to rely on for supplies, he resolved to cross the Vistula below Warsaw, and carry the war into the hitherto untouched country on the left bank, between that river and the Prussian frontier. In doing so, it is true, he entirely abandoned his base of operations, and lost all his communications with Lithuania and Russia. But diplomacy had secured for him a new base, even superior in utility and convenience to that which was relinquished. Prussia, which had so often played a submissive and discreditable part on various crises of European history, had now become the entire vassal of Russia. Despite the remonstrances of England and France, which were vigorously exerted to retain the Cabinet of Berlin in the path of real neutrality, the Prussian Government openly, and in the most efficient manner, espoused the cause of Russia. Vessels laden with provisions, stores, and munitions of war, landed their cargoes at Dantzie, from whence they were forwarded forthwith to the Russian headquarters; and the frontier was everywhere crossed by convoys of every sort from the Prussian territory. Time will show whether, in so doing, that country has not put the seal to her own ultimate subjugation.

82. Secure of the inestimable advantage of this base of operations on the left bank of the Vistula, Paskiewitch assembled the bulk of his forces, sixty thousand strong, with three hun-

dred pieces of cannon, at Pultusk, in the end of June; while Golowin and Rudiger, with twenty-three thousand men, were in reserve behind the Bug and the Wieprz. Skrzynecki in vain endeavoured to bring the Prussian Government back to a system of neutrality. The efforts of Count Flahault, who supported him on the part of the French Government, were equally ineffectual. The answer of the Cabinet of Berlin was, that it had never professed to be *neutral*, but only *inactive*. Finding themselves assailed by such immense forces, to which Skrzynecki had not at the moment twenty-five thousand in hand to oppose, the Polish Government ordered the *pospolite ruszenie*, or *levée-en-masse*, to be called out to aid in strengthening the defences of the capital; and the whole inhabitants worked night and day with incredible diligence at the fortifications. An energetic proclamation was published by the Government, which began with these words: "In the name of God; in the name of the liberty of the nation, now placed between life and death; in the name of its kings and heroes, who have combated in former days for its religion and independence; in the name of justice and of the deliverance of Europe, we call on all classes to come forward to defend their country." All nobly met the appeal. The nobles and senators who were absent all flocked to Warsaw to share the danger, and, if necessary, die on their curule chairs; the most energetic measures which the public defence required were adopted by the Government; and the interest excited in the adjoining states was so warm that no less than two-and-twenty counties in Hungary presented petitions to the Emperor of Austria, praying him to intervene by force of arms for the support of Poland.

83. Paskiewitch broke up from Pultusk on the 4th July, directing his steps, not to Warsaw, but to Plock on the Vistula. He made a circuit round Modlin, where Skrzynecki had established himself with twenty-one thousand men, which, with the garrison of that fortress, brought his forces up to

thirty thousand combatants. The Polish troops, however, were much depressed by their numerous defeats, and far from exhibiting the spirit or discipline they had shown at Grochow and Dembe. The general, in consequence, did not venture to measure himself in the open field with an enemy more than double his strength, led by a consummate leader. He remained, wisely, under the cannon of Modlin; and meanwhile the Russian general advanced by Plock to Osiek on the Vistula, where the materials of a bridge had been prepared by the Prussian Government. It was quickly thrown across, and the army passed over. By the 3d August it was concentrated at the important point of Lowiez, on the Bzura. Skrzynecki meanwhile quitted Modlin, and, after clearing his rear by driving back Golin's corps beyond Siedlece, marched to Warsaw. Collecting there 49,000 men, he set out on the 3d August, and advanced by Sochazew to Bolimow; where he took a position, on the 5th, barring the further advance of the Russians from the Bzura to the Polish capital. Paskiewitch now drew the corps of Rudiger from Volhynia, which crossed the Vistula at Pawlowice, above Warsaw, and descended its left bank, in order to enter into communication with the main army, and join in the assault of the capital.

84. The approach of these vast armies, numbering between them seventy thousand combatants, to whom the Poles could not at the moment oppose more than forty-nine thousand, excited the utmost sensation at Warsaw, and roused to the very highest degree both the patriotic spirit and the savage passions of the people. Several councils were appointed by the Government to inquire into the conduct of the military operations, and the causes of the disasters which had recently been experienced. At length a commission was issued with full powers, extending even to his dismissal; and Skrzynecki, finding the current in the capital too strong to be resisted, resigned the command, and was succeeded by Dem-

binski, who had the courage, in circumstances evidently desperate, to undertake a command for which the crown of martyrdom could be the only recompense. Krukowiecki was soon after appointed President of the Council of Government. Skrzynecki bore his fall with the equanimity which is the characteristic of a noble mind, protesting his readiness still to serve his country, were it only in the capacity of a private soldier. On the day following his dismissal, there was a review held of the whole troops around Warsaw, at which, to indicate the purity of his feelings, the displaced general rode beside his successor. At the sight of their beloved chief, abandoned and in misfortune, the soldiers could not contain their feelings. Tears were seen running down many cheeks which would never have been shed for any sufferings of their own; but they were turned into cheers of enthusiasm when Skrzynecki conjured them to exhibit the same submission to their new general which they had done to him, and Dembinski promised to follow in his footsteps.

85. History may well take a pride in recording this moving scene, in which noble parts were played by great actors on the tragic theatre of the world; but it would be well for the annals of Poland if the narrative of the change of government at Warsaw could stop there. Unfortunately, a very different scene was exhibited by the mobs in the capital. Excited by the approach of the Russians and the declamations in the clubs, as the Jacobins of Paris had been by the advance of the Duke of Brunswick in 1792, they broke out into similar excesses. The massacre in the prisons of Warsaw on the 15th and 16th of August 1831, is a fit companion to that in the prison of Paris on the 2d and 3d September 1792. A furious mob, excited by the declamations of the violent orators in the clubs, and exclaiming "Treason! treason!" collected in the streets; and the whole armed force having been sent into the intrenched camp, the Government had

no means either of subduing it or defending themselves. They first invaded the palace, where they overthrown the Government, and then proceeding to the state prisons, they broke in and murdered all the state prisoners, including Jankowski and Bukowski, who had been tried, to please the clubs, for their want of success in Volhynia, but acquitted. Forty-seven persons, including several Russian prisoners, and several unconnected with politics, and confined for debt, fell victims to the fury of the populace on this calamitous occasion.

Next day the Government, utterly powerless either to avert calamity or punish crime, gave in their resignation. They were succeeded by a new set of rulers, composed of the most violent of the clubs, at the head of which was Krukowiecki, whose talents were considerable, and energy of character well known.

86. But the supreme hour was now approaching, and Warsaw, to avert it, stood in need of very different defenders from the assassins of disarmed captives in the prisons. Aware that it could not much longer be averted, both parties made the most vigorous efforts to collect all their forces for the decision of the final struggle. Some engagements had taken place between the Polish army in advance on the Bzura and the Russians; but Dembinski, not feeling himself in sufficient strength to maintain his ground so far from his intrenchments, fell back to the intrenched camp, upon which the inhabitants of the capital had long been labouring; and Skrzynecki again gave a noble proof of his disinterested patriotism, by taking the command which was offered him of one of the columns. On the 18th August the whole Polish army was collected at Warsaw, and, considering the losses it had undergone, it presented an astonishing force. It consisted of 57,500 men in the intrenched camp at Warsaw, with 136 guns harnessed, besides 20,000 more with 10 guns in garrison at Modlin and Zamose, or in partisan corps still at large in the country on the right bank

of the Vistula. Paskiewitch's forces were considerably longer of being concentrated, from the more extended circumference from which they were to be drawn. By the end of August, however, they had all come up, and amounted to 78,000 men, of whom 70,000, including Kreutz's corps, and a part of Rudiger's which had arrived, were concentrated at Raszyn, in front of Warsaw; and 8000 under Golowin were in observation before Praga, and they had no less than 386 guns.

87. Paskiewitch gave the Government of Warsaw till the 5th September to surrender at discretion, insisting on this as the only admissible terms. The Polish Government in this crisis, instead of despairing, had the courage to send 20,400 men under Ramorino to the right bank of the Vistula, into the palatinate of Podlachia; while Lubinski, with 2800 horse, was despatched into that of Plock, to threaten the Russian communications. The remainder of the Polish forces, consisting of 34,000 more, guarded the intrenched camp at Warsaw, with 216 pieces of cannon. The intrenchments consisted of two lines, the first of which was mounted with 47 pieces of position, the second with 78; while the remainder, consisting of 84 field-pieces harnessed, were ready to carry assistance to any point which might require it. Ramorino, whose forces were greatly superior to those of Golowin which were opposed to him, gained considerable success. He forced his adversary to retire to Międzyrzec, and there defeated the united forces of Rosen and Golowin, with the loss of 1000 killed and wounded, besides 1500 prisoners, and drove them back in confusion through Biala to Brzesc, on the Bug, where they destroyed great stores of provisions to prevent their falling into his hands. But this success, great as it was, and important as it might have been at an earlier period, was attended with no material results. The contest was to be decided under the walls of Warsaw, and bitterly was the want of Ramorino's 20,000 veterans felt in the decisive conflict which then ensued.

88. The assault of the intrenched camp commenced on the 6th September at daybreak, and continued the whole day with the utmost fury on both sides. It was hard to say whether the attack or defence was conducted with the greater vigour or determination. The ancient and inextinguishable animosity of the Muscovites and Poles burned with the greatest intensity in both armies, blended with the sublime feelings of freedom and independence on the one side, and the indignation at supposed treachery on the other. The Russians, who were 70,000 strong, with 388 guns, made their chief attack on the fortified village of Wola in the centre of the first line, which was garrisoned only by three battalions and ten guns, and in the end brought up no less than 100 pieces of cannon to concentrate their fire upon it. So vigorous was the cannonade that the village, with the redoubts constructed around it, was carried at ten o'clock, and the Russians immediately occupied it in strength, and armed it with several additional batteries of their own, of heavier calibre than any the Poles could oppose to it. Malachowski, who commanded the Polish troops, made several desperate attempts to regain this important point, but all in vain. Wola was occupied by four strong battalions, which were fed by sixteen more placed in its rear; and the efforts of the Poles to retake it only led to a terrific slaughter, which ended in their troops being forced in that quarter back into the second line. There the troops made the most obstinate resistance; the officers encouraged the men by standing erect on the parapet amidst the hottest of the fire; and among the most courageous who then distinguished themselves were more than one heroine arrayed in the dress and inspired by the courage of the other sex.*

89. While this bloody conflict was

* "Au milieu du feu je remarquai un soldat de la 5^e légion, qui restait constamment appuyé sur le parapet, ne s'inquiétant nullement des obus et des boulets, encourageant ses camarades, gesticulant et parlant avec vivacité. Comme il était au premier rang,

going on around Wola, Paskiewitch directed strong columns of attack against the village of Kruli Karnia on the Polish left, and soon the fire was general from that point as far as the barrier of Jerusalem, on their left centre, close to Warsaw. The Polish general, Uminski, upon this advanced in force, and drove back the enemy with great slaughter; but it was too late. The capture of Wola had decided the fate of the day, and Krukowiecki, who had never been beyond the second line, returned at three in the afternoon to the seat of government, declaring that all was lost, and that nothing remained but to surrender. He even made no attempt to hold the remainder of the lines, till time was gained for Ramorino to return, whose 20,000 men might still have restored the day. He demanded, and had during the night, a long and secret conference with Paskiewitch; but, after a considerable delay, it led to no result, as the Russian general insisted on an unconditional surrender. At one o'clock on the next day the battle was renewed, the Poles having retired at all points to their second line, while the Russians, with 190 guns in front, advanced in dense columns to the attack. There were still 32,000 regular troops and 4000 national guards in the town, and they were animated by the courage of despair. Everything announced a still more desperate conflict than had taken place on the preceding day.

90. The weight of the attack was directed from the captured village of Wola against the faubourg and bridge of Czysto in the Polish centre, defended by two strong redoubts on one side, and three on the other, while heavy masses of infantry advanced along the Raszyn road against their left. A tremendous fire was opened on the works by the Russian guns, which preceded their columns; but, notwithstanding this, the fire of the redoubts was so je ne pus d'abord apercevoir sa figure; il se retourna, et je reconnus en lui une belle fille de dix-huit ans; il n'y avait pas de bataillon ou escadron de l'armée où il n'y eut une ou plusieurs de ces héroïnes."—ROMAN SOLTÿK, ii. 415, note. (An eyewitness.)

vigorous that the Muscovite columns of assault on the Polish left, consisting of Mouravieff's corps, were shaken, and Uminski, by a flank charge, completed their defeat at that point. The 20,000 men absent under Ramorino might then have saved Poland; and, as it was, the result was for some time doubtful. But towards four o'clock the Russian fire had established a superiority over that of the redoubts which defended in the centre the bridge of Czysto, and the corps of Pahlen and Kreutz, the *élite* of the Russian army, were formed in column of assault. At a signal given, these noble veterans rushed forward, with drums beating, colours flying, and amidst warlike cries, towards the intrenchments. A terrible fire, first of canister, then of grape, spread death among them as they came within range; but the assailants pushed resolutely on, and, notwithstanding an obstinate resistance on the part of the Poles, the intrenchments fell into their hands, and the defenders were driven back to the barrier of Wola and the ramparts of the town. It was the superior fire of artillery which mainly occasioned this success. Upon hearing of this disaster, Krukowiecki, finding the resistance could no longer be prolonged, agreed to a surrender of the town, on condition that the Polish army was permitted to retire to Plock. Next day the Russians entered in triumph at the northern gates, while the Polish troops, in the deepest dejection, wended their way through the southern. Five thousand of their number had fallen; 4000 prisoners and 130 guns remained in the hands of the conquerors, whose loss in these two bloody days, admitted by Paskiewitch to have been 5378 killed and wounded, was in reality nearly 20,000 men.

91. After the capitulation of Warsaw, Paskiewitch insisted that the army which had retired to Plock should submit to the will of the Emperor; but its chiefs disdained to surrender, and, in circumstances obviously desperate, insisted with mournful resolution on continuing the contest. It was in vain: the death-blow had been

given to Poland under the walls of Warsaw. Ramorino, whose absence had cost it so dear on the final struggle, retired towards the Upper Vistula, where he was closely followed by a large body of Russians under Kaizaroff, who summoned him to surrender. He indignantly refused, but in the night crossed the frontiers into the Austrian territory. Rozycki, who commanded another division of the Polish troops on the left bank of the Vistula, hard pressed by the corps of Rudiger, was driven to the confines of the republic of Cracow, and crossed the frontier of Galicia, where his troops were disarmed. The principal army under Malachowski, which had retreated from Warsaw, was raised in a few days by fugitives from various quarters to 27,000 men with 93 guns, besides the garrison of Modlin, to which it retired, which was 6000 more. But it was almost destitute of ammunition. The men, whose clothing was worn out, were without pay; magazines there were none to carry on the contest. The capitulation of Warsaw deprived them of hope, the last refuge of the destitute; dissensions broke out among the chiefs; Malachowski refused the supreme command, as he had been discredited by having signed the capitulation, and Rybinski was by a plurality elected general-in-chief. For a few days he continued the contest; but the forces which Paskiewitch directed against them were so great that the troops under him were obliged to cross the frontier and lay down their arms in the Prussian territory, to the number of 21,000. This terminated the war, after it had continued, with scarce any intermission, for eight months.

92. Short as this campaign had been, it had cost the Russians dear, and they had sustained more serious defeats than they had ever experienced from the arms of Napoleon. The Poles had delivered six pitched battles and above thirty combats, with an army never amounting in all to 80,000 men, and the resources only of four millions of people. No alliances or external aid of any kind had added to their strength;

they stood alone to front the conquerors of Napoleon. The losses of the Russians during the war, brief as it was, had been immense. It appeared from an official statement, published by the Russian Government to justify a subsequent levy of four in five hundred of the inhabitants, that in this short war they had lost 180,000 men,—an astonishing number, indicating how much greater the losses in war are from disease and fatigue than battle; for certainly those who perished or were disabled by the sword, were not a third of the number. In this statement the losses in the siege of Warsaw are set down at 30,680 men. The result is equally honourable to the courage and patriotism of the Poles, and characteristic of the perseverance and resources of the Russians; for never had they been more severely tried, or the scales of fortune hung more even in conflict with a foreign enemy.

93. If the development of the resources of Russia during this memorable struggle, and the vigour and ability with which they were directed, were honourable to the capacity and firmness of the Emperor Nicholas, the same cannot be said of his subsequent conduct to the vanquished, which was characterised by all the stern resentment and implacable determination which, not less than vigour and capacity, distinguished that remarkable man. The noblest families in Warsaw were seized, and dragged into exile in Siberia; the oath forced upon the soldiers by the threat of death and the terror of the knout; and the sons of the patriotic families torn from their mothers' arms, and sent off to distant military colonies as common soldiers, where numbers of them perished of fatigue and misery. Equally characteristic of the iron will of the Emperor was his conduct during the period when the cholera made fearful ravages in the Russian empire. The deaths in a few weeks in St Petersburg amounted to four thousand; and the people, ascribing it as usual to poison, assembled in tumultuous mobs, invaded the hospitals, and carried off the sick from their beds to their own houses, to save

them, as they conceived, from destruction. No sooner did he hear of these disorders, than the Emperor repaired to the spot, boldly fronted the mutineers, and exclaimed with a loud voice, "Down on your knees, and ask pardon of God and your Czar for your sins." The people sunk with their faces on the ground, and the tumult was appeased.

94. The astonishing stand which Poland, with less than a fourth of its ancient territory and inhabitants, made without external aid against the whole strength of Russia in this memorable year, throws a clear and precious light on the causes of its previous decline and long-continued misfortunes. It had received from the hand of nature all the gifts which are required to make a nation great and powerful; a noble and fertile soil, ample navigable rivers, spacious harbours, a bold and ardent people, passionately attached to freedom. On the other hand, Russia possessed originally far fewer natural advantages. She had, before Peter the Great, no seaport towns, her territory was less fertile, her inhabitants, till they were swelled by foreign conquest, less numerous, and incomparably less brave and chivalrous. What was it which rendered the one constantly victorious over the other—which rendered Polish history, during five centuries, nothing but a series of misfortunes, casually interrupted by glory—Muscovite, of durable victories and acquisitions, never stopped by passing disaster? The reason is to be found in the excess of the very spirit which constituted the spring of Polish vitality, which caused them at times to do such great things, at others to commit such enormous and unpardonable faults. The spirit which animated Poland was not the regulated principle of Anglo-Saxon liberty, which has rendered England and America the admiration of the globe, but the wild excess of unbridled democracy. Equality, not subordination, was their passion; their stormy comitia, their *Libertum Veto*, their delegated representatives, prove it. Their idea of freedom was absence from all control, and, above

all, *liberation from all taxes*. This is the first idea of liberty all over the world; unhappily the Poles never got beyond it. They clung to it to the very last, amidst all their misfortunes, till they were fairly swallowed up and partitioned by their former vassals. Russia, on the other hand, came, in process of time, to unite the lust of conquest and unity of feeling, which in every age have characterised Asia, to the steady policy, scientific acquisitions, so far as war is concerned, and far-seeing wisdom, of Europe. Thus Asia in its strength was brought up against Europe in its weakness; thence the conquest of the one by the other. And accordingly the first and only occasion when the balance really hung even between them, was when the resources of a fragment of ancient Poland had been drawn forth by foreign government, when foreign power had compelled its inhabitants to pay taxes, forced them to raise a regular army, and given consistency and discipline to their fiery squadrons.

95. As democracy had been the ruin of ancient Poland, and the cause of its dismemberment, so its excesses have been the barrier which, in recent times, have prevented its restoration. Every triumph of the republican spirit in Western Europe has been the signal for an increase the more to Russian power, a chance the less to Polish independence. Its partition in 1794 was unresisted by the Western powers, because France and England, from the consequence of the Revolution in the former country, instead of being united to withstand Eastern aggression, were engaged in deadly hostility with each other. The triumph of democracy in France, and the organisation of its resources in appalling strength by the genius of Napoleon, led to no other result but the lasting acquisition of Finland and Poland by the Czar. The Revolution of France in 1830 led first to the entire subjugation of the latter country by Russia, and its incorporation with the dominions of the conquering power, and then to the closing of the Euxine against foreign vessels of war by the fatal treaty of 1833, which, as will

appear in the sequel, converted its waters into a Russian lake; that of 1848 brought a hundred and sixty thousand Muscovites to the banks of the Danube, and seemed to open through subdued Austria a path for the legions of the Czar to Constantinople. It would appear as if Russia, backed by the ices of the pole, and inaccessible from its vast extent, is the scourge perpetually held up by Providence to repress the excesses of vicious civilisation, and restrain men in free states within the bounds which reason and the lasting interests of freedom itself require.

96. These facts are fraught with a mighty moral, and teach a lesson of the very last importance to the permanent interests of liberty and civilisation. This is, that Russia must be resisted by Europe, if the latter would preserve its religion, its civilisation, its independence; but it must be resisted by Europe in its strength, not Europe in its weakness. The nations of the West must go forth to combat the hordes of the East; but they must go forth in their established ranks, under their traditional leaders, and in their united strength, not with half their forces turned over, from the dread of revolutions, to the enemy. Democracy has tried its utmost strength against despotism, and failed in the struggle: no future age with that arm alone can hope to achieve what the genius of Napoleon and the fervour of 1830 and 1848 failed to effect. But this failure does not prove that Europe is unable to contend with Russia, that freedom must succumb to despotism; it proves only that *divided* Europe cannot stand against *united* Russia, half the strength of liberty against the whole forces of despotism. Freedom has need of all its resources to resist the attack of fanatical zeal, and the lust of conquest led by regulated despotism aided by military skill. Had England been united to France in 1812, Russia would have been repelled to its deserts by the legions of Napoleon and Wellington: had the triumph of the Barricades and the Reform transports not paralysed Britain and

Germany in 1831, the independence of Poland would have been re-established by the arms of Skrzynecki. The strength of the East lies in its indissoluble union under a single head; the weakness of the West, in its ceaseless divisions under many.

97. In the very front rank of the great league of the Western powers, which can alone preserve Europe from Russian subjugation, must be placed THE RESTORATION OF POLAND. Such a measure would not be revolutionary; it would be conservative. Restoration is a work of justice, of which no government, how strong soever, need be ashamed: the principle of revolution is spoliation, not restitution. To restore Poland is not to introduce new ways, but to return to the old ones. In the courage and heroism of the Sarmatian race is to be found the real and the only effective barrier against the encroachments of the Muscovite: in their indelible feeling of nationality, the provision made by Providence for its resurrection, like the phoenix from its ashes. Such a barrier is not to be found in Turkey. England and France may fight their own battle in the

Crimea or on the Danube, but they will not find their real allies in the Ottomans. The Cross must defend itself; it is not to be defended by the Crescent. Europe committed a great sin in permitting the barrier of Poland to be swept away; it can be expiated only by aiding in its restoration. The extension of Austria to the mouth of the Danube, and the acquisition by it of Moldavia and Wallachia, under the burden of the stipulated payment to the Porte, is the obvious mode, without doing injustice to any one, of winning its consent to the cession of Galicia. If Prussia casts in its lot with the Muscovites, it cannot complain if it undergoes the fate which it itself imposed on Saxony when its sovereign adhered to Napoleon in 1814. But to cement the league which is to achieve this mighty deliverance, the cause of independence must be severed from that of democracy; Poland must be restored by an effort of united Europe, not by arming one section of it against the other. Its partition was the sin of the sovereigns alone, and restitution must be made or retribution endured by the sovereigns, not the people.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF GERMANY, FROM THE TERMINATION OF THE WAR OF LIBERATION IN 1814 TO THE GREAT CONVULSIONS OF 1848.

1. So great had been the efforts, so decisive the success of the German nations in the last years of the war with Napoleon, that a long period of tranquillity and repose had been in a manner forced upon them. It was physically impossible that the herculean efforts of 1813, 1814, and 1815, when the whole male inhabitants capable of bearing arms had, either in the regular armies, the landwehr, or the landsturm, been found in the ranks of war, could much longer continue; and

the spirit which had animated them was not, like that of the French or Scythians, the mere passion for conquest, which grows with every gratification it receives, but the sober determination of a peaceful race to defend their temples, their hearths, their families. War is the natural passion of the Gauls, the Poles, the Russians, but it is far from being so either with the Germans or the English. The two latter nations are essentially *inhabitative*; their prevailing wish is comfort,

their prevailing desires are centred in home. Even when the thirst for emigration seizes them, as it did so strongly in the days of the Romans, and is doing again in these times, it is by the influence of the same desires that their conduct, apparently contradictory, is influenced. They leave their own country, not because they are indifferent to the comforts of home, but because they desire them; they seek in foreign lands or Transatlantic climes that secure resting-place which they can no longer find in their own. "When the Roman conquers," says Pliny, "*he inhabits*;" and that is the characteristic of the Teutonic race in every part of the world. They fight desperately in defence of their homes, and are often impelled in stupendous multitudes to gain settlements abroad; but it is to gain or secure such *settlements* that their efforts in both cases are made. They do not aspire, like the Arabs, the Tartars, or the Scythians, to sweep over the world with the fierce tempest of savage conquest; they wish to find in it prosperous resting-places and happy hearths. Hence all the great and lasting transpositions of mankind have been made by the Teutonic race. Their descendants are to be found in France, Italy, Spain, and the British Isles; and of half a million of Europeans who now (1854) annually settle on the shores of America, at least nine-tenths have, directly or indirectly, come from the woods of Germany.*

2. From this peculiarity in the German character it was that, after the transcendant and decisive successes which attended the close of the war, the whole empire so immediately relapsed into pacific habits and pursuits. Moderation, unparalleled after so many triumphs, regulated their demands in the hour of victory. They neither imitated the example of Louis XIV., who in many successful campaigns despoil-

ed them of their territories on the left bank of the Rhine; nor of the Russians, who have never made peace for a century and a half without an accession of territory; nor of Napoleon, who, by the Treaty of Tilsit, robbed Prussia of half its dominions, lost in a single campaign. Scarcely a village was taken from France after the double capture of its capital by the arms of the German nations. "France as in 1789" was the basis of the treaties of Paris alike in 1814 and 1815. By the first treaty they even, after unparalleled disasters, gained a considerable increase both of territory and numbers. To this singular moderation in the hour of victory, the solid foundation and long continuance of the peace concluded within the French capital is mainly to be ascribed. Had provinces been reft from old France after the battles of Leipsic and Waterloo, as they had been from Prussia and Austria after those of Jena and Wagram, the same heartburnings and animosities would have been excited, national jealousies would have been perpetuated, and five-and-thirty years of subsequent peace would not have blessed the inhabitants and developed the resources of the Germanic Confederation.

3. Much of this long-continued and felicitous pacification is to be ascribed to the strong and wise organisation of the German states, which took place at and after the Congress of Vienna. The weakness of the old Empire had been sufficiently proved by the wars of the Revolution; the crown of the Kaisars had crumbled at the stroke of Napoleon's sword. A separate empire had been created and acknowledged in Austria; independent kingdoms in Prussia, Bavaria, and Saxony; duchies and electorates in the lesser states; but the ancient and venerable bond of the Empire, coeval with the days of Charlemagne, had been dissolved. The danger was great that out of this circum-

* EMIGRANTS TO AMERICA FROM GERMANY AND THE BRITISH ISLES, FROM 1852 TO 1854.

	From Germany.	From British Isles.	Total.
1852,	103,000	368,764	471,764
1853,	148,000	329,937	477,937
1854,	206,000	323,429	529,429

—Results of Census, p. 56; and *Emigration Report*, July 16, 1855.

stance a fresh peril, of a more serious and lasting kind than any which had been escaped by the war of liberation, might be incurred. Placed midway between France and Russia, each of which was under a single head, and actuated by the strongest spirit of conquest, there was the greatest risk that Germany, broken into separate principalities, and actuated by separate interests, might be unable to resist either taken singly, and beyond all question would be crushed by the two acting in concert. The fate of Poland, with its democratic passions and discordant government, might yet await the centre of European civilisation, and out of the very triumphs of the arms of freedom might arise more serious peril to the cause of its independence than any it had yet incurred.

4. Impressed with these dangers, it was the first care of the wise statesmen to whom, on the conclusion of the war, the interests of Europe were committed, to frame a *federal constitution* for all the states of German origin, which should secure them against the danger of foreign attack, and the risk of internal discord. By the Act of Confederacy, which was signed at Vienna on June 8th, 1815, it was provided, by the consent of all parties concerned—including the Emperor of Austria and King of Prussia, the King of Denmark for Holstein, and the King of the Netherlands for the grand-duchy of Luxembourg—that the affairs of the Confederacy should be managed by a general Assembly or Diet, in which all the members were to be represented by their plenipotentiaries, either singly possessing a vote, or concurring with others to form one. The presidency was given to Austria; the whole number of votes was seventeen,* arranged after such a

manner as gave a preponderating influence to the great military powers; and Frankfort-on-the-Maine was fixed on as the place of meeting, probably to impress the Confederation at all times with the peril of French invasion, the principal danger which was then apprehended. Each member of the Confederacy bound himself to assist

	Votes.
Brought forward,	8
Hesse, Grand-duchy,	1
Denmark, for Holstein,	1
Netherlands, for Luxembourg,	1
Duchies of Saxony,	1
Brunswick and Nassau,	1
Mecklenburg Schwerin and Strelitz,	1
Holstein, Oldenburg, &c.,	1
Hohenzollern, Lichtenstein, &c.,	1
Lübeck, Frankfort, Bremen, Hamburg,	1

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But if matters came to a deliberation and vote "in matters relating to the Act of Confederacy, the organic institutions, or other arrangements of common interest," then the Diet was to form itself into a general assembly, and its members shall have votes according to the following scale, viz.:—

	Votes.
Austria,	4
Prussia,	4
Saxony,	4
Bavaria,	4
Hanover,	4
Württemberg,	4
Baden,	3
Hesse, Electoral,	3
Holstein,	3
Luxembourg,	3
Brunswick,	2
Mecklenburg-Schwerin,	2
Nassau,	2
Saxe Weimar,	1
„ Gotha,	1
„ Coburg,	1
„ Meiningen,	1
„ Hildburghausen,	1
Mecklenburg-Strelitz,	1
Holstein, Oldenburg,	1
Anhalt, Dessau,	1
„ Bernburg,	1
„ Köthen,	1
Schwartz Sondershausen,	1
„ Rudolstadt,	1
Hohenzollern,	1
Lichtenstein,	1
Hohenzollern-Hechingen,	1
Waldeck,	1
Reuss, Aîné,	1
„ Cadette,	1
Schaumburg Lippe,	1
Lippe,	1
Lübeck,	1
Frankfort,	1
Bremen,	1
Hamburg,	1

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* The votes in the Diet were as follows:—

	Votes.
Austria,	1
Prussia,	1
Bavaria,	1
Saxony,	1
Hanover,	1
Württemberg,	1
Baden,	1
Hesse, Electoral,	1

Carry forward, 8

—Archives Diplomatiques, iv. 10, 12.

in defending not only all Germany, but every separate state of the League, against any attack, and reciprocally to guarantee to each other the whole of their possessions included within the Confederation. They also engaged to enter into no treaties hostile to the Confederacy; not to make war upon one another under any pretext, and to submit all differences that might arise between them to the decision of the Diet. It was further agreed that in all the states of the Confederacy *a constitutional Assembly or States-General shall be established*;* and that diversity of Christian faith shall occasion no difference in respect of civil or political rights. The Diet was to take into its consideration how the condition of the professors of the Jewish religion might be ameliorated. It was provided that the subjects of each state might inherit or acquire landed property in any other state, without being subject to heavier burdens than the natives in them; that free emigration was to be permitted from any one state to any other which might be willing to receive the emigrants; and that the subjects of each might enlist in the service of any other, if not already subject to military service in their own country. Finally, the Diet was at its first meeting to occupy itself with framing uniform regulations to secure the freedom of the press, and the security of authors and publishers from oppression.

5. The preparations alike for protection from external enemies, and for the crushing of internal discord in this great Confederacy, were of proportional magnitude. The troops which the different states were bound to furnish for the common defence were minutely specified, arranged according to the population and revenue of each state; and they constituted, upon the whole, an immense military force. The quota was taken at a hundredth part of the entire population of each state; and as the population of the differ-

ent states composing the Confederacy was 30,163,458, the whole force was 301,637 men. Of this body 222,000 were infantry of the line, 11,700 light infantry, 43,000 cavalry, 22,000 artillery, and 3000 pioneers. It was all organised, and the arrangements made for its command, its rallying-points, &c., with the utmost precision and minuteness. Great as this force was, it constituted not more than two-thirds of what the German powers could bring into the field if acting in concert, for the principal states were put down at a small part only of their whole inhabitants, being those in Germany proper. Thus Austria was set down only at 9,482,000 souls, and 94,822 soldiers, as Hungary, Galicia, and the Italian states were excluded; whereas in reality she had 32,000,000 souls, and 320,000 men in arms. Prussia was taken at 7,923,000 inhabitants, 79,234 men; whereas, including the Polish provinces, she had even then above 10,000,000, and 150,000 soldiers. If the whole resources of the states which formed part of the Confederacy were taken into consideration, including the Netherlands and Denmark, they presented a mass of 60,000,000 souls, who could bring 600,000 combatants into the field; of whom one-half belonged to Germany proper, and entered into the Confederacy. It was stipulated that considerable sums (60,000,000 francs, or £2,400,000) should be given from the common stock of the allied powers to Prussia and the lesser powers, to put Mayence, Landau, and Luxembourg, and the fortresses on the Rhine, in a respectable state of defence, and that the first of these strongholds should be garrisoned by 13,000 men, of whom one-half should be Prussians and one-half Austrians, and Landau exclusively by Austrians. One-sixth of the infantry, and two-thirds of the subaltern officers, and two-thirds of the cavalry of each state, were to be always under arms, and the whole ready to turn out on four weeks' notice. No provision was made for erecting or strengthening any fortresses on the Vistula or towards Russia, *as no danger was apprehended from that*

* "Il y aura des Assemblées des Etats dans tous les pays de la Confédération."—*Loi Fondamentale*, Art. 13; *Archives Diplomatiques*, iv. 17.

quarter;—a striking instance of the manner in which men, how able soever, are in their collective capacity governed by the memory of the past, rather than the anticipation of the future.*

6. Experience has proved that this constitution of the German Confederation was wisely formed with a view to external defence and internal peace. Nearly fifty years have now elapsed (1864) since it was established, and during that long period, with the single exception of one year, when the French Revolution of 1848 had

violently shaken all the European states, Germany has enjoyed, both externally and internally, uninterrupted peace. No foreign power has ventured to assail a Confederacy which had 300,000 men ready to repel insult, and could double the number from the resources of the principal states of the union. No domestic dissension was possible in one so strongly cemented, and in which so overwhelming a force was at all times ready to enforce obedience to the fundamental law, that no one state was on any account to make war on any other state,

* The following valuable table was compiled at this time by the different governments, and formed the basis of the military constitution:—

STATES.	Population, 1815.	Contingents.	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Population, 1846.
Austria,* . . .	9,482,287	94,822	73,501	13,546	11,893,182
Prussia,* . . .	7,923,439	79,234	61,418	11,319	12,249,126
Bavaria, . . .	3,560,000	35,600	27,595	5,036	4,504,874
Württemberg, . .	1,395,462	13,955	10,816	1,994	1,742,827
Baden, . . .	1,900,000	10,000	7,751	1,429	1,362,774
Hesse, Grand-duchy	619,500	6,195	4,802	855	732,073
Hohenzollern, . .	145,000	145	113	21	165,574
Lichtenstein, . .	5,546	55	42	8	6,351
Hohenzollern-Sig- maringen, . .)	35,560	356	275	51	65,578
Hesse-Homburg, . .	20,000	200	155	29	24,203
Frankfort, . . .	47,850	479	372	63	68,240
Saxony, . . .	1,200,000	12,000	9,302	1,714	1,836,483
Hesse, Electoral, .	567,868	5,679	4,402	811	732,073
Luxembourg, . .	255,628	2,556	1,981	365	389,319
Nassau, . . .	302,769	3,028	2,347	433	418,626
Weimar, . . .	201,000	2,010	1,558	287	261,094
Gotha, . . .	185,632	1,857	1,439	265	147,195
Coburg, . . .	80,012	800	620	114	163,323
Meiningen, . . .	54,460	544	422	78	163,323
Hildburghausen . .	29,706	297	231	42	48,844
Dessau, . . .	52,947	529	416	76	106,820
Bernburg, . . .	37,046	370	286	53	48,844
Köthen, . . .	32,454	325	253	46	37,213
Sondershausen, . .	45,117	451	350	64	60,602
Rudolstadt, . . .	53,937	539	418	77	69,650
Reuss, Ainea, . . .	22,255	223	173	32	33,803
„ Cadette, . . .	52,295	522	404	75	77,016
Hanover, . . .	1,305,351	13,054	10,118	1,865	1,758,856
Holstein, . . .	360,000	3,600	2,791	514	526,850
Brunswick, . . .	209,600	2,096	1,625	299	268,943
Mecklenburg, . . .	358,000	3,580	2,775	511	534,394
Strelitz, . . .	71,769	718	556	103	96,202
Oldenburg, . . .	217,769	2,178	1,688	311	278,909
Waldeck, . . .	51,877	519	403	74	58,753
Schaumburg, . . .	24,000	240	187	38	69,650
Lippe, . . .	69,062	691	535	99	108,236
Lübeck, . . .	40,650	407	316	58	47,197
Bremen, . . .	48,500	485	376	69	72,820
Hamburg, . . .	129,800	1,298	1,067	185	188,054
Totals, . . .	30,163,488	301,637	233,813	43,090	41,212,720

* For German states only.

and that all differences were to be submitted to the decision of the Diet. By this auspicious union Germany has, for the first time in history, become a great power, possessing vast military forces, capable of exercising a preponderating influence in central Europe, and enjoying within itself the inestimable blessing of domestic peace and tranquillity. Immense have been the effects of this blessed change. From being the battle-field of Europe, in which rival states or hostile religions sought a theatre for mutual slaughter, it has become the abode of peace, tranquillity, and industry. Nearly a whole generation know war only from the traditions of their fathers, or the moving annals of former times. The melancholy traces of the Thirty Years' War, which for nearly two centuries had been visible on the Fatherland, have been nearly obliterated by the *fifty years' peace*; and, strange to say, the first long period of unbroken rest which its inhabitants have ever enjoyed, has arisen from the desolating wars of the French Revolution.

7. The effects of this long period of repose, and of the entire cessation of domestic war, upon the development of industry and the increase of social prosperity, have been very great. The termination not only of war, but of the dread of war, for so considerable a time, has been sufficient to stimulate activity and rouse effort, and spread happiness to an extraordinary degree. The vigour and energy called forth in the war of liberation has not been lost by its termination; it has only been turned into a different channel. The Germans have realised the vision of the prophet: they have turned their swords into pruning-hooks. In Prussia, in particular, where the excitement was the greatest, and the most extraordinary efforts were made, this effect has been peculiarly conspicuous. Its population has advanced since the peace more rapidly than that of any other state in Europe: it is doubling in every fifty-two years. Its inhabitants, which were ten millions at the battle of Waterloo, had risen in 1862 to above eighteen millions; and its wealth

and industry have advanced in a similar proportion.* The entire inhabitants of the Confederacy have increased fifteen millions during the last fifty years—from thirty they have advanced to forty-five millions.† The industry of the inhabitants has kept pace with this great increase. Not only have the labours of agriculture raised food sufficient to feed the huge and increasing multitude, but large quantities of grain and cattle are annually exported; and England, since the repeal of the Corn Laws, is indebted to Northern Germany for a considerable part of its immense imports of corn. Manufactures have sprung up in various quarters where they were formerly unknown—the printed cotton goods of Silesia have come to rival the British; the coloured glass of Bohemia, the china of Dresden, are admired throughout the world. The chief commercial cities of the Confederacy, Hamburg, Frankfort, Lübeck, Bremen, have doubled in inhabitants: their bankers number all the kings of Europe among their debtors; and the burgher class in these great emporiums of industry has acquired such wealth and consideration as to come materially to influence the political doctrines and social changes of the country.

8. Nor has the wealth and prosperity of the country been less signally evinced in those more refined and imaginative branches of industry which bespeak the elevation of the general mind, and the spread of easy circumstances and improved taste among the more affluent classes. The pleasing duty will fall to the historian, in

* Population of Prussia in 1815,	9,923,000
" " 1828,	12,672,000
" " 1854,	16,285,000
" " 1861,	18,491,220

This is the population of the whole kingdom, including the Polish provinces.—MALTE BRUN, v. 276; and *Almanach de Gotha*, 1864, p. 800.

† The inhabitants of the Germanic Confederation were, by the census taken on the 3d December 1861, altogether 45,013,034,—of which Austria had 12,802,944; Prussia, 14,138,804; Bavaria, 4,689,837; Saxony, 2,225,240; Hanover, 1,888,070; Wurtemberg, 1,720,708; and Baden, 1,369,291.—*Almanach de Gotha*, 1864, p. 470.

a succeeding part of this work, of recording the great men who have given to modern Germany immortal celebrity in philosophy, literature, and the fine arts; but, considered as an indication of general prosperity and the efflorescence of an advancing and happy civilisation, they are not less worthy of consideration. The change on the capitals and cities of Germany during the last fifty years has been such as to exceed belief, and speaks volumes as to the beneficent effect of the institutions which have shielded it during so long a period alike from foreign invasion and domestic warfare. This progress is in an especial manner conspicuous in the northern and central portions of the Confederacy. The Brandenburg Gate and palace of Berlin, the cathedral of Cologne, the glorious museum and sumptuous palaces of Dresden, the Glyptothek and Valhalla, and magnificent galleries of Munich, attest at once how strongly the national mind of Germany has been turned to the fine arts during the long peace, and how large have been the resources which the increasing wealth of the people has put at the disposal of its governments for their encouragement.

9. It must be added, to their honour, that the rulers of the country have been not less assiduous or successful in their endeavours to promote general education, and inculcate universal instruction, not only as a parental duty of individuals, but as a public concern of the state, which is to be enforced by positive law. The persevering efforts of the German governments in this respect have been attended with results hitherto unexampled in the history of mankind. By establishing schools and seminaries of education at the public expense in every quarter, making it part of the duty of subjects to send their children to them, and detaching their direction from the fatal ingredient of *sectarian* jealousy, while the great element of *religious* instruction is sedulously preserved, the Governments of Austria and Prussia have succeeded in diffusing elementary education among their subjects to an extent heretofore

unknown among mankind.* The proportion of the entire inhabitants at school in Prussia has for the last quarter of a century been 1 in 7, and in Austria 1 in 14; while in England, in 1816, it was only 1 in 16, in Scotland 1 in 11, and in France 1 in 23. There are no less than 21,000 primary schools in Prussia, and above 1000 academies, where the learned languages, mathematics, and philosophy are taught—a proportion to the population more than double that which obtains in Great Britain, notwithstanding the vast efforts to extend public instruction which have been made of late years. It may safely be affirmed that Germany exhibits a mass of general instruction and educated poverty unparalleled in any other age or country.

10. Philanthropists anticipated, from this immense spread of elementary education, a marked diminution of crime, proceeding on the adage, so flattering to the pride of intellect, that ignorance is the parent of vice. Judging from the results which have taken place in Prussia, where instruction has been pushed to so great a length, this is very far indeed from being the case. On the contrary, though one of the most highly educated countries in Europe, it is at the same time one of the most criminal. On an average of three years, from 1st January 1824 to 1st January 1827, the number of convictions in serious cases was 362 against the person, and 20,691 against property annually, which, as compared with the population at that period, was 1 convicted to 587 inhabitants; whereas in France the proportion in the same years was 1 convicted to 7285, of which 1 to 32,411 were crimes against the person, and 1 to 9392 against property. That is, in Prussia, where the proportion of persons at school to the entire population was 1 in 7, the proportion of crime to the inhabitants

* "Aucun individu en Autriche ne peut se marier s'il ne sait lire, écrire, et compter; nul maître ne peut sous peine d'amende employer un ouvrier qui ne sait ni lire ni écrire; et pour répandre les principes de morale, de petits livres rédigés avec beaucoup de soin sont distribués à très-bas prix parmi le peuple des villes et des campagnes."—MALTE BRUN, v. 645.

was *twelve times* greater than in France, where it was 1 in 23.* This startling fact coincides closely with what has been experienced in France itself, where the proportion of conviction to the inhabitants is as 1 to 7285; and it has been found that, without one single exception in the whole eighty-four departments, the amount of crime is in the *inverse ratio* of the number of persons receiving instruction.†

11. In Austria, where primary instruction is in some provinces nearly as generally diffused as in Prussia, the results are not by any means so disheartening.‡ The proportion of convicted crime to the entire population is there much less considerable: it is not a fourth part of what is found in Prussia. The difference of this result from that which obtains in Prussia, where general instruction is more universally diffused, appears at first sight startling, but in reality it can easily

be explained, and is in fact just what experience tells us might be expected under the different circumstances of these different states. Austria is an educated, but not an *enlightened* nation; Prussia is both the one and the other. In Austria there is little commerce or manufactures; the capital even only contains 411,000 inhabitants; there are few great towns. The industry of the country is mainly agricultural. Secluded on their little domains, of which, in upper and lower Austria and Tyrol, they for the most part enjoy the property, the peasants read nothing but the little books prepared for their use by the clergy or government authorities. This is not eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge. For good or for evil, its effects will not appear there. In Prussia and Northern Germany, where the great bulk of the inhabitants are Lutheran, the innumerable works which issue

* "D'après les renseignements qui ont été publiés à ce sujet dans ces dernières années, il y a eu dans toutes les provinces Prussiennes depuis 1824 jusqu'au 1^{er} Janvier 1827, 63,159 condamnations pour crimes et délits, dont 1087 contre les personnes, et 26,672 contre les propriétés. La moyenne de ces trois années est de 362 crimes ou délits contre les personnes, et de 20,691 contre les propriétés. Si l'on compare ces nombres au chiffre de la population en 1826, on a 1 crime ou délit en général sur 587 habitants; contre les personnes, 1 sur 34,122 habitants; et contre les propriétés, 1 sur 597 habitants.

"Comparée avec les résultats qu'offre la justice criminelle en France, cette proportion n'est pas tout-à-fait en faveur de la Prusse, puisqu'en France on compte en général 1 crime sur 7285 habitants: contre les personnes, 1 crime contre 32,411 habitants; et contre les propriétés, 1 sur 9392 habitants;—c'est-à-dire, qu'en Prusse sur une population égale, on commet contre les personnes et les propriétés plus de 12 fois autant de crimes et de délits qu'en France; que contre la personne on compte à la vérité en Prusse un peu plus de crimes qu'en France à peu près dans la proportion d'un dix-neuvième. Mais que sur les propriétés seules la Prusse est le théâtre de plus de 15 fois autant de crimes et de délits que la France."—MALTE BRUN, *Géographie Universelle*, v. 277, 278. The author referred to this singular and startling fact in his first volume of this work, chap. I. sect. 47, and it was violently assailed in several periodical journals as being incorrect. The authority for the statement is therefore now given from a statistical writer of the first authority. Several other facts of a similar description, and directly adverse to common opinion, are given in the introductory chapter, the proof of which is reserved for those parts of the work which come abreast of them, in order not to overload an introductory sketch with a mass of distracting proofs and illustrations.

† Population en France, 1827,	31,847,000
Moyenne des crimes contre la Personne, 1825-6-7, 1 sur	32,411
Propriété, 1 sur	9,392
Moyenne de tous, 1 sur	7,285

—MALTE BRUN, iii. 786.

‡ INSTRUCTION.

	Inhabitants	At all Schools
Bohemia, in 1824,	3,895,117	420,788, or 1 in 9½ nearly.
Moravia and Silesia,	2,078,584	154,000, or 1 in 16 nearly.
Upper and Lower Austria,	2,118,481	160,000, or 1 in 15 nearly.

CRIMES.

	1821.	1822.	1823.
Bohemia,	2,074	2,256	1,617
Moravia and Silesia,	861	867	637
Upper and Lower Austria,	922	2,003	2,018

—MALTE BRUN, v. 726, 737.

annually from the press are devoured. It is when general instruction coexists with a free press, and not till then, that its effects appear. In Northern Germany the press is far from being generally free in relation to present events, but it is completely so in regard to past or general literature; and thence its powerful influence, both in unfolding genius, stimulating thought, enhancing desires, and multiplying crime.

12. One might naturally have been led to imagine that the complete protection, unbroken peace, and general prosperity which Germany has enjoyed from 1815 to 1848, would have had the effect of inducing universal contentment, and that the Confederacy would have exhibited the pleasing spectacle of unanimity and concord springing out of social happiness. It was just the reverse. Peace cast not the olive branch, but a firebrand into its bosom; and the universal protection which was enjoyed, and stillness which prevailed, proved but the harbinger of future strife and desolation. None but the inexperienced can be surprised at this result; for such is the constitution of human nature, and such the provision made by the Almighty for mingling suffering with joy in this scene of probation, that it is hard to say whether sorrow springs more commonly from prosperity, or felicity from care; and in the attainment of the very objects for which men contend most strenuously at one time, is found the secret spring of adversity at another. Germany has been no exception to this universal law; on the contrary, her social situation was such, after the war of liberation terminated, as too surely foreshadowed a contest of distractions in future times.

13. That terrible strife was brought to a successful issue by an unparalleled warlike effort—by the universal arming of the people; by exciting in all ranks, to the very uttermost, the ardent and enthusiastic feelings of the heart. In the poems of Körner, as in a mirror, we may see reflected the feelings which then shook to the centre every heart in the Fatherland.

Such was the strength of France and the power of Napoleon, that deliverance could be effected in no other way. The effort proved successful; the victory was gained; but it was gained at a cost which cast the seeds of interminable future discord into the bosom of the community. For as much as the power of the great military monarchies forming part of the Confederation was enhanced by the prodigious development of the military spirit in their inhabitants, and augmentation of the military strength in their governments, was the thirst for liberal institutions, and the desire of exercising a sway in the administration of affairs, spread among their people. This effect was universal and inevitable; it was felt even among the distant nobles of Russia, and induced the terrible military revolt of 1825. How much more must it have been felt, therefore, among the educated youth of Northern Germany—among those whose hearts had warmed at the songs of Körner, whose souls had been inspired by the poetry of Schiller, and who had struck for the Fatherland in the belief that they were cementing with their blood not only its external independence, but its internal freedom!

14. It cannot be said that any *express* promise was made by their sovereigns to the German people when the war of liberation broke out, or during its continuance, that they should enjoy representative institutions as the reward of their exertions; but it is undoubtedly true that this was generally expected, and constituted the mainspring of the astonishing efforts made by the people of Germany at that eventful period. It breathes in every page of the soul-inspiring strains of Körner—the expression, as the finest poetry always is, of the general mind when it was written. It was so universally understood that it did not require to be expressly promised: what is firmly relied on between trusting hearts never does. But the Emperor Alexander spoke the language then generally felt alike by sovereigns and the people,

when, in the first moment of triumph on the taking of Paris, he said, that the allied powers "wished France to be great, and powerful, and free, and that they would respect *any constitution* which it might adopt."

15. But abundant evidence remains in the public announcements and diplomatic acts of the period immediately following the termination of hostilities, to show that the general establishment of constitutional governments formed part of the understood compact between the sovereigns and people of Germany. Prussia took the lead in the great announcement looked for with breathless anxiety by so many millions of people. By a royal decree published on May 25, 1815, not four weeks before the battle of Waterloo, and when sovereigns and people in Germany were alike quaking before the spectre of Napoleon's resurrection, this intention was expressed in regard to Prussia in the most unequivocal terms. By it it was declared that a "*representation of the people shall be formed*. For this end the provincial assemblies then existing are to be re-established, and remodelled according to the exigencies of the time; and where at present there are no representative assemblies, they are to be introduced. From these the national representation is to be formed, which is to sit at Berlin, and the functions of which are to extend its deliberations upon all those objects of legislation which concern the personal right of citizens and their property, including taxation. A committee is to be formed at Berlin of officers of state and inhabitants of the provinces, nominated and presided over by the chancellor, for the purpose of organising the provincial assemblies and the national representation, and framing a constitution according to the principles then laid down, which is to meet on the 1st September next." And this promise was in a fortnight after extended to all the states of the Confederation by the thirteenth article of the Fundamental Act, signed by all the powers on June 8, 1815, *still before the battle of Waterloo*; which pro-

vided, as already mentioned, "That there shall be assemblies of the states *in all the countries of the Confederation*."

16. In nations, as individuals, it too often happens that promises made during a period of danger, or under the influence of extraordinary feelings of terror or gratitude, are forgotten when the peril is over, or the period of excitement is past. The selfishness of libertines has invented the infamous maxim that lovers' vows are made only to be broken, although many a noble heart and heroic deed has proved the falsehood of the assertion; but there are unfortunately fewer instances of unswerving faith in governments, whether monarchical or democratic. The monarchs of Germany broke faith as completely with the people, who had won for them the victory, after it was gained, as the Tiers Etat of France did with the clergy, whose accession had given them the majority over the privileged orders at the commencement of the Revolution. Ten days after the signature of this solemn act of the Confederation, which guaranteed parliaments to all the states of Germany, the battle of Waterloo was fought, the independence of the country was secured, and with the danger all memory of the promises passed away. The 1st September came, but no committee met to arrange and settle the organisation of the provincial and the national representation in Prussia; years elapsed, but nothing was done generally toward the formation of estates of the realm in any countries of the Confederation. The utmost dissatisfaction was felt in all the states of Northern Germany, especially in Prussia, at this breach of public faith, and many even came to regret the active part they had taken in supporting their ungrateful rulers against the French domination.

17. The public voice on the subject was so strong that it could not be withstood in the lesser states, and accordingly "estates," or representative assemblies, were established in this year and the next in Hanover, Würtemberg, and Baden, which met and deliberated on the public concerns.

Though far from possessing the power or consideration of the English Parliament, they yet enjoyed the right of voting taxes and subsidies to government, and their establishment gave general satisfaction. But it was otherwise in Prussia, which, as the most powerful state in Northern Germany, and the one in which a free constitution was most loudly demanded by the people, fixed universal attention. Great difficulties no doubt existed in that country, chiefly in regard to the constitution of the upper house, in consequence of the impoverished condition of the nobility from the long-continued exactions of the French, and the unparalleled efforts made by all classes during the war of liberation. But these difficulties might have been overcome, had the Government really been sincere in their desire to establish representative assemblies. But they were not so, and their whole efforts, after the din of cannon had ceased, were directed to gain time to elude performance of their promises. Still, however, they professed their determination to abide by them; but evidence was soon afforded that they did not intend the public to take part in their deliberations concerning the constitution, for on January 3, 1816, a Cabinet order was issued from Berlin for the suppression of a journal entitled *The Rhenish Mercury*, which had strongly advocated liberal opinions. At the same time a letter was published from Counsellor Sack, president of the Rhenish provinces of the monarchy, to the superior officers of those provinces, in which it was stated that Government was occupied with framing a law concerning the freedom of the press which should reconcile all interests; and in the mean time it called on the censors in all the provinces to redouble their vigilance "in examining all gazettes and political journals, so that no passages might appear in which injurious attacks were made on any foreign government, or incompetent criticisms on the transactions of their own."

18. The public press was in a great degree shackled in Northern Germany

by these measures, but the public discontent was only thereby increased, and, deprived of its natural vent in the columns of the press, it sought an issue in the addresses of public bodies, which could not so easily be stifled. The Rhenish provinces, in which local assemblies, by their old constitution, existed, urged the fulfilment in 1817 of the promises contained in the royal proclamation of 25th May 1815; but the Government received the address coldly, observing, "Those who admonish the King are guilty of doubting the inviolability of his word." To appease, however, the public mind, which in the course of this year became extremely agitated on the subject, an official Berlin paper announced on 20th August that during the last sittings of the Council of State, the committee charged with framing a constitution had had several meetings, presided over by the Prince Chancellor of State. It was declared by that important functionary, "that the constitution ought to unfold itself, as it were, in an historic manner out of the state of society; that therefore a correct knowledge of existing institutions was necessary, and what was now in existence should first be taken into consideration." On these grounds he proposed that commissioners should be sent to the provinces to obtain information on the spot regarding their existing customs, which was accordingly done, and they were to report the result of their inquiries to the next Council of State, which was to meet in autumn.

19. Before the report of the commissioners, however, could be received, a step had been taken by the Diet which rendered it of comparatively little importance, and has tended more than any other to extinguish all advances towards freedom in Germany. On the 12th June 1817 the Diet agreed to a protocol which defined its exterior and interior powers in relation to the affairs of the Confederacy. By the second article of this protocol it was provided: "In like manner as the territories of individual states are under the general guarantee of the Con-

federacy, so it is also called on to charge itself with the guarantee of the *particular constitutions of the German states*, under the modifications adopted generally in accordance with the imperial Austrian vote on occasion of the motion of the Grand-duke of Saxe-Weimar; that is to say, with the *unanimous consent of the prince and estates*, that the Confederacy is charged with the guarantee of the constitution." And by the fifth article: "If the government of any confederated state should take measures in regard to persons or corporations inconsistent with the fundamental laws and decisions of the Confederation, or which may prove dangerous to the external or internal security of the latter, the Diet is called upon to intervene to procure the abrogation of that measure. Should the case arise of a difference between the reigning sovereign and his subjects, as has been justly remarked on the part of Bavaria in the fifth sitting of last year, so that the interior tranquillity of the country is menaced while the general tranquillity is compromised, the Confederation as a body, after having used all the constitutional ways and means, and legal means of conciliation of the countries in question, is to consider itself *bound to intervene* in order to prevent such an explosion, or to re-establish tranquillity, if it is already compromised. In such a case the confederate state thus agitated is equally entitled to *reclaim the succour of the Confederation, as the latter is bound to accord it.*"

20. These clauses in the fundamental statutes of the Confederation rendered it a matter of impossibility to establish in any of the lesser states constitutions not in accordance with the views of the great military powers, whose tendencies towards absolute government were fixed and unalterable; for, the Diet being declared competent to intervene in any internal disputes between a sovereign prince and his subjects, and the former as being entitled to reclaim it, the smallest state in the Confederacy was liable on any internal convulsion to be overwhelmed by the entire forces of the gigantic

"*bund*" invoked by the ruling government. This state of things effectually prevented the growth of liberal institutions to any considerable extent in any of the free cities or lesser states of the Confederacy, where they were most likely to arise. If Middlesex, Manchester, Glasgow, and Ireland, had formed part of a huge confederacy, which could bring 300,000 men into the field, and in which the decided majority was in the hands of the military and monarchical powers, the efforts of the Catholic Association, Reform Clubs, and Anti-Corn-Law League, would probably have met with a very different result from that which, in the sea-girt and commercial realm of Britain, actually attended them.

21. The anti-democratic and despotic tendencies of the Diet became every day more conspicuous with the increase of the opposite principles in the Spanish peninsula, France, and England, in the years 1818, 1819, and 1820, of which a full account has already been given. The overthrow of the established government in Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Piedmont, in those eventful years, the open attempts to subvert it in Great Britain, and the narrow escape from revolution made by France, excited the utmost alarm in the courts of the northern powers, and it became the chief object of their solicitude to prevent the spread of similar principles in the states of the German Confederacy. To accomplish this object, the congress at Carlsbad agreed on an official letter of the Emperor of Austria to the Diet on 20th September 1819,* which set forth in strong terms the apprehensions felt by his Majesty at the alarming spread of democratic principles in the adjoining

* "Jamais les fondateurs de la Fédération Allemande n'ont pu supposer que l'on doit donner à l'article 13 des interprétations qui seraient en contradiction avec la teneur littérale et claire de cette disposition, ou que l'on dût en tirer des conséquences qui annuleraient non seulement l'article 13, mais le texte entier de l'acte entier de la confédération dans toutes ses dispositions principales, et qui rendraient l'existence ultérieure de l'union elle-même très problématique. Jamais il n'ont pu supposer que l'on confondrait le principe non équivoque des états organisés

states, and earnestly counselled the adoption of such measures as might prevent the evil from spreading in the states of the Confederacy. In this letter the false interpretation put upon article 13th of the Act of Federal Union,* the incorrect ideas which prevailed regarding the functions of the Federal Assembly, and the means of obviating them, the defective regime of schools and universities, and the abuses of the press, especially such part of it as is composed of journal and periodical writings, were in an especial manner recommended to their attention.

22. In pursuance of this recommendation, the Diet took the different points brought under their notice into consideration, and framed a resolution on the subject which bore strong evidence of the influence of Austria in the Confederacy, and the disastrous effect which the revolution in the Spanish and Italian peninsulas had had on the progress of real freedom. It was agreed that all the federal states should each at their sittings next year present to the Diet a note containing their ideas on the interpre-

tation to be put on the 13th article of the Fundamental Act; and in the mean time, until a definitive regulation on the subject could be formed, it was agreed *unanimously* that an interim one should be adopted, and for that purpose that provincial regulations should be agreed to, calculated to check the abuses in universities and of the press. For that purpose a central authority was instituted, empowered to take cognisance of the matters, and in particular of the revolutionary attempts which had been brought to light in many states of the Confederacy. A commission was at the same time appointed to carry this resolution into full effect, which was to sit permanently, notwithstanding the adjournment of the Central Diet.

23. To carry these views more fully into effect, a supreme tribunal, entitled "Austregal," was appointed, which was empowered to pronounce judgment without appeal in any questions which might arise between members of the Confederation, and to carry into instant execution the decisions of the Diet by military force, the expense of

d'un pays, principe à l'affermissement duquel ils mettaient un grand prix, avec des principes et des formes purement démocratiques, et que l'on foudroyait sur ce mal-entendu des prétentions, dont on devait aperecevoir d'abord ou du moins reconnaître dans très peu de temps l'incompatibilité avec l'existence d'états monarchiques, qui, à l'exception peu considérable de villes libres comme dans cette alliance, doivent être les seuls éléments de la confédération. . . . Les décisions de la Diète Fédérale, en tant qu'elles ont pour but la sûreté extérieure et intérieure du corps entier, l'indépendance et l'inviolabilité individuelle des membres de la confédération, et le maintien de l'ordre légalement existant, qui est inséparable de l'une et de l'autre, doivent avoir une fois obligation pour tous, et aucune législation particulière et aucune mesure séparée ne peut s'opposer à l'exécution de telles décisions. . . . Une grande partie des professeurs académiques, entraînés par le torrent d'un siècle de bouleversement général, ont méconnu les vraies dispositions des universités, et y ont substitué une éducation arbitraire et souvent pernicieuse. Au lieu de remplir le premier de leurs devoirs, qui est de former les jeunes gens confiés à leurs soins pour le service de l'état auquel ils étaient appelés, et de leur inspirer les principes dont la patrie à laquelle ils appartiennent puisse se promettre d'heureux fruits, ils ont poursuivi le fantôme d'une éducation sol-disant cosmopolite, ils ont répandu un chaos

de vaines rêveries dans des âmes également accessibles à la vérité et à l'erreur, et leur ont suggéré, sinon de l'animosité, du moins des idées désavantageuses et de la répugnance pour l'ordre légal existant. . . . Les maux sans nombre que la liberté de la presse a répandue sur l'Allemagne sont encore beaucoup accrues depuis que la publicité des délibérations des états et l'extension de cette publicité à des objets, qui ne devraient jamais sortir du sanctuaire des sénats pour être livrés à la publicité, que dans les formes régulières et solennelles, mais jamais pour servir de jeu à une vaine curiosité et à une critique superficielle, a donné à l'audace des écrivains un nouvel aliment, et a fourni à chaque gazetier un prétexte pour élever sa voix sur des affaires qui présentent encore des doutes et des difficultés aux plus grands hommes d'état. Il serait inutile de rappeler à quel point les abus pernicieux sont enfin montés, quel bouleversement dans les idées, quelles fermentations dans les esprits, quel tumulte des passions, quels égarements fanatiques, quels crimes enfin elle a fait naître; et l'on ne peut supposer que la partie bien-pensante et vraiment éclairée de la nation Allemande, puisse être d'une opinion différente, ou être partagée dans son jugement sur un mal aussi notoire."—Lettre de l'Empereur d'Autriche à la Diète d'Allemagne, 29 Sept. 1819; Arch. Dip. iv. 117, 137.

* That guaranteeing Estates in all the states of the Union.

which was to form a charge against and be levied on the state which rendered such extreme measures necessary. The powers of this court were not long of being exercised. On 30th May 1823, the journal entitled *Der Deutsche Beobachter* was suppressed at Mayence by orders of the Federal Diet, and several other journals in the lesser states were stopped in like manner by the same authority. The constitutions of the lesser states, which contained several of the elements of freedom, were sanctioned by the Diet; but as they were all subject to this overruling authority, and without the means of resisting it, they could have no results in establishing the liberties of Germany. Prussia, in particular, took the lead in resisting the demand for the convocation of a general diet or parliament for the regulation of the affairs of the kingdom. On 5th June 1823 the definitive regulations respecting the *provincial* estates of that kingdom were published, but the convocation of a general diet was passed over in silence, and the promise of the Government in that respect was never carried into execution till it was forced upon it by the revolution of 1848.

24. A deplorable event occurred at this period, which demonstrated the strength of the feeling in favour of political freedom which had got possession of the German mind, and the lengths which its impassioned youth were prepared to go to carry out their principles. KOTZEBUE, the celebrated dramatist, was suspected of being in correspondence with the Emperor of Russia, by whom he had been made a councillor of state, as to the state of public opinion in the cities of Germany; and from the manner in which the Czars seek out talent, and allure it into their service wherever it is to be found, it is probable that the suspicion was well founded. On this account he was, despite his great talents and the popularity of his writings, regarded with undisguised aversion by the liberal youth of Germany; and one of them, Charles Frederick Sand, who had distinguished himself by his courage in the war of liberation,

undertook to deliver his country from the traitor. He was the instrument employed by the secret societies to effect the murder on which they had resolved. With this view he repaired to Mannheim, where Kotzebue was residing with his family, and there his murderous intent was too fatally carried into execution. Having obtained entrance into his house under the pretext of business, he delivered to him a paper, on which were written the words, "Sentence of death executed against Augustus Kotzebue, 23d March 1819." He then drew a poniard from his bosom, with which he pierced him to the heart. Alarmed by his cries, Kotzebue's wife arrived in the room only in time to see him expire. The assassin quietly rose, left the room, and descended the stair of the house, exclaiming, "The traitor is dead, the Fatherland is saved! *Vivat Teutonia!*" Then, as a crowd, attracted by the cries of Kotzebue's wife, followed him, he turned calmly round, and, drawing the bloody dagger from his bosom, he said, "Yes! I am the murderer! It is thus that all traitors to their country should perish." Then, kneeling down, and raising his eyes beaming with fervour to heaven, he exclaimed, "I thank thee, O God! for permitting me to do this deed!" and, opening his vest, he plunged the dagger in his bosom, and fell to all appearance lifeless on the pavement.

25. This tragic event, which excited a prodigious sensation in Germany, was sufficiently alarming in itself, the more especially as it was followed at no very distant period by the murder of the Duke de Berri by Louvel, in Paris, the Cato Street conspiracy in London, and the revolution of Riego in Madrid. But it became doubly alarming from what afterwards occurred. Though severely, and to all appearance mortally wounded, Sand did not die, and by the care of the surgeons sent to attend him, he was recovered. He was brought to trial and convicted, but his execution did not take place for fourteen months, in consequence of the German custom not to execute a criminal till he has confessed his guilt.

It took place at length on the 20th May 1820, at six in the morning, on the road between Mannheim and Heidelberg. Notwithstanding the earliness of the hour and the distance from Mannheim, an immense crowd, deeply moved, assembled to witness the execution. Though attenuated by his long confinement and illness, Sand gazed calmly on the scaffold, and ascended it with a firm step. He declined the assistance of a Protestant minister which was offered him, and wished to address the people; but being reminded he had promised not to do so, he contented himself with exclaiming with a loud voice, that he died for his country. Seated in the fatal chair, he received the stroke without shrinking. His head was severed from his body with one blow, and numbers of students who had come up from Heidelberg dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood. Such was the interest excited in Germany by his fate, that, within a few weeks after, his mother had received above four thousand letters of condolence from all parts of the country. The chair in which he sat at his execution was purchased by a society for six louis.

26. No good cause was ever yet advanced by crime; on the contrary, many have been retarded, some ruined by it. The assassination of Kotzebue was as detrimental to the cause of freedom as that of Marat had been; the dagger of Sand was not more an instrument of good than that of Charlotte Corday. The open sympathy evinced for the assassin, and the multitudes who gave proof of having embraced his principles, justly awakened the alarm of all the sovereigns of Europe. It was known that Kotzebue's death had been the work of the secret societies, and their number was very great in Northern and Central Germany. Along the Rhine, the Elbe, and the Maine, for hundreds of miles, nearly all the young men appeared in the ancient German costume, the chosen symbol of the confederates, and which at once revealed their numbers, and suggested "an ancient ideal system of Teutonic freedom." Meetings of enthusiastic students were held in vari-

ous parts of Switzerland, particularly the field of Rutli and the chapel of Tell, with long beards, and in the old costume, where secret signs were adopted, and the most fervent spirit awakened. In the streets of Jena and Heidelberg, and under the walls of the palace of Darmstadt, the celebrated song was nightly heard, "Princes, arise! ye people, rise!" the author of which, though universally sought after, was never discovered. These symptoms, coexisting with the overthrow of the governments of the Spanish and Italian peninsulas at the same time, excited the utmost alarm in all the Courts of the Confederacy; and to this cause, more than any other, is to be ascribed the decisive measures soon after adopted, which checked for a long period the progress of German freedom.

27. The views entertained at this period on the constitutional question by the German Governments, are well expressed in a circular addressed by the Cabinet of Berlin to the allied powers, on October 19, 1819: "For long the fermentation of ideas that prevails in Germany has awakened the most serious alarm in all who are attached to social order or public tranquillity. How sound soever the feelings of the great body of the people may be, and howsoever attached to their sovereigns, it is in vain to disguise that there exists in society a *sourde* fermentation, which is sedulously kept alive by the unbridled licence of writings and speeches. That mental fermentation is in part natural, and may be explained by the extraordinary events which, during the war of liberation, drew all classes from their natural sphere, by the sacrifices which the deliverance of Germany cost all its inhabitants, and which they felt the more keenly in the calm which succeeded the storm; by the exaggerated hopes, which expected to see an age of gold arise out of that age of iron; and by the violent monetary and commercial crises which arose out of the great efforts of the preceding period, and could not be at once restored to their natural level. But in addition to these natural sources of

discontent, there has of late years acted upon society an artificial discontent, springing from the erroneous principles, chimerical and ambitious theories, base and interested passions, engendered and set afloat by the revolutionary spirit, and by the writings and speeches of the democratic party. No one can have for long surveyed the state of Germany, especially in the north and west, without recognising the existence of a party extending its ramifications over all that vast country, drawing its origin from secret societies, and fortified by extensive associations, the object of which is to overturn Germany, and substitute for its actual divisions and governments a republic, one and indivisible.

28. "An atrocious crime, recently perpetrated, gives the measure of the frenzy and the audacity of the revolutionary party. That assassination, committed by a single individual, who possibly had no accomplices, was not the less the fruit of a general train of thought, the unmistakable symptom of a diseased state of mind, extended, general, which thus revealed itself to terrify Germany. To be convinced of this, it is only necessary to collect the opinions of the most enlightened classes, of professors and students in universities, and of nearly all the writers subjected to their influence, who have all striven to justify or extenuate a deed which has shocked the moral feelings of all the unsophisticated part of mankind: while it inspired horror in some, it awakened only admiration in others. The inquiries which this event has occasioned in Prussia have led to similar ones in other parts of Germany, and the result has been everywhere the same; universally have been discovered the existence and activity of a party, which has been engaged in sowing in the shade, for a future more or less remote, the seeds of a revolution. The leaders communicate by letter, but more frequently by personal intercourse or missionaries; linked together by identity of sentiments, they understand each other without being introduced, or having even met. Their object is to

remould society, to efface all the political divisions of Germany, to substitute a real unity of that vast country for the union of its members, and to arrive, over the ruins of the existing order, at a new state of things.

29. "Their mode of action is to apply themselves sedulously to the rising generation, by giving them, in all the establishments of education, from the schools to the universities, the same spirit, the same sentiments, the same habits. That spirit is one of independence and pride, of subversive principles, based on an abstruse system of metaphysics, and on a mystical theology, in order to strengthen political by religious fanaticism. Those sentiments are, the contempt for all that exists, a hatred against kings and governments, an enthusiasm for the phantom which they call liberty, and a love for all extraordinary things. Those habits are such as increase physical strength, and, above all, a taste for secret and mysterious associations, to be used as so many arms against society. The 'Zurnwesen' and 'Burschenschaft,' tending to make of the whole youth of Germany *a state within the state*, have no other object. It is intended that in a few years hence these young men, formed in this manner, entirely docile to the precepts of their masters, placed in the government, should make use of their power to overturn it. The doctrine of these sectarians, as the crime committed at Manheim, and the numerous apologies made for it, have revealed, is based upon two measures, equally perverse. The first is, that the end justifies the means; the second, that the merit of actions depends entirely on the ideas which have suggested them, and that those ideas are always praiseworthy when they have the independence of Germany for their object. Such is the nature of the evil which the inquiries that have been set on foot have revealed. It is evident that they do not point to conspiracies, *but to revolution, and that not in Prussia alone, but in entire Germany; not at the present, but some future time.*"

30. Such was the chief part of this.

celebrated manifesto, which subsequent events have rendered prophetic. Amidst some exaggerations usual in such state papers, it is evident that the able memoir of M. Bernstorff faithfully depicted the condition of the youth of Germany at the period when it was written; and if any one doubts the fidelity of the portrait, he has only to turn to the annals of 1848, for there he will find its realisation. In one particular only it exhibited a fallacious, or rather a one-sided view. It told truly and without exaggeration the existing principles and views of the combined youth of Germany, and the dangers to be apprehended from them; but it did not tell what was equally true, the strength of the conservative feelings in the great bulk of the rural population, and the power of government in every state, arising from the knowledge that it would be supported, if matters came to a crisis, by the whole military strength of the Confederacy. This circumstance rendered any general convulsion at *that* period impossible, or rather hopeless of success; but it postponed the danger rather than removed it, and it was easy to foresee that if a crisis was to arise, so agitating the minds of men as to shake the great military monarchies of Austria and Prussia, Germany would become the theatre of a convulsion more widespread and violent than any which had yet devastated the world.

31. But these were remote and future effects; in the mean time the reaction against the revolutionary spirit evoked by the Spanish and Italian revolutions was attended with decisive effects, which for nearly twenty years arrested the progress of constitutional freedom in Germany. The measures of repression recommended by the Cabinet of Vienna, and adopted by the Diet, as already mentioned, on 28th September in this year, were immediately and energetically carried into execution. Vigorous measures, especially against the schools, the universities, and the press, were universally adopted, and their effect was thus set forth by Prince Metter-

nich, in a circular to foreign courts, on 18th December 1819: "The resolutions of the Diet of Frankfort of 20th September are in course of execution in every part of Germany, and already their beneficial effects have been experienced. The agitation has sensibly diminished, the revolutionists are coerced, several of them have sought an asylum in foreign lands; the good men and true are daily increasing, and strengthened by the accession of the weak and timid, who always take part with the gaining cause. This first reactionary movement against the revolutionary principle has been powerfully supported by the energetic measures of the British Parliament; and if the French Ministry has the wisdom to profit by this fortunate conjunction to adopt a more monarchical policy, nothing can hereafter oppose the complete triumph of the friends of order, especially in an epoch when the intimate union which subsists between the great powers renders, so to speak, all political complications impossible."

32. The outbreak of the Neapolitan revolution in 1820 excited the utmost alarm in the German governments, from its close proximity to the discontented states of central and northern Italy. It drew forth a confidential circular from Prince Metternich to the different courts of the Confederacy, in which he stated: "The recent events in Naples have proved, with stronger evidence than any anterior event of the kind, that even in a state wisely and temperately governed, and among a quiet people, content with their rulers, the venom of the revolutionary sects may produce the most violent convulsions, and induce a sudden catastrophe. It is completely proved that it was the intrigues of the Carbonari which alone, without any external shock, without any cause even pretended, have produced the seditious movements which have determined, in a moment of distress, his Majesty the King of Naples to abdicate the government, to dissolve the existing authorities, and to proclaim a constitution strange to his

country, which has not even stood the test of experience among the people where it originated; in other words, to erect anarchy into law. The Emperor is convinced that that unexpected event will make the deepest impression on all the courts of Germany. It teaches by a memorable example, how dangerous it is to behold with the eye of indifference the movements of the secret societies which work in the dark, and how wisely the princes of Germany have acted in watching with vigilance, and repressing with severity, the first symptoms of similar culpable conspiracies."

33. When such was the terror excited in the courts of Austria and Prussia, who commanded a decided majority of votes in the Diet and wielded three-fourths of the military force of the Confederacy, by the revolutions of Spain and Naples, and the spread of secret societies in Germany, it was not to be expected that the principles of constitutional freedom could make any progress. Accordingly, after a period of prolonged discussion, in the form of notes, resolutions, and protocols, in which, with the progress of change in the south of Europe, the influence of the great military powers became daily more conspicuous, the final and fundamental act of the Confederacy was unanimously agreed to. It contained various and minute provisions for securing the Confederacy from external attack and internal disorder, which rendered it impossible for any single state, especially of the lesser order, to resist the general will, as expressed by the great military powers who possessed a preponderance of votes.* On

* "Si dans un état confédéré, par suite d'une résistance des sujets contre l'autorité, la tranquillité intérieure est menacée immédiatement, et qu'il y ait à craindre une propagation de mouvements séditieux, ou qu'une sédition réelle ait éclaté, et si le gouvernement lui-même, après avoir épuisé les moyens constitutionnels et légaux, réclame l'assistance de la Confédération, la Diète est en devoir de procurer un secours prompt pour rétablir l'ordre. Si dans ce dernier cas le gouvernement étant notoirement hors d'état de réprimer la sédition par ses propres forces, et en même temps empêché par les circonstances de demander l'assist-

the delicate and much-canvassed matter of the formation of constitutions, provided for by the celebrated 13th article of the Federal Act, it was declared: "Seeing that, according to the 13th article of the Federal Act, and the declarations subsequently emitted on that subject, there should be state constitutions in all the countries of the Confederation, the Federal Assembly is charged to take care that that resolution should not remain unexecuted in any confederated state. It is reserved to the *sovereign princes* of the confederated states to regulate the internal affairs, having regard as much to the established rights of the old estates which formerly existed, as to the relations resulting from existing circumstances. The constitution of estates at present in vigour *cannot be changed but in a constitutional way*. The German Confederacy being, with the exception of the free towns, formed of sovereign princes, *all the political powers are to remain vested in the supreme chief of the state*, and the sovereign cannot be bound to admit the co-operation of the estates by a constitution but in the exercise of certain determined rights. The confederated sovereigns cannot be hindered or restrained in the performance of their federal obligations by any constitution of estates. When the publicity of deliberations of the estates has been accorded by the constitution, care must be taken that neither in the deliberations themselves, nor in their publication by the press, the legal limits of the liberty of speech of the press should be passed in a manner dangerous for the public tranquillity. When a member of the

ance de la Confédération, l'assemblée fédérale n'en est pas moins obligée d'intervenir, même sans y être invitée, pour rétablir l'ordre et la sûreté. Lorsque la tranquillité publique et l'ordre légal sont menacés dans plusieurs états de la Confédération par des associations dangereuses, et des complots contre lesquels il ne peut être pris des mesures suffisantes que par la co-opération du corps entier, l'assemblée fédérale est appelée à mettre en délibération et à arrêter de telles mesures après en avoir préalablement traité avec les gouvernements qui sont menacés de plus près."—Arts. 26, 28, Acte Final; *Archives Diplomatiques*, iv. 45, 46.

Confederation desires the guarantee of the Confederacy for a constitution which has been introduced in it, the federal assembly is authorised to grant it. By so doing, it acquires the right, when the parties concerned require it, to maintain the constitution, and to smooth down the difficulties which may arise in its execution or interpretation, by an amicable mediation or a decree-arbitral, in so far as other means for attaining the same object may not have been prescribed by legislation."

34. Such was the FINAL ACT which formed the constitution of the German Confederacy, which defined and fixed its form of federal and separate government, but in the inverse ratio of the Reform Bill of England, for it did not confirm but destroyed the influence of the people in the administration of affairs. It is easy to see that in a confederacy thus constituted, and with a preponderating weight enjoyed in the federal government by the great military monarchies, the growth of constitutional freedom in Germany by pacific means was rendered impossible. The free cities, in which the spirit of liberty burned with the greatest intensity, and a few lesser states and large towns by whom it was shared, were completely kept down by the weight of Austria and Prussia, who not only commanded a majority of votes in the Diet, but had the whole military force of the Confederacy at their disposal. The clauses in the Final Act which declared that "no constitution could be changed but in a constitutional way," and that any state might call upon the Confederacy to support it if any other mode of change were attempted, were decisive, in a Confederacy constituted as the German was, against any progressive enlargement of popular rights. The first gave the initiative in any changes that might be contemplated to the constituted authorities alone; the last brought an overwhelming force to crush any attempt to introduce them by any other mode.

35. Accordingly, it soon appeared that the extension of constitutional freedom in Germany had been for long

if not finally stopped, at least in the greater states, by this act. Austria took no steps towards the establishment of a constitution in her dominions; Prussia did nearly as little. By an edict issued on 20th January 1820, the public debt was fixed at 180,091,720 dollars, and the contraction of every fresh debt was rendered dependent upon the will of the future Imperial Diet, but no mention was made of representation or estates. The definitive resolutions regarding these were published at Berlin on June 5, 1823, which laid down regulations for the formation and meeting of *provincial* estates, but passed over in silence the convocation of any parliament or national diet in Silesia. The Prussian minister, in communicating this decree of the Cabinet of Berlin to the Federal Diet, said that by this act "were accomplished the resolutions taken in common by the founders of the German Confederacy according to the 13th article of the Federal Act, and afterwards explained by the 56th article of the Final Act." He might as well have said that Charles I. would have redeemed his promise to convoke a parliament by publishing regulations for the election of town-councils, or Scotch county commissioners of supply.

36. The determination of the ruling powers in Germany to elude all demands from their subjects for performance of the promise given in the Federal Act—that constitutions should be everywhere established, and that the Confederacy would enforce performance of that undertaking—was strikingly evinced in the same year, in the proceeding which took place in regard to a petition from the prelates and equestrian order in Holstein to the Diet, to enforce upon their sovereign, the King of Denmark, the formation of a constitution. The Diet eluded this petition in the first instance by a resolution, which appeared reasonable, that they would give the ministers of the King time to prepare a constitution; accompanying that resolution with a report which sufficiently indicated the prevailing influence in its majority, and the manner in which

the demand for constitutions would be received by them.* And, finally, when the demand for a constitution could no longer be put off by a request for time, the matter was disposed of *unanimously* by the adoption of the following resolution proposed by Austria: "The Diet having now acquired the certainty that the ancient constitution of Holstein is no longer in activity, the reclamation of the prelates and equestrian order in the duchy of Holstein is refused as inadmissible, according to the 56th article of the Final Act. Nevertheless it is intimated to the petitioners for their satisfaction, that the King of Denmark, according to the reiterated assurances given to the Diet by his representatives, has pledged himself to give to the duchy of Holstein a constitution which, according to the 55th article of the Final Act, is to combine, so far as possible, regard to ancient rights with reference to the actual circumstances of the present time."

37. It became evident from these

* "Sa Majesté l'Empereur ne trouvera jamais convenable, que cette Assemblée fixe des termes aux princes souverains de la Confédération pour donner des constitutions à leurs états. S. M. I. a non seulement à l'égard du Roi de Danemark, mais encore envers tous les hauts confédérés, sa parfaite confiance qu'ils rempliront fidèlement les devoirs qu'ils ont contractés en cette qualité, et elle sait apprécier la prudence et les soins paternels avec lesquels les affaires ont été préparées dans les états de la Confédération. S'il était aussi facile de donner des constitutions, que se le figurent dans leur imagination quelques écrivains modernes, alors les hommes d'état que les princes d'Allemagne ont chargés avec une entière confiance de ce grand ouvrage mériteraient des reproches pour leurs délais, mais les exemples si instructifs que nous offre l'histoire ne doivent assurément pas être perdus pour nous. Tous les jours nous voyons les peuples saisir avidement les constitutions comme l'idéal du plus grand bonheur sur la terre, et nous les voyons ensuite goûter une véritable satisfaction, lorsque par leur propre force ou par un secours étranger ils se sont délivrés de la constitution qu'une main perverse les a contraints d'adopter. L'Allemand réfléchi, ayant égard à la manière prudente dont son souverain père traite tout avec maturité ne se méfiera point de la pureté des intentions du gouvernement, et l'Allemand fidèle reconnaissant de ces soins paternels qui embrassant tous les rapports s'attachera encore plus intimement à son souverain."—*Rapport de la Commission de la Diète à Frankfort, 10th July 1823.*

proceedings that the only steps towards constitutional government which the larger states of Germany were to obtain at this time, in implement of the promise contained in the Federal Act, was to be found in the provincial estates of Prussia. By the edict of June 5, 1823, regarding them, it was enacted: 1. That the provincial estates shall be put into activity; 2. That the possession of landed property should be the condition of admission into them; 3. That the provincial estates are the legal organ of the different classes of subjects in each province. The provincial estates are called on to deliberate, not only on projects of laws affecting the local interests of their own provinces, but also, so long as estates-general were not convoked, the projects of such laws as propose changes in the rights of persons or of property. The King reserved to himself the right to fix the epoch of assembling the estates-general, and the manner in which it should be formed from the provincial estates. The elections were to be for six years, and the diets were to be convoked during the first six years every two years. The president and vice-president were to be named by the King. The members of the provincial estates were divided into three classes: 1. The equestrian order, into which certain families were to have entrance by right of birth; 2. The members for towns, who should be proprietors in them, or members of their magistracies; 3. The order of peasants, or proprietors of free lands or hereditary farms. In the provinces where there were most nobles, the deputies of the towns and the country were to be at least equal to the equestrian order—into which last would be admitted not only persons of noble descent, but those who had acquired their estates.

38. The principle of this system of representation, and the motives which had led to its being so long withheld, were thus expressed in a letter from Count Bernstorff, the Prussian minister of foreign affairs, to all the Prussian legations: "The King of Prussia, the sincere friend of freedom, and father of a faithful and devoted people,

has never hesitated a single instant to abide by his royal word spontaneously given in 1815, by which he engaged to organise anew the representation of the Prussian people. The principle of that representation, established for ages in Germany, is that of deputation BY ORDERS. It is that ancient principle and legitimate right which the Government felt it was bound to adapt to the wants and the interests of the age. It was necessary to study the pre-existing relations, the base of the institutions which were to be founded, to ascertain the real wishes of the nation, and to meditate on the obstacles which thwart and the dangers which accompany innovation. Doubtless it would have been easy to proclaim a constitution of paper according to the abstract theories of the day, but such constitutions never endure. In addition to this, the Prussian Government had another motive for proceeding with caution, and that was the universal agitation which prevailed in all countries, and the efforts of innovators, and enthusiasts especially, by means of secret societies. It was indispensable that that fermentation should be calmed, in order that the new institutions should be presented as a free gift of the royal wisdom, not as a concession extorted from them by the spirit of revolution."

39. This circular reveals the dread which the Prussian Government entertained of the secret societies, which had overturned the thrones in all the monarchies of southern Europe, and had such extensive ramifications in Central and Northern Germany. The extension of these secret societies to the universities in an especial manner excited the apprehensions of Government, and the chief of them, entitled the "Armorica," was denounced by name, and its members subjected to various disabilities. The students at the universities were compelled at the termination of their studies, if they desired to become candidates for any public employment, to declare that they regretted having taken part in it, if they had done so, and that they would never belong to associations of

a similar nature. In addition to this they were obliged to pass a year out of Berlin or the cities containing universities, and remain during all that period under the surveillance of the public authorities. Students of medicine could not obtain their degrees but on the same conditions.

40. The constitution thus given at the eleventh hour to the provinces of Prussia was the shadow of a representative government, and but the shadow. The estates thus established possessed no real authority in the state, and they were to be convoked at such distant periods that they could not exercise any material influence on the opinions of its inhabitants. They had neither the initiating of laws, nor the power of rejecting them, nor the power of granting or withholding supplies, placing or displacing ministers, or controlling the march of internal government or foreign administration. With the exception of the local concerns of their respective provinces, the estates could do nothing but express their *opinion* concerning proposed changes in the laws regarding person or property, which changes were to emanate only from the ministers of the Crown. In all respects the powers and duties thus devolved upon the provincial assemblies very closely resembled those enjoyed by the town-councils in England, or the commissioners of supply or burgh magistrates in Scotland, who are elected by certain classes of the people for the performance of certain duties under Government, and are at liberty when assembled to express their opinions on proposed acts of Parliament which may appear to affect their interests, but enjoy no power, save by the influence of that opinion on the Government, of either advancing or obstructing them.

41. This shadow of a representation was so obviously a deviation from that which had been solemnly promised by the King in 1815, and sanctioned by the 13th article of the Federal Act, that it is probable that, despite the great weight of the military monarchies in the Confederacy, it would have led to serious disturbances in

Prussia and the whole north of Germany long before the great convulsion of 1848, had it not been for the influence of two circumstances which calmed the public mind, and gave a different direction to the general thought. The first of these was the beneficial effect of some of the measures adopted by the Congress of Vienna, and embodied in the Federal Act. Perhaps the most important of these were certain regulations which provided for the free navigation of rivers, particularly the Rhine and the Elbe, by the acts of the Congress of Vienna, 9th June 1815, and of the Federal Diet at subsequent periods. By a most important act also, which applied to all Germany, concerning the exportation of goods, it was provided that all restrictions or duties which limited or burdened the transmission of goods from one state of the Confederacy to another should be abolished.* The effects of these enactments upon the material prosperity of Germany were immense. They created all the states of the Confederacy into one vast empire, which not only enjoyed the inestimable blessings of internal peace and external security, but gave them the hardly less important advantages of free trade and communication among each other; and its great rivers, instead of being subjected as heretofore to endless tolls and exactions for the advantage of the petty sovereigns who dwelt upon their banks, were restored to the destination assigned them by nature—that of being the arteries and natural canals, which diffused wealth and prosperity through the state.

42. The next circumstance which tended to deaden, for a time at least, the ardent wish of the people of Northern Germany for free institutions, was

* "Sont compris dans la franchise fédérale d'exportation les biens de toute espèce passant d'un état de la Confédération dans l'autre, soit par suite d'émigration ou à titre de succession de vente d'échange, donation, dot, ou d'autre manière, et tout impôt qui restreint l'exportation des biens entre les états qui font partie de la Confédération, ou de la propriété des biens entre les sujets des états confédérés, est déclaré aboli."—*Décision de la Diète Fédérale*, June 23, 1827; *Archives Diplomatiques*, iv. p. 103.

the uncommon wisdom and beneficent measures of the Government of Prussia during the quarter of a century which followed the termination of the war. Her leading statesmen during that period, Hardenberg, Bernstorff, Humboldt, and many others, were men of great capacity and enlarged views, who had learned wisdom and become practically acquainted with affairs in the school of adversity, and who, having seen their country extricated by a miracle from the jaws of destruction, applied their great talents earnestly and indefatigably to the healing of its wounds and the amelioration of its institutions. It is often more easy to do this in a despotic than in a free country, when the government of the former is in good hands, just as it is more easy to do mischief, because in either case the march of government is less restrained by the efforts for good or evil of party. Prussia had suffered so dreadfully in consequence of its conquest by France, and its long occupation by the troops of that country, that social improvement had become visibly to all classes, from the prince to the peasant, a matter of state necessity. This overwhelming pressure, like seasons of adversity upon an individual, produced the most salutary effects, and there is perhaps not to be found in the annals of the world a period when more wise and beneficent internal legislation was applied to a people, or its fruits appeared in a more sudden burst of general prosperity.

43. An account has been given, in a former work, of the admirable reforms, the offspring of necessity, which the Prussian Government, under the able guidance of Stein and Scharnhorst, introduced in 1807 and 1808, after the peace of Tilsit, into the civil and military administration of the monarchy, and which, beyond all doubt, prepared in silence, beneath the cold shade of adversity, the glorious resurrection of 1813.* The same system was continued with unabated vigour after the general peace had relieved the Government of the crushing weight of the warlike armaments, and left them leisure to

* *Hist. of Europe*, 1789-1815, c. 51, § 8-15.

attend to the all-important concerns of their civil administration. "Everything for the people, nothing by them," which Napoleon described as the true secret of government, was the ruling principle of their administration. Hence the greatest solicitude was evinced for the instruction of the people in all grades, from the humble parish school to the highest departments of science in the universities, which, as already mentioned, was attended with such success that Prussia may now with justice take its place as the most generally educated country in Europe. The peasantry were everywhere emancipated from the remains of feudal servitude, and intrusted, as well as the burghers, with the choice of municipal magistrates, who had the entire direction of their civic and local concerns. Provincial assemblies, though endowed as yet with no real power, gave the people, at stated though distant intervals, a legitimate channel whereby to make known their opinion upon any changes projected by the Government in matters affecting their persons or properties. Free trade was established in its most unlimited sense, not only between all the provinces of the Empire, but between all the states of the Confederacy; all restraints were removed from the navigation of the rivers; and hitherto unheard-of markets were opened up in every direction for the productions of industry. New universities were established at Berlin, Breslau, and Bonn, all respectably endowed, and furnished with valuable libraries and museums; and schools to such an extent were set on foot over the whole country, that the wish of George III. in regard to his British subjects was realised: "Every man in the kingdom could read his Bible." In 1821 an extremely useful regulation was published for the division of commons; in 1822, one for the establishment of an extra post. Finally, an admirable system of military organisation drew forth, without oppression, the whole physical strength of the state in defence of the country. Every man, of whatever rank, was bound to render

three years' service, between eighteen and twenty-one, in the regular army, and was liable up to the age of thirty-nine to do duty in the landwehr,—a system which, without diverting any individual permanently, except those who chose arms as a profession, from pacific life, trained all to military duties, and inspired all with military spirit.

44. Social and political reforms of this description, which remove the fetters from industry and enlarge the means of wellbeing to all classes, may for a considerable time stifle the voice of complaint, and weaken the desire for change; but their ultimate effect, in an intelligent community, is to increase them. The reason is, that they create or extend a middle class in society, which, with the acquisition of wealth and independence, inevitably becomes inspired with the desire to share in or even monopolise the government of the state. Hence it was that the feudal noblesse everywhere entertained such jealousy of the boroughs which threatened to encroach on their exclusive jurisdiction, and that a natural alliance sprang up between them and the sovereign for defence against their common enemy. It is probable, therefore, that the rapid growth of population, wealth, and prosperity in Prussia, would have had its usual effect of inducing a struggle for political power much earlier than it actually occurred, were it not for another event which occurred ere long, and for a considerable period totally altered the ideas and prevailing passions of men. That event was the French Revolution of 1830.

45. Calamitous in every quarter to the interests of freedom, that great event was in an especial manner fatal to Teutonic liberty. It gave a new direction to men's minds, and in the end for a course of years substituted the terror of French conquest for the sturdy spirit of German independence. Exciting the revolutionary passions in the very highest degree in the smaller states and free cities of the Confederacy, and occasioning, as has been already seen, tumults in many, revolution in some, it proportionably aug-

mented the alarm of the great military monarchies in which the power of the sword was really vested. The diplomatic relations between Austria and Prussia were immediately, upon the fall of Charles X., drawn closer, and military preparations on a great scale commenced in both countries to meet the expected invasion of the French. The Austrian army was raised to 360,000 men, of whom 80,000 men were sent to Italy, and 40,000 stationed on the Gallician frontier; while in Prussia two armies were formed, one of 80,000 men under Prince William, and one of 75,000 under General Borstel, whose headquarters were at Aix-la-Chapelle. The warlike spirit became universal in the Prussian youth; it entirely and at once supplanted that of internal discontent. "A national sentiment," says the annalist, "then got entire possession of the Prussian youth. Terror at the thoughts of the conquest of 1814 and 1815 slipping from their hands, and a jealous dread of the tricolor flag, formed an effectual barrier against the revolutionary contagion."

46. These sentiments, so natural in a country in which the national feelings had been recently so strongly roused, and which had only been delivered by a unanimous and unparalleled effort from the grinding tyranny of French domination, were greatly increased and worked up to a perfect climax by the Belgian and Polish revolutions. When the Cabinets of Vienna and Berlin beheld Belgium revolutionised, and the Kingdom of the Netherlands dissevered, Italy in a general revolutionary convulsion, Switzerland shaking to its centre, and Poland in the throes of mortal struggle for recovery of its independence, they not unreasonably supposed that a general war was approaching, and took their measures accordingly. When the people saw the French republicans indulging in visions of universal conquest, and the clubs resounding with declamations about advancing their eagles to the Elbe, the Vistula, and the Danube, they were seized with the

old dread of French conquest. They knew, by dear-bought experience, what followed the victories of the republicans. They had not forgotten what ensued after the battle of Jena. Merciless requisitions, grievous taxes, they were well aware, stalked in the rear of the tricolor flag. The landwehr was now called out in all the states of the Confederacy, and the people everywhere joyfully obeyed the summons. They repaired to their several rallying-points singing the songs of Körner, recounting the victories of the Fatherland. The querulous discontent of the journalists and students in a few towns was drowned in the loud shout of national exultation. Severe measures were enacted by the Governments against the licence of the press and the machinations of the secret societies, but they did not require to be put in execution. The recreants to the cause of Germany had already been gibbeted on the scaffold of popular indignation. Such were the effects which followed the triumph of the Barricades in the cause of liberty on the right bank of the Rhine! If the demon of tyranny had been given his choice of the event which was most effectually to serve the cause of despotism in Europe, he could not have selected any one which would answer his purpose so effectually as the triumph of the three glorious days in Paris.

47. Still greater was the impression produced in Germany by the *entente cordiale* which ensued between France and England in consequence of the Reform revolution in the latter country. When the reality and sincerity of this new and unprecedented alliance were evinced in the union of the two kingdoms to support the pretensions of Belgium against Holland, and the junction of the fleets of the one power with the armies of the other to effect the reduction of the citadel of Antwerp, a universal consternation seized the whole Fatherland. It seemed impossible that Germany could avoid being drawn into the quarrel, for the King of the Netherlands had appealed, as Grand-duke of Luxembourg, to the

Diet of Frankfort to protect him in his rights to that duchy, which formed part of the Confederacy. In truth, Europe then stood on the verge of a general war, and nothing but the dread of the united power of France and England, and the financial embarrassment which had been bequeathed to all nations by the unparalleled exertions of the last conflict, prevented it from breaking out. But though these causes averted hostilities even at the eleventh hour, when every hostile preparation had been made, they did not stop the consequences of the crisis to the cause of constitutional freedom in Germany; and those consequences were great and lasting.

48. Not content with taking the most stringent measures against the liberty of the press in her own territories, Austria took advantage of the general consternation to propose, and had influence enough in the Diet to carry, various measures which in a manner extinguished freedom of thought and expression throughout the Confederacy. The fermentation of men's minds, especially in the lesser states, where representative assemblies were established and a certain degree of liberty of the press existed, was such that it was evident that, if it went on, a civil war or breaking up of the Confederacy would inevitably ensue. In this crisis the measures of the Diet, under the guidance of Metternich, were vigorous and decisive. Not content with simply demanding, as it had done in the preceding year, the execution by the separate sovereigns of the decree against the licentiousness of the press and popular assemblages, it went a step farther, and, by a resolution on March 2, suppressed of its own authority three leading journals on the liberal side—viz., the *German Tribune* and *Messenger of the West*, which were published in Rhenish Bavaria, and the *Wings of Time* at Frankfort. This decree was accompanied by another, which interdicted the editors of and writers in them from engaging in any similar undertaking. This was shortly after followed by decrees of the Diet

on the 28th June and 5th July, which in a manner extinguished the constitutional liberties of Germany. By them it was declared—1. The states of the Confederacy are not bound to sanction the decrees of the chambers in particular states, except in so far as they are in harmony with the principles of the Confederacy. 2. Any refusal by the chambers to raise or sanction taxes in a particular state is to be held as an act of rebellion, which the Confederacy is bound to suppress by force. 3. The internal legislation of particular states is not to be permitted to run counter to the general objects of the Confederacy, or thwart the execution of the decrees of the Diet. 4. A commission shall be nominated by the Diet, to last for six years, with power to watch over the proceedings of the chambers and enforce obedience to this resolution.* The confederated governments engage to adopt and support measures calculated to prevent any attack upon the Confederacy in the assembly of its estates. 6. The Diet alone has the right to interpret the Federal Act and the Final Act of Vienna.

49. By another resolution, passed on July 5, the introduction was prohibited, in all the states of the Confederacy, of every foreign periodical publication, containing less than twenty pages, printed in German in any foreign country; all political associations were interdicted, as well as popular fêtes not consecrated by usage, without the consent of the constituted authorities; all political speeches at such meetings, though authorised, were absolutely prohibited, as were the bearing of any colours not belonging to the nation of the person wearing them, and all planting of trees of liberty; a great many minute and rigorous enactments were decreed regarding the professors and students of universities from whom so much danger was apprehended; finally, every government

* This commission was composed of M. de Munch, minister of Austria, de Naglos of Prussia, de Manteuffel of Saxony, de de Trott of Wurtemberg, and Pechlin of Denmark for Holstein.—*Ann. Hist.*, xv. 339, note.

of the Confederacy engaged to exercise the most rigorous surveillance over its own subjects and strangers within its bounds, and engaged mutually to give up political offenders who might take refuge within their bounds from the neighbouring states. By another resolution of the Diet, on the 19th July, two journals in the grand-duchy of Baden were suppressed, and with them expired the last remnants of the liberty of the press in Germany.

50. These decisive resolutions of the German Diet created an immense sensation in western Europe, and gave rise to the most acrimonious debates and vehement condemnation both in the Liberal journals and the legislative assemblies of France and England. "These decrees," it was said in both, "consummate the labours of the congresses of Laybach, of Troppau, and of Carlsbad; strip the Germans of all the guarantees of liberty provided for them in the organic act of the Confederacy, violate the constitutions established by common accord between governments and the people, and sap the foundation of representative governments, by placing the national assemblies under a special and foreign surveillance, and denying them the right to refuse to vote taxes or of controlling their expenditure." Multitudes of petitions were presented from the free towns and liberal constituencies in the lesser states of Germany against these decrees, but in vain.* They remained the standing law of the Confederacy, and being supported by 300,000 armed men, resistance to them was out of the question. The impassioned declamations on the subject in

the English Parliament and French Chambers only confirmed the Cabinets of Vienna and Berlin in their resolution to persevere in the measures of repression which they had adopted, for they regarded them as the two great revolutionary powers; and from the violence of their language against these decrees, they took the measure of the opinion they entertained of the effect they were likely to have in arresting the revolutionary contagion.

51. These decrees were followed soon after by another measure, which indicated still more decisively the determination of the military powers of Germany to put down the revolutionary attempts which originated in its lesser states and free cities. On April 3, 1833, when the minds of the Liberal party were violently agitated by the sudden dissolution of the Chambers in Hesse-Cassel and Würtemberg, which had just taken place, a riot of a very serious kind broke out in Frankfort-on-the-Maine, which soon assumed the character of an insurrection. There could be nothing very formidable in such a movement in a little republic not containing above 80,000 inhabitants; but it assumed a very different aspect when it was recollected that it was the seat of the meetings of the Diet, and entertained relations with the disaffected in all parts of Germany. The tumult was put down by the unaided forces of the magistrates, though not without difficulty, for the insurgents fought with great courage and desperation, and many lives were lost on both sides. It appeared, however, from the examination of the prisoners taken, that the conspiracy had exten-

* "What have we to do with Austria, that old, musty, worm-eaten hollow trunk? It will be dashed to the ground by the worms of time, and in the storm will crush all those who sought shelter beneath its boughs. What advantage can absolute Prussia offer to constitutional Bavaria, that treacherous cane which pierces through the hand that thinks by leaning on it to find support? How can Prussia protect the rights of Bavaria, that red-hot Moloch, to which, with treacherous madness, a father must offer up his own child? What protection would be to us that iron colossus with feet of clay? Oh, King!

thy people adjures thee aloud, close not the unhappy alliance with these absolute powers—drive the tempter back; trifle not with the affections of the Bavarians; quit not thy people in the hour of trial and of danger, that thou mayest not, when too late, have to repent thee of having thrust them off; that when hereafter thou shalt feel the bitterness of being the vassal slave of foreigners, thy people may not turn away from thee when thou shalt crave their aid, and say, Seek help from whom thou hast more confided in than in thy Bavarian people."—*Address of Rhenish Bavaria*, July 13, 1832; *Ann. Reg.* 1832, 378.

sive ramifications in other parts of the Confederacy, especially among the students in the universities; and, during the fight, a body of strangers, armed, approached the gates, and endeavoured to force an entrance. Their object was to get possession of the federal treasure, of the archives of the Diet, and then, as from the seat of power, to proclaim a republic, one and indivisible, embracing all Germany. The Diet, which was sitting at the time, deeming the stroke levelled at the Confederacy itself, invoked the aid of its military force, which was promptly accorded. Next day a battalion from the garrison of Mayence entered the town, and they were followed on the day following by two thousand more, who permanently occupied it. At the same time, a commission was appointed to examine into the revolt, and its ramifications in other parts of Germany, composed of deputies chosen by Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Hesse, and they commenced their labours; but the inquiry soon became so extensive that no report was obtained till the following year.

52. So great was the alarm excited by this insurrection at the seat of the federal government, that it, together with jealousy at the union of France and England for the severance of Belgium from Holland, led, in a subsequent part of the same year, to a congress of sovereigns. The King of Prussia met the Emperor of Austria on August 14 at Theresienstadt, in Bohemia, and the Emperor of Russia in the following month joined them at Münchengratz, in the same province. At this conference it was agreed to assemble a congress in the succeeding year, to take into consideration the state of the Germanic Confederacy, and the difficulties which seemed to render incompatible, for any length of time, the existence of representative constitutions in any of the states with monarchical institutions in the others. In the mean time, the sovereigns agreed to a treaty, signed on January 4, by which, "in consideration of the interest which they all had in the preser-

vation of the existing order and tranquillity in the Polish provinces, they agreed mutually to deliver up persons accused of sedition or treasonable practices in any of them to the authorities in the others." At the same time a proclamation was issued by the governor of Milan against a secret society, entitled "*La Jeune Italie*," described as the most dangerous species of Carbonarism, and against the members of which the severest penalties of the criminal code were threatened.

53. The 1st January 1834 is memorable in German annals as the date of the practical establishment of the ZOLLVEREIN, or union for the purpose of collecting import and export duties on one uniform scale, for behoof of the parties composing it, which has since contributed so much to the commercial prosperity of Germany, and augmented so largely the influence and consideration of Prussia, the acknowledged head of the confederacy, and by whose servants the various duties are collected. The arrangements for the establishment of this league had been in progress during many years. The first treaties for the purpose were concluded by Prussia with the small principalities of Schwarzburg-Sondershausen and Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt in 1819 and 1822 upon the following principles: 1st, That there should be a perfect freedom of commerce between these countries and Prussia; 2d, That the duties on importation, exportation, and transit, in the states forming the league, should be identical; 3d, That these duties should be charged along the frontier of the dominions of the contracting parties; and, 4th, That each should participate in the produce of such duties in proportion to its population. All the treaties subsequently made have been concluded upon these conditions; the only modifications in the perfect freedom of trade thus introduced being confined to the following unimportant particulars: 1st, To articles constituting state monopolies; 2d, To articles of native produce burdened with a different rate

of duty in one state from another; and, 3d, To articles produced under patents.

54. In 1820, conferences were held at Darmstadt between Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, Nassau, and Saxony, with a view to a union on these principles, and were renewed from time to time, but finally broken off in 1823. In 1827, Bavaria and Würtemberg concluded with each other a customs union, which became a southern rival to the Prussian or northern one. And in September 1828, a further element of discord was introduced by the formation at Cassel of a new association, called the *Mittelverein*, between Saxony, Hanover, Brunswick, Electoral Hesse, Hamburg, Weimar, Frankfort, and Bremen, on the principle of hostility to both the Prussian and Bavarian leagues. Its fundamental condition was, that for six years none of the contracting parties should relinquish their commercial union or treat with either the Prussian or Bavarian confederacies. Prussia, however, continued her diplomatic endeavours undiscouraged. She soon detached some of its members from the *Mittelverein*, and though the remainder renewed in 1829 their alliance, which was to endure until 1840, it gradually fell to pieces and was dissolved. In 1828, Ducal Hesse, and in 1831, Electoral Hesse, joined the Prussian alliance, which thus received a very considerable extension. Active negotiations had meanwhile been going on with the Bavarian union, which

were finally crowned with success; and upon the 22d March 1833 a treaty, the corner-stone of the *ZOLLVEREIN*, was signed between the Kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg on the one part, and the King of Prussia, the Elector of Hesse, and the Grand-duke of Hesse on the other, uniting their respective states into a customs union upon the principles originally proposed by Prussia in 1818-19. Upon the 1st January 1834 this treaty came into force, and the *Zollverein* assumed the consistent form which it has ever since maintained.*

55. Embracing Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, Electoral and Ducal Hesse, Nassau, the Thuringian States and Frankfort, this great association at once introduced perfect freedom of trade into three-fourths of the Germanic states (exclusive of Austria). Throughout the vast extent of country, from Aix-la-Chapelle on the borders of the Netherlands eastward to Tilsit on the confines of Russia, and from Dantzic on the shores of the Baltic southwards to the mountains of Bohemia and Switzerland, the circulation of all commercial products is now entirely unimpeded. Any commodity that has once passed the frontier of the league may be subsequently conveyed untaxed throughout its whole extent. By this system the cost of collecting the customs' duties has been reduced to a mere trifle in comparison with its former amount. The whole dues are received into a common treasury, and apportioned to each of the allied

* EXTENT OF THE *ZOLLVEREIN* IN 1836.

STATES.	Area.	Inhabitants.	Percentage Proportion of Revenue.	Date of acceding to the Union.
	Square Miles			
Prussia and Dependencies,	109,126	13,800,126	54.56	25th October 1819.
Bavaria,	31,259	4,252,813	16.94	22d March 1833.
Saxony,	5,794	1,595,668	6.36	30th March 1833.
Würtemberg,	8,150	1,631,779	6.50	22d March 1833.
Electoral Hesse,	3,853	700,327	2.55	25th August 1831.
Ducal Hesse,	3,793	769,691	3.07	14th February 1828.
Thuringia,	4,940	908,478	3.62	10th May 1833.
Baden,	5,915	1,232,185	4.91	12th May 1835.
Nassau,	1,750	373,601	1.49	10th December 1835.
Frankfort (City),	92	60,000	..	25th January 1836.
	174,627	25,324,668	100.00	

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, p. 408; and VIEHBACH'S *Statistik des Zollvereins*.

states in proportion to its population.* The Prussian tariff, with some slight changes, has been adopted. This, speaking generally, imposes an *ad valorem* duty upon all imports of about ten per cent. But while it is moderate on fine manufactured articles, upon all coarse and heavy goods it is exceedingly severe.† An assembly, consisting of one representative from each state, meets upon the 1st of June in each year to deliberate on and regulate the affairs of the Union.‡ Free trade within, protection from without, are the two great principles upon which the alliance is founded.

56. Since the occupation of Frankfurt by the troops of Austria and Prussia, a species of forced tranquillity had prevailed within its walls, arising from a sense of the overwhelming military force which could be brought at any moment against the insurgents. This was disturbed, however, the following year, by a tumult which was got up in

order to effect the liberation of the persons imprisoned on the charge of the former insurrection, and whose trial, according to the usual and deplorable tardiness of German legal procedure, had not yet been brought to a close. Five prisoners escaped, but they were all soon retaken, except one. This incident, in itself trivial, acquired importance from its being made the pretext for the placing the city under martial law, and vesting the supreme direction of it in the hands of the Austrian governor. This strong step in a free city, and the seat of the federal legislature, was justly regarded as affording the clearest indication of the despotic dispositions which had now got possession of the allied councils. The congress agreed to in the preceding year met at Vienna on January 12, and immediately commenced their deliberations, which were almost entirely directed to the means of suppressing, by the forces or authority of the Confederacy, the refractory dis-

* REVENUE OF THE ZOLLVEREIN IN 1851.

States.	Population.	Import Duties.			Export and Transit Duties payable to each State.	Total Payable to each State.	Year of acceding to the Union.
		Gross Receipts.	Nett Receipts.	Payable to each State.			
		Thalers.	Thalers.	Thalers.	Thalers.	Thalers.	
Prussia, . . .	16,669,153	15,572,929	14,347,476	11,211,383	244,203	11,455,586	1819
Luxembourg, . .	189,783	77,114	10,445	127,643	2,241	129,886	1842
Bavaria, . . .	4,526,650	1,210,539	904,991	3,044,546	53,463	3,098,009	1833
Saxony, . . .	1,894,431	2,119,847	1,995,287	1,274,161	29,736	1,303,897	1833
Württemberg, . .	1,805,558	348,527	330,237	1,214,387	21,325	1,235,712	1833
Electoral Hesse, .	731,584	433,046	342,256	492,051	8,641	500,692	1831
Ducal Hesse, . .	862,917	412,803	402,501	580,383	10,192	590,575	1828
Thuringia, . . .	1,014,954	391,793	391,793	682,640	15,931	698,571	1833
Baden, . . .	1,360,599	652,625	353,482	915,115	16,070	931,185	1835
Nassau, . . .	425,686	74,829	71,310	286,309	5,028	291,339	1835
Brunswick, . . .	247,070	390,143	229,523	166,175	3,534	169,709	1841
Frankfort, . . .	71,678	861,492	636,384	10,445	..	10,445	1836
Total, . . .	29,800,063	22,545,687	20,005,240	20,005,240	410,364	20,415,604	

—*Official Returns*, Berlin, 1852.

† As an example, take the case of cottons. On coarse shirting the duty is 90 per cent; on printed cottons, 16 per cent; on fine printed cottons, 9 per cent.—M'Culloch's *Commercial Dictionary*, Edition of 1860, p. 1071.

‡ To complete this subject, it may be well to mention that a League called the *Steuerverein* was formed by Hanover, Oldenburg, and Brunswick, in opposition to the Zollverein; but Brunswick seceded on the 19th October 1841; and, by a treaty concluded with Hanover in 1851, that country and Oldenburg were incorporated with the Prussian Union on the 1st January 1854. In 1851 Austria largely modified her protective tariff, and established free intercourse between Hungary (which formerly had separate customs duties) and the rest of the empire. In 1853 she concluded a treaty with Prussia, by which it was agreed (1) To suppress, with a very few exceptions, all prohibitions upon the importation of each other's produce; (2) To establish complete free trade in all articles of *raw* produce; and (3) To impose moderate duties on all manufactured articles. This treaty was to remain in force for twelve years.

position of the estates, or the anarchical efforts of the people in the lesser states. By a decree agreed to then, and sanctioned by the Diet on 30th October ensuing, it was provided that, in the event of a difference ensuing between the government and the representative assembly of the state upon the interpretation to be put on any part of the constitution, or in consequence of a refusal to vote the necessary supplies, and after all legal and constitutional attempts to adjust the dispute had failed, the parties interested were to apply to a tribunal constituted for the purpose of settling such differences, composed of thirty-four members, two chosen by each of the federal states having a voice in the Diet, whose decision was to be final, and immediately enforced by the authority and forces of the Confederacy. These judges were to be elected for three years, and re-elected at the expiration of that period, and to decide all questions by a majority of votes. As Austria and Prussia commanded a majority of votes in the Diet, it was easy to see how a tribunal thus constituted would settle every important question which came before them. In the same session a variety of still more stringent regulations were passed, for the purpose of controlling the universities, and preventing entrance by their students into the secret societies. As to the press, it was already subjected to such a rigorous censure in every part of Germany, that it was not deemed worth while to pass any additional regulations on that subject. The trial of the Frankfort rioters was not finished till the end of the year 1836, when the greater part of them were sentenced to imprisonment for life, or for twenty years, and a few acquitted.

57. So much had now been done by the Federal Diet, during the three preceding years, to fritter away or restrain representative assemblies, extinguish the liberty of the press, and coerce the universities and the students, that the attention of succeeding Diets only required to be turned to lesser details and objects of social solicitude. This change was soon apparent in their

public acts, and bespoke the substitution in the general mind of questions of social for those of political interest. Two decrees were passed in 1835. By the first, the travelling of *workmen* from states in the Confederacy where *trades' unions* were prohibited to those where they are permitted, was stopped, and those coming from the latter countries were placed under the strict *surveillance* of the police. By the second, the society of writers, known by the name of "Junge Deutschland," was denounced, and the publication of all writings, by five members of it specially named, prohibited under severe penalties.

58. On 12th March in this year, the Diet received the official intimation of the death of the Emperor Francis, who had closed his long and eventful reign at Vienna on the 8th of the same month. In Austria, however, as in all states governed by an aristocracy, the demise of the emperor made no alteration on the policy of the monarchy. Metternich remained, and the ruling oligarchy of three hundred nobles who directed the empire was unchanged and unchangeable. The new Emperor, Ferdinand I., early gave token of this, in the official communication which he addressed to the Diet, immediately after his accession to the throne. "As to what concerns the affairs of the German Confederacy," said he, "the path is traced out. His Majesty will remain for ever faithful to it. The most conscientious discharge of the federal duties, an active and continual co-operation in the maintenance and consolidation of the alliance, an immovable resolution to contribute everything to the exterior and interior security of Germany, and to protect by all possible means the independence and inviolability of the different states—such were the sentiments with which the Emperor Francis was animated for the bringing to perfection of that great work, due in a great degree to his paternal laws; and the Emperor Ferdinand will be ever animated with the same sentiments and principles."

59. The task which devolved on the young Emperor, of solving the many knotty points, and keeping together the heterogeneous members of the Ger-

manic Confederacy, was much facilitated in the first years of his reign by the remarkable change which, in Germany as in other parts of Europe, took place at that period in the object of general thought and public interest. One law only of importance—that providing for the uniform punishment of state offences, and mutual extradition of political offenders against the constitution of any of the states of the Confederacy—marked the annals of the immediately succeeding years.* Material objects had come to supersede political; projects of gain occupied every mind. The railway mania, which soon after seized so violently on the public thought in England and France, extended also to Germany, and with it the passion for extravagant speculation and gambling in shares, with which unhappily these undertakings, when generally embraced, are too often found to be attended. The prospect of making a fortune in a few days or hours by a fortunate speculation, possessed irresistible attraction to a people so little accustomed to the whirl of commercial excitement, and for the most part leading so simple and patriarchal a life as was general among them. The first railway on the Continent was laid down in Germany; and numbers were soon set on foot, which have nearly all been since completed, and form the spacious network of iron communication which overspreads its surface, and has so essentially modified the habits, ideas, and inclinations of its inhabitants. The mania spread from the people to their governments; and for some years the legislatures of the small states, which had been such a prolific source of discontent, were occupied entirely with projects of public utility or private advantage. The passion spread to Austria, generally the last to embrace any

projects of innovation; and a large society was established to promote the navigation of the Danube, remove its obstructions, and restore it to the destiny intended for it by nature—that of being the great artery of Germany.

60. The determination of the Diet to entertain no projects which tended to the extension or restoration of public rights was strikingly evinced in the year 1838, in regard to an application from the town of Osnaburg, in the kingdom of Hanover. In 1837 the King of Hanover, in consequence of the tumults which had arisen in his dominions from the contagion of the French Revolution, abolished, of his own authority, the constitution which had been solemnly established in his dominions in 1833 by the consent of all the estates. The town of Osnaburg upon this, in the succeeding year, petitioned the Diet for its restoration, appealing to the 56th article of the Final Act of Vienna of 15th May 1820, which bore that “the constitution of states at present in vigour cannot be changed *but in a constitutional way.*” As there was no question that the constitution of Hanover had been changed in an unconstitutional way, having been abrogated by the sole authority of the sovereign, the Diet was not a little embarrassed how to elude the demand. At length, after a silence of six months, they returned an answer, that “they did not consider themselves in the situation of being bound to interfere;”—*—a decision which distinctly showed that they regarded that article as intended to prevent a change of constitution forced upon a reigning prince by his subjects—not one forced upon his subjects by a reigning prince.

61. This affair made, as well it might, a great noise in Germany at the time, and tended powerfully to revive the political agitation which had been so

* “Toute tentative contre l'existence, l'intégrité, la sûreté de la Confédération, ou de chacun des états dont elle se compose, doit être jugée et punie suivant les lois déjà en vigueur ou toutes celles qui seraient à l'avenir sur les divers délits contre la dite Confédération. Les états de la Confédération s'engagent réciproquement à livrer tout individu qui serait coupable des délits ci-dessus spécifiés.”—*Édit de la Diète*, 18 Août, 1836; *Ann. Hist.*, xix. 295, 296.

* “La Diète Germanique fait connaître au magistrat et aux conseillers-municipaux de la ville d'Osnabruck, par le Docteur-Hessenberg, leur fondé de pouvoirs, qu'elle ne trouve pas, dans le cas qui lui est soumis, qu'ils aient été autorisés légitimement par l'acte de la Confédération à adresser l'exposition ci-dessus mentionnée de leurs griefs.”—*Réponse du Diète*, 6 Sept. 1838; *Ann. Hist.*, xxi. 237, 238.

much allayed by the prevalence of projects of gain and material progress in the preceding years. The agitation, however, was in a great measure neutralised by a dispute which arose at the same period between the Prussian Government and the Papal See relative to marriages of Protestants and Catholics, which threatened to revive the flames of theological controversy in Germany, which had slumbered since the Peace of Westphalia. This dispute arose in consequence of an article in the Prussian law which conferred on the father, in case of mixed marriages, the right of choosing in which religion his children should be brought up, in default of which choice they were to be educated in his own. This law, how agreeable soever to the principle of the *patria potestas* recognised in all ages over the whole civilised world as indispensable to the peace and regulation of families, was far from being equally so to the dignitaries of the Romish Church, who ever direct their principal efforts to secure the spread of their faith in that sex which, though weakest in intellect, is the first in charms and influence. Accordingly the Pope, by a brief dated 25th March 1830, which was the foundation of the whole dispute that followed, enjoined the prelates to make the Catholic spouse, in the case of mixed marriages, come under an engagement to bring up the whole children of both sexes in the Romish faith. It was the obedience yielded by the Catholic clergy in Prussia which occasioned all the dissensions that followed. Another subject of controversy between the Government and the See of the Vatican was the theological tenets of Dr Hermes, which admitted freedom of thought to a degree that was deemed incompatible with the tranquil despotism of the Church of Rome, and were accordingly denounced by a papal bull on 26th September 1835. In pursuance of it the Archbishop of Cologne published an ordinance forbidding any student in theology to receive lessons in the University of Bonn, which had embraced the principles of Hermes. Matters at length came to such a pass that, after having exhausted all means

of conciliation, Government resolved on removing the archbishop by force. This was a very hazardous step, as the great majority of the inhabitants of the Rhenish provinces of Prussia were Catholics, and zealously attached to their faith. It was accomplished, however, happily without bloodshed. On the 28th November the whole garrison of Cologne was put under arms. Cannon, with matches lighted, guarded all the approaches to the archbishop's palace; and the governor of the Rhenish provinces, accompanied by the commandant of Cologne, entered the building and informed his grace he was dismissed, and their prisoner. He was immediately conducted, under a powerful escort of cavalry and artillery, out of the city, and conveyed to the fortress of Minden.

62. It may readily be conceived what a sensation this *coup d'état*—executed by the temporal authorities alone, and on a prelate so eminent in station as the Archbishop of Cologne, in the midst of a zealous Catholic population—excited in Europe. Such was the clamour raised on all sides—some approving, some condemning—that it was absolutely stunning, and recalled the days when the powerful but rude arm of Luther shook to its centre the fabric of papal power in Europe. The Government soon after published a long manifesto, in which the grounds of their complaint against the archbishop were fully detailed.* This led to a

* “L'Archevêque a donc forfait à sa patrie et à ses devoirs; il s'est mis en opposition avec les ordonnances et les lois existantes; de plus, il a fait pour miner ces lois et les renverser des tentatives sourdes, que non-seulement il cherchait à cacher au gouvernement, mais sur lesquelles il trompait et trahissait son souverain, en faisant accroire qu'il respectait tout ce qu'il ne songeait qu'à fouler à ses pieds. Toutes ces allégations sont clairement établies par des pièces qui, par des motifs de haute convenance, ne peuvent être portées jusqu'à présent à la connaissance générale. Ces faits graves et criminels joints à un coupable mépris de tout avertissement, et à des déclarations écrites de l'archevêque, faites à divers reprises, qu'il entend persister dans sa rébellion, justifiaient déjà seuls et provoquaient d'une manière impérieuse les mesures que le pouvoir temporel vient de prendre.”—*Exposé du Gouvernement Prussien*, 22 Nov. 1837; *Ann. Hist.*, xx. 403.

rejoinder from the consistory of the Vatican. On December 16, the Pope protested "in favour of the violated immunities of the Church, the episcopal dignity trampled under foot, the jurisdiction of the Holy See so flagrantly usurped, and the rights of the Catholic Church and the Holy See set at naught;" and this was soon after followed by an exposition from Rome of their side of the question. Meanwhile the excitement was daily increasing in the Rhenish provinces; and on the 11th December a riot took place in Münster, which was only suppressed by several charges of cavalry, and at the expense of many persons wounded. Anxious if possible to appease the Papal See, the Cabinet of Berlin sent a most able diplomatist—whose suavity of manners, not less than his literary and theological acquirements, eminently qualified him for the task—M. le Chevalier Bunsen,* to Rome, to endeavour to effect an adjustment. The negotiation was prolonged for a very long period, and in the end was terminated in a species of compromise. The Catholic clergy, in obedience to the supreme pontiff, agreed to cease to make inquiries into the religion in which the children of mixed marriages were educated; while the King, by a wise and tolerant edict, declared on the one hand that, if the Catholic spouse refused to emit a declaration as to the religion in which his children were brought up, he should not be subjected to ecclesiastical censures; and that the Catholic priest was not to be constrained to celebrate the mixed marriage according to any forms but those of the Catholic Church. This judicious compromise at length allayed a ferment which had subsisted for three years, and threatened again, after an interval of two hundred years, to deluge Germany with blood in a theological quarrel. It is a curious circumstance, indicating at once the unchangeable policy of the Church of Rome, and the danger of generalising too soon from imperfect data, that

within thirty years of the time when an able divine of the Church of England had asserted, in advocating the Catholic claims in Ireland, that all danger from the ambition of the Court of Rome had disappeared, and that the supreme pontiff had become "a pope of wax," this waxen pope convulsed Europe from one end to the other, by advancing pretensions combated by Henry II. in the twelfth century, and which recalled the days of Thomas à Becket.

63. The remaining and last years of the Prussian monarch were chiefly devoted to regulations directed to the material prosperity of his subjects, whose industry at that period was taking so rapid and extraordinary a step. A wise regulation, which it would have been well for Great Britain had its rulers adopted, provided that every project for forming a railway should, in the first instance, be submitted to Government for its sanction, with a statement of its subscribers, who were all personally and absolutely bound to pay 40 per cent on the estimated price, from which obligation they were not relieved by selling the shares, or the company taking them off their hands, declared null all sales of shares before this had been done, and prohibited all rival lines for thirty years after the first had been constructed. At the same time the Prussian Government gave proof of its liberality by an edict which opened all the universities in the Confederacy to Prussian students, under the reasonable condition only that those who wished to practise medicine in the monarchy should study a certain time in one of its own; and of its toleration, and desire to throw oil on the bitterness of theological controversy, by commencing the entire restoration and completion of the cathedral of Cologne, originally begun in the year 1248, and which, sedulously followed up in subsequent years, has rendered it the most beautiful of the many beautiful structures of that description in Europe.

64. The year 1839 was marked in Northern Germany by two events which strikingly evinced the liberal

* Since the highly-esteemed Prussian Minister in London, and author of the celebrated *Life of Hippolytus* and *Biblical History*.

and enlightened spirit of the age. The first was a general amnesty proclaimed in Prussia for all lesser delinquencies and all Crown debtors below 50 thalers (£6), on occasion of the three hundredth anniversary of the Reformation. This act of grace, in a truly catholic spirit, embraced persons of all religious persuasions, not those only who had embraced the Lutheran creed. The next was a most important one, which, in favour of certain states in Northern Germany, of which Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony were the most considerable, established an entire reciprocity of duties, in themselves very moderate, on the most important articles of commerce with Holland. This measure was important in itself, but it became doubly so in its results, as an important step in the establishment of the external relations of the ZOLLVEREIN, that great union for the collection of import and export duties, which has contributed so much to the prosperity of Northern Germany, and augmented so largely the influence of Prussia.

65. Political passion seemed stilled by these beneficent changes, and Germany, industrious and enlightened, appeared to be occupied only with the career of wealth and independence which they were calculated to bring to its inhabitants. But an event soon occurred which showed that the desire for power only slumbered and was not extinguished, and was gaining strength by the growth and prosperity of the middle class, among whom it always is most strongly felt. Frederick-William III., King of Prussia, died on the 7th June 1840, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.* The

* He was born on 15th October 1775, and married, on 13th November 1801, the Princess Louisa of Bavaria.—*Ann. Hist.*, xxiii. 422.

In his testament, Frederick-William addressed the following eloquent instructions to his son and heir, which, better than anything else, explain his views in the last and most critical years of his life: "It is on you, my dear Frederick, that will henceforward fall the weight of affairs, and their responsibility. The position you have hitherto occupied has prepared you for it better than any other heir to the throne. It is for you to justify my hopes and those of the country. Your principles and your sentiments afford

close of his long and eventful reign disclosed the fires which were slumbering beneath the surface of his eminently prosperous dominions. He was succeeded in the throne by his son Frederick-William IV.; and the ceremony of coronation of the new sovereign took place with great solemnity, according to ancient usage, on the 10th September, at Königsberg. In conformity with established custom, which bespoke the former existence of long-forgotten rights in the Prussian people, the provincial diet of Eastern Prussia was summoned to attend the ceremony, and invited to determine whether, on this as on former occasions, the equestrian order should be represented by twelve knights, who were to explain, on behalf of their order, what rights they wished to have confirmed. The Diet met accordingly, and by a majority of 90 to 5 resolved, on the motion of M. d'Auerswald, that his Majesty should be respectfully invited to cause his ministers to prepare a new law for the organisation of the provincial Diets, *from which*

me a sure guarantee that you will prove the father of your country. Preserve yourself from that mania for innovation which has become so general, and from the numerous theories afloat in the world, which it is impossible to reduce into practice; but guard also against falling into another excess which may be not less fatal,—I mean an excessive predilection for ancient institutions. It is only by shunning these two shoals that you can succeed in introducing really useful ameliorations. The army is organised in the most superior manner: it has justified my expectations in peace as in war. May it never forget its high mission, and may the country never forget what it owes to it. Continue, so far as you possibly can, in a good state of intelligence with the European powers: in particular, may Prussia, Austria, and Russia never be disunited. Their union is the safeguard of European peace. My beloved children give me the sweet consolation of feeling assured that they will always distinguish themselves by a useful, active, wise, and pious conduct; it is by such alone that the blessings of Heaven are to be attained, and that consoling idea will comfort my last moments. May God protect and bless our dear country! May His almighty hand for ever bless our family. May He bless you, my dear son, you and your reign: may He bestow upon you the strength and talent necessary for reigning; and may He give you conscientious and faithful counsellors, dutiful and obedient subjects."—*CAPEFIGUE*, x. 235, 236.

the national representatives should be chosen, in conformity with the royal declaration of 22d May 1815, corroborated by the Federal Act of Vienna of 8th June in the same year, and the Final Act of 5th January 1823. This petition was signed at Königsberg on 7th September with the ominous words, "The States of the Kingdom of Prussia."

66. Had a bombshell fallen and burst in the royal council, it could not have created greater consternation than this unexpected demand, supported by so large a majority, did in the Cabinet of Berlin. The King's answer was delayed till he came to make his speech dissolving the Diet, and he said, "He would give to the promises of the late King the accomplishment which the good of the country demanded;" vague words, which might mean anything or nothing. During the ceremony of fealty he said, "He would never do homage to the idea of a general popular representation, and would pursue a course based upon historical progression, and suited to German nationality;" words of deep significance, and which, if carried into effect, might have avoided all the calamities which followed. The provincial estates were shortly after opened, and separate diets for each established in the provinces. They did nothing material, however, and the public attention was rather directed to the proceedings of the Zollverein, which met at Berlin in August, and entered into negotiations, though at that time with little success, to induce Brunswick, Hanover, and Oldenburg, who had formed a custom association of their own called the Steurverein, to join the fiscal league.

67. The first serious affair which called for the attention of the new monarch was the schism between the Crown and the Holy See, which had so violently convulsed the monarchy in the preceding reign. This was at length finally effected, and on terms more favourable to the See of Rome than could have been anticipated. Both parties receded from the

pretensions they had originally advanced: quarrels are in general more easily adjusted when their direction falls into the hands of heirs, than when in those which originally commenced them. An accommodation was effected with the Pope, in virtue of which the Archbishop of Posen, who had been dispossessed and kept in detention for two years, in consequence of having, like the Archbishop of Cologne, refused to obey the edicts of the King in the vexed matter of the mixed marriages, was reinstated in his functions; and although the Archbishop of Cologne was not formally restored to his province, yet he got a colleague in the Bishop of Spire, who was nominated by the Pope, and received personal satisfaction in a public royal letter from the sovereign. This was a great concession in appearance to the Catholic party, and went far to appease the discontent among the members of that persuasion. Both sides gained something by this compromise; for, on the one hand, the Holy See obtained a recognition of the important principle for which they have always contended, that spiritual authority, conferred by the head of the Church, cannot be abrogated by temporal power; while, on the other, the royal edicts as to the education of the children of mixed marriages remained in force throughout the whole of Prussia.

68. The meeting of the provincial estates, which took place in the different provinces with great solemnity on the 1st March, revealed the strong under-current in favour of constitutional freedom, which, beneath a tranquil despotic surface, had been long flowing in Germany. In the outset of the sittings, the royal commissioner, M. de Bussewitz, read a decree of the King, permitting them to make public their deliberations *by means of the press*, and at the same time announced a remission of certain taxes which bore especially hard on the poorer classes. These concessions gave universal satisfaction, and realised in some degree what the nation had so confidently expected and passionately desired from

representative institutions. It led to another step in advance—the most important of all—an attempt to establish the freedom of the press. On April 9 a motion was brought forward in the Diet at Berlin that the King should be petitioned to remove the restrictions on the press, which it was said had entirely annulled the benignant intentions announced in the royal proclamation of October 18, 1819, and rendered all free communication of thought impossible. Immense was the sensation excited by this debate; men could scarcely believe their own ears when they heard it announced: with agitated hearts they listened in crowds in the streets to the report of the speeches on the subject in the newspaper, the *Staats Gazette* of 13th April, which was read *in a low voice*. The example of the states of Berlin was speedily followed in the other provincial diets, and with an energy which gave no small uneasiness to the Government. The states of the Rhenish provinces demanded that the debates should be daily and faithfully published, that the censorship of the press should be abolished, as it had been in England for one hundred and fifty, in Denmark for seventy years. The Diet of Cologne insisted on the convocation of a general parliament for the whole kingdom; a similar proposal at Posen was, after three days of stormy debates, only rejected “lest the nationality of Polish Prussia should be drowned in the general majority of the kingdom.” In a word, the thorns began to show themselves with the roses, and so much was the Government alarmed on the subject, that, by a circular to the different governors of provinces, the utmost vigilance was enjoined in enforcing the censorship of the press, and the free publication of debates was permitted only in the *State Gazette*.

69. The Cabinet of Berlin in this year zealously pursued the two great objects of its domestic policy, which were, to attract literary and scientific talent from all quarters to the Prussian capital, and to render it the centre of the great financial union of the north of Germany. Both efforts proved suc-

cessful. M. Schelling, an eminent philosopher, was put at the head of public instruction, and numbers of men, distinguished in science and literature, were attracted to Berlin. The Zollverein obtained an important extension this year, by the accession, on the 19th October 1841, of Brunswick. This, as involving a secession from the counter league of the Steuerverein, was of great moment. The advantage of belonging to the Prussian union, both from the diminished expense of collecting the duties, and the increased facility of transmitting goods from province to province, was now generally felt, and was rapidly overcoming the resistance offered by local interests, which always in the first instance obstructs measures of general utility. Treaties of commerce were also concluded with England, America, and Turkey, which materially lightened the import duties on commodities coming from these countries. They brought to light in Prussia the jealousy between the manufacturing and agricultural interests, which inevitably, in a certain stage of its progress, gets up in every country making rapid advances in industry. The eastern provinces towards Poland, which were entirely agricultural, warmly supported the treaty with England, which promised to give them the manufactured articles of which they stood in need, cheaper and better than they could be made for them at home; the western, in which native manufactures had made considerable progress, strongly opposed it, and deplored the ruin it was destined to bring on the commercial prospects of their own country.

70. Not content with having thrown down the barriers which impeded the commercial intercourse of the different states forming the Zollverein, the Prussian Government was indefatigable in its endeavours to connect them all together, in a solid and durable way, by a vast system of railways. In September 1841 the line from Berlin to Köthen was opened, which connected that capital with the one running from Leipsic to Magdeburg. It was soon after united to one proceeding to Dres-

den ; and another, of vast commercial importance, running from the Prussian capital to Bremen, Hamburg, and the Danish states, was shortly after completed. The Government conceived, with justice, that these great undertakings would not only open up new markets for the industry of their subjects, but cement the fiscal union which was every day embracing fresh states, and adding to the preponderance of Prussia in Northern Germany. The Austrian Government followed, *sed haud passibus aequis*, in the same beneficent career ; and this year saw the lines opened from Prerau to Olmütz, and from Wiener-Neustadt to Neukirchen. But so much more vigorous was the spirit of enterprise in the northern than the southern states, that of fifteen railway lines at this period existing in Germany, no less than ten belonged to states forming part of the Prussian Commercial League.

71. Two important events in the constitutional history of Germany ensued in the following year, which well deserve a place in European history. The first of these was the inauguration of the Cathedral of Cologne, which took place on October 15, to commemorate the entire adjustment of the differences with the Holy See. On this occasion the King spoke words pregnant with meaning, not only on the great principle of religious toleration, but on the still more thrilling topic of German unity and nationality. "We are not engaged here," said the monarch, with the earnest accent of deep emotion, "with the construction of an ordinary edifice: it is a work bespeaking the spirit of union and of concord which animates THE WHOLE OF GERMANY, and all its persuasions, that we are now constructing. May, by the grace of God, the gates of this temple become to Germany the gates of a new era, when she may be great and powerful ; and may all that is anti-German—that is, all that is not noble and true and sincere—be ever far from her: may the shameful attempts to relax the bonds of concord which unite the German princes and people, and trouble the peace of per-

suasions, be shattered against them ; and may that spirit which has interrupted the completion of this sacred edifice, the temple of our country, never reappear amongst us ! That spirit is the same as the one which, nine - and - twenty years ago, burst asunder our chains, and avenged the insults our country had received under the yoke of the stranger !"

72. The next important step in the year, and a mighty one in the annals of German freedom, was the meeting of the estates of *the whole kingdom*, which, for the first time in Prussian history, was held at Berlin on the 19th October. It may be conceived what hopes and expectations this event awakened among a people so passionately desirous of political enfranchisement as the middle ranks of Prussia were. They were somewhat damped, however, by a passage in the opening speech which Count Arnim delivered in the name of the King: "Unity in the deliberations of this assembly—this is what his Majesty confidently expects of you, at the moment when, *of his sole royal pleasure*, he has put in execution the important complement of the institution of estates by uniting the different provincial committees. In those cases where the provincial estates, in their separate and independent representation, and in the consideration of what is suitable for their respective interests, have separated without coming to an accord, upon them the committee will here unite and reconcile them."

73. These words recorded the real design of the Government in convoking this general assembly, which was by no means to erect a barrier which had in other countries proved often so serious against the royal authority, but to obtain a means, under colour of reconciling the differences between the provincial assemblies, in reality of obtaining their direction. No real control of the executive was permitted either to the provincial or the united assembly: on the contrary, by a royal ordinance of August 10 in the same year, the functions of the united committees were limited to questions in-

volving a diminution of taxation or the formation of railways. The session was always to be opened by the Minister of the Interior, and the secretaries were all to be chosen by the King. Important restrictions fettered the powers of the central assembly, and almost nullified them. No member was to be allowed to speak more than once on any question; the speakers were to address themselves to their respective chiefs of departments, and not to the opposite orators; and the representatives of the commons *were only a third of the entire assembly*. So little did the Government contemplate any interference with its prerogatives, that when the provincial estates of Cologne desired to be permitted to present a petition to the King, who was then in their city, on the subject of commercial reform, they could not even obtain an audience. The session was closed at Berlin on November 10, after having sat just three weeks; and some questions of education, of taxation, and forming railroads, alone occupied their attention. It terminated by a speech of the King in person, who congratulated the country on the formation of the States-General out of the committees of the provincial estates as "the last development of the Prussian monarchy, and the satisfactory manner in which they had discharged their duties, and justified his confidence."

74. Notwithstanding, however, these complimentary expressions, confidence was very far indeed from being really felt, and the Government soon found that the concession they had already made was a great step in the career of constitutional freedom. Petitions for greater powers to the States-General, for the abolition of the censorship of the press, publicity of debates, and for real States-General, not mere committees of the provincial estates, crowded in next year from all quarters. From Königsberg no less than three hundred and fifty-five petitions to this effect were presented. The ferment was particularly strong in the Rhenish provinces, whose estates petitioned that the States-General might be permitted to deliberate on *all* the affairs

of the nation—not merely taxes and railways—and that entire publicity should be given to their debates in a perfectly free press. These demands, and the increasing excitement in the country, caused Government to take fright and pause in its career. The amiable illusion of unity of opinion, which is always the dream of the inexperienced, and with which the King had flattered himself, was already dispelled by the sober reality of division, the invariable result and characteristic of emancipated man. The sovereign agreed that the "accounts" produced to the estates should not be subjected to the censorship; but the publication of debates was only permitted to the *Gazette de Prusse*, the Government organ, from which the other journals were obliged to take them. An important concession, however, was made by royal ordinances, 10th October 1842 and 4th February 1843, which abolished the censorship *entirely* of works extending to above twenty pages; and in regard to journals or lesser pamphlets, enjoined the censors to discharge their duties with gentleness and discretion, and not to erase anything which did not strike at the monarchical frame of government, or tend to bring the institutions of the country into discredit, or discuss existing laws in an unsuitable or insulting manner. Wise principles, but how difficult of application to particular cases!

75. So great was the vigour with which the construction of railways was pushed forward, both in northern and southern Germany, in the succeeding year, that the lines were rendered complete from Hamburg to Trieste—that is, from the Baltic to the Adriatic! Such a prodigious penetration of that hitherto inland and remote country by the means of communication and rapid conveyance, could not but have ere long an important influence on its political fortunes. Railways are the pioneers of thought; when they have opened the way, changes of opinion, and, through them, of institutions and government, rapidly succeed. The material and pecuniary interests of governments

lead them to favour a change in this respect, destined in the end to work a much greater alteration upon themselves. This appeared in this very year. A serious revolt broke out in Silesia, the most manufacturing district of Prussia, originating in a strike among the workmen, who complained of the lowness of their wages, and the ruinous effect of machinery upon their interests. This revolt soon embraced the whole manufacturing towns and districts, and was not put down but by the intervention of a large military force, and a deplorable effusion of human blood. With the industry, the fabrics, and the riches of free states, Germany was already inheriting their passions, their collisions of classes, and their dangers.

76. The increasing ferment of ideas, and the disposition to shake off the shackles of priestly as well as temporal authority, were strongly evinced in the succeeding year. A pretended relic of a saint, which had been exhibited at Treves for the adoration of the faithful, roused the indignation of a young Catholic priest, named Johan Ronge, who commenced preaching a reformation somewhat similar to that of Luther three hundred years before. The success of this bold attempt was at first such as to excite the greatest alarm in the Papal Conclave. The principles of the new sect were, that the supremacy of the Pope should be terminated, and he should be reduced to the mere rank of Bishop of Rome; that confession should be abolished, priests permitted to marry, and the mass be celebrated in the native tongue. This was cutting up the ascendancy of Rome by the roots, and it met, as might have been expected, with the most violent opposition from the Catholic party in every part of Germany. Deprived, however, of the aid of the fagot and the Inquisition, it was not so easy a matter as it once was to check the progress of heresy; and the schism of Ronge shook the Romish Church in Northern Germany to its foundation. Ronge and Czereky, the two leaders of the new sect, were formally excommunicated; but ere

long, like many other reformers, they quarrelled, and this fresh schism was more fatal to the new opinions than the thunders of the Vatican. The King of Prussia was strongly urged, by a deputation from the magistrates of Berlin, to take vigorous measures against the ultra-Puritan party in that city, at the head of which were MM. Thiele and Eichorn, both members of the royal council; but he answered in just and pregnant words, which bespoke the real seat of the evil in the superstition of some and indifference of others. "To me alone," said he, "belongs the direction of religious matters. You have nothing to do with it. Under my grandfather, Berlin contained forty thousand inhabitants, and fifty preachers; now its population is nearly five hundred thousand, and you have not added to their number; you have not built a single church. Is this a proof of your zeal for religion? As to the Puritans, those were men faithful to their God and their King; it is not for the magistrates of Berlin to attack them: the King can still less recognise that right in the declared partisans of the new Catholics, those men who have violated their oath towards the Church."

77. This religious schism was an indication of the stirring of men's minds; it was the precursor, as the fervour of the Puritans had been in England, of the great rebellion. When the human mind is resolutely set on expansion and inquiry, it is often in religious division that its heavings first appear. The same anxiety was evinced by the people, on the one hand, to obtain States-General, or a real representative assembly; and by the Government, on the other, to repress insolent language, and check extravagant ideas. The demands of the petitions presented to the King had become so extensive, their language in some cases so violent, that they were nearly all considered illegal, and their insertion in the public journals prohibited. The object of the Government was not to put an entire stop to the stream of innovation: *that*, they were well aware, was wholly impossible. What they de-

sired was to turn it into constitutional channels, and take the initiative themselves in any changes which might be deemed advisable. Accordingly, Prince Adolphus of Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen, who presided over the provincial estates of Silesia, thus addressed them at their opening on the part of the Government: "It is permitted to us to hope that the King will accord in the next session (that of 1847) *the constitution of States-General which you desire so warmly*. The King is convinced that the present situation of affairs not only requires, but favours that design." Numerous demands were made by all the estates, especially those of Cologne, Posen, and Berlin, for various objects of domestic and social improvement, particularly a reform in criminal trials, and publicity of their procedure; the publication of the debates of the estates, the emancipation of the Jews, the establishment of real States-General, the extension of the representation of towns and rural communities in them, the guarantee of the liberty of the press, and similar objects. The answer of the King to these applications, though sometimes evasive, in general contained promises that the grievances complained of should be taken into consideration. The autumn of this year was rendered remarkable by an auspicious event, the visit of our present gracious sovereign to the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, when she was magnificently entertained by the King of Prussia, whose language on the occasion bespoke alike the courtesy of a chevalier, the grace of a sovereign, and the felicity of a scholar.*

78. The year 1846 was chiefly dis-

* At a public dinner given to the Queen of England at Cologne, the King of Prussia said: "Gentlemen, fill your glasses to the brim. We are about to pronounce a word which ever resounds most pleasingly in English and German hearts: formerly it resounded on the battle-field, hardly won, as a symbol of a happy fraternity in arms. Now it resounds, after a peace of thirty years, the happy result of the arduous toils of that period: here, in this German province, on the banks of this noble stream of the Rhine—that word is VICTORIA."—*Ann. Hist.*, xxviii. 302. It need not be said how this graceful compliment was received by the enthusiastic assembly.

tinguished by the agitation which prevailed in Prussia and all Northern Germany in favour of religious toleration and liberty of conscience, a topic which is everywhere, but especially in that country, the battle-field between the subjects and their sovereign. The religious schism, which had got up in the preceding year, furnished occasion for the presentation of numerous petitions on the subject to the King, in the answers to which the firm determination of the monarch to uphold the Lutheran religion as by law established was clearly expressed. It is remarkable that in these answers, which were chiefly addressed to municipal magistrates, by whom the petitions had been presented, the principle of appealing to the Holy Scriptures as the rule of faith was expressly disavowed,—a clear proof that men had ceased to be swayed by authority in matters of religion, and in effect disavowed any national faith.* The magistrates, however, were not daunted by this rebuke; those of Königsberg followed the example of Breslau, and formed a new sect, under a minister named Rapp, which soon embraced the chief men of the place. Magdeburg and Leipsic also had their divisions; and open-air meetings, like those in England, were called to discuss—as was done in Scotland in the time of the Covenanters—knotty points of theology. Alarmed at this religious agitation, the King convoked a synod to settle the matters in dispute; and it met at Berlin, and promulgated, as from authority, some dogmas. They, however, only gave rise to fresh remonstrances from the municipalities, and increased division among the people. In truth, the evil was ineradicable, save by a change of national

* "Le véritable danger aujourd'hui c'est que l'Eglise, oubliant tous ces devoirs, reconnaisse comme ses serviteurs tous ceux qui tout en raillant les principes fondamentaux de la Foi Chrétienne, osent en appeler à l'Ecriture Sainte. Sous mon sceptre ceux-là auront liberté de conscience complète, mais jamais je n'admettrai qu'avec de tels principes ils puissent être serviteurs de l'Eglise évangélique et nationale."—*Réponse du Roi de Prusse aux Magistrats de Breslau*, March 7, 1846; *Ann. Hist.*, xxix. 352, 353.

institutions. Religion was the battlefield which the parties chose for their conflict, because none other was permitted to them. It was the Reform Bill of the German people.

79. The municipal bodies and provincial diets, especially in Rhenish Prussia—the centre alike of political effervescence and Catholic resistance—continued this year to petition for States-General, a free press, publicity of judicial proceedings, and the other objects of constitutional reform, with increased vehemence. It was evident that a crisis, and that of the most violent kind, was approaching. The Government endeavoured to elude the demands for a free press, by referring to the resolutions of the Diet of the Confederation on the subject; but at the same time they set on foot some journals on the side of Government—a concession which was justly considered as the first step to absolute freedom of discussion. An important addition was made this year to the duties on cotton thread and goods, avowedly directed against England, who thus early began to experience the truth, that all the concessions she might make in the way of reduction of duties on her side would too often be met only by enhanced ones on the other part. An insurrection broke out at Posen on 14th February, in connection with one at the same time at Cracow, the centre of all the efforts for the restoration of Polish nationality; but it was speedily suppressed, and led to no other result but the occupation of that city by the Russian troops. The peasants of the grand-duchy of Posen, who had become proprietors, and largely benefited under the Prussian Government, evinced no disposition to put themselves again under the rule of their stormy Comitia.

80. The year 1847, the last of the old government in Prussia, was also, in a constitutional point of view, one of the most important. The desire expressed by the nation for a representative government had become so strong and universal, that the Cabinet deemed it no longer safe to withhold it. On 3d February the long and ardently wished-for boon was granted. An edict

appeared in the form of letters patent, convoking a general assembly of the estates of Prussia, arranged in four classes—that of the nobles, the equestrian order, the towns, and the rural districts. The diet consisted in all of six hundred and seventeen members, of which the nobles were only eighty; so that the *tiers état* and equestrian order had a great majority.* In addition to this general assembly there was a chamber of peers, to which certain separate functions were assigned, exclusive, however, of all matters of finance and taxation, which were to be private to the general diet. The diet was empowered to discuss all questions concerning the legislative power, its exercise, and the relations between it and the executive. The initiative in all measures was reserved to the Crown; the diet had the power only of discussing and voting on them. It was empowered to receive all petitions—the right of presenting was fully accorded to the nation. By this constitution an immense step was made in the career of representative government in Prussia: a real national assembly was for the first time established, and a known channel opened by which the people might make their wants known to the throne; while that *unity* was established in the monarchy, the object of such passionate desire to every true German heart.

81. The National Diet assembled on 24th July, and was opened by the King in person, in a noble speech, remarkable alike for the elevation and generous spirit which it evinced. He said in substance, “that in preserving entire the prerogative and prestige of the Crown as the ruling power in the state, the object of the King was to maintain the form and unity of the monarchy. He convoked the diet in order to make himself acquainted with the wants and wishes of his people; to satisfy, in a

* The deputies of the orders stood thus:—

Nobles,	80
Equestrian order,	231
Towns,	182
Rural districts,	124

just measure, those views when they were legitimate. Sometimes he would invite a vote of the diet when important new measures, as the laying on of additional burdens, were requisite. But the government would not be changed in its essence; the absolute monarchy had only become *consulting*; and for the interest even of his people, the King did not think it was his duty to establish a proper representative government. He felt that he was bound to resist the levelling and innovating spirit of the age: he would never permit a charter to intervene between him and the duty which he owed to his people; he would never yield to the rule of majorities, and he would resist to the last the ruinous democratic and incendiary designs which were the disgrace and the peril of the age." This speech, it may readily be conceived, gave rise to a violent debate as to whether the constitution thus explained was or was not a redemption of the royal pledge given in the declaration of 20th May 1815. An address substantially approving of the constitution was carried only by a majority of fifty-three—the numbers being 303 to 250; and an energetic protest was signed by the minority. An animated debate also took place on the finances; and the session was closed on 24th June by a royal rescript, after the assembly had given sufficient proof of a sturdy unmanageable disposition, which too surely prognosticated the terrible convulsions of the succeeding year.

82. From this account of the political circumstances and constitutional history of Germany subsequent to the peace, it is evident that its situation was very singular, and such as necessarily stamped a peculiar character on its literature, and portended at no distant period serious convulsions among its inhabitants. On the one hand there was a vast confederacy of states, the great majority of which were in a simple agricultural condition, animated with a fervent military spirit, deeply tinctured with feudal ideas, governed by a feudal nobility, and inspired with the strongest aversion to the democratic regime, from the inva-

sion of which they had already suffered so much. On the other hand, there were many free towns and commercial or manufacturing districts, already considerable at the commencement of the period, which increased immensely during the long peace that followed the conclusion of the war, and the inhabitants of which were animated with the strong and inextinguishable love of freedom which in every age has distinguished the Teutonic race. Between such classes, inspired with such opposite feelings, union was impossible—ultimate contest inevitable. The *tiers état* of Germany was rising so rapidly in wealth, intelligence, and consideration, that it was not in the nature of things that it should remain long in the fetters of the feudal nobility: the feudal nobility were so strongly intrenched in the citadels of power, in the possession of government, and the command of the army, that it was equally hopeless to expect they would relinquish it without a struggle, or be driven from it without convulsions.

83. A contest of this description is inevitable in one stage or other of every monarchy of the European race. England had it in the Great Rebellion—France during the Revolution. But what was peculiar to Germany, and rendered it likely to be more serious there than in any other country, was this—that the long duration and successful issue of the revolutionary war had materially added to the strength of both parties, and in a similar proportion augmented their hostility against each other. Twenty years almost unbroken warfare had drawn forth to the very highest degree the military spirit and resources of the country; and the narrow escape it had made at its close, by almost superhuman efforts, from slavery and bondage—the sad result of their former divisions—had both convinced every one of the necessity of a federal union to cause the common independence to be respected, and of a vast standing army to maintain it if assailed. Thus the whole of Germany unanimously agreed, while smarting under the evils

of French oppression, to a federal union, which placed the entire physical strength of the Confederacy at the disposal of Austria and Prussia—the two greatest military powers of central Europe; and acquiesced in the establishment of a federal army of 300,000 men to obey their directions. Such and so great was the accession to the strength of the aristocratic and monarchical party from the long continuance and final triumphant issue of the revolutionary war.

84. But that very triumphant issue, and the long peace to which it gave rise, augmented in a proportional degree the passion for freedom in the middle and commercial portions of the community. The victory had been gained by a unanimous effort of all ranks; and, in the first fervour of gratitude, the sovereigns of Germany had solemnly given in return, in the Federal Act, the promise to *all* of representative institutions. In Prussia this promise had been followed up by the official announcement that Government were engaged in the inquiries requisite for the formation of a constitution. When, therefore, year after year passed away without this promise being redeemed in the great monarchies, and when at last it terminated in the illusory concession, in the Prussian states, of provincial assemblies only, and in Austria in no assemblies at all, the discontent was general and extreme. It was rendered the greater that, during the long interval of expectation, the industry and wealth of the middle classes had immensely increased, and with it the desire for and capability to exercise representative powers had proportionally augmented. The Diet had most wisely prohibited internal war between the states of the Confederacy; they had effectually guarded it against foreign attack, and had removed many of the restrictions which fettered the commercial intercourse of one state of the union with the other. The Fatherland—peaceful within, respected without—had been moulded into a vast empire, containing in the end forty million of inha-

bitants speaking the same language, descended from the same stock, in great part actuated by the same sentiments, and rapidly increasing in population, wealth, and industry. Imagination could hardly conceive circumstances more favourable to the development of the passion for freedom among the middle and industrial portion of the community; and yet the very* circumstances which had created this desire had imposed seemingly impassable barriers to its gratification.

85. The education which had become so general in Germany, especially its northern and central states, powerfully augmented this general and natural wish. Every person, in however humble a condition, being taught to read, a great proportion of them learned to think; and the first effect of an entrance into the realms of thought always is to beget a passionate desire to bring opinions into action, and mould the social institutions and measures of government according to what seems to them most likely to prove conducive to human felicity. Unthinking man, whether in religion or politics, is often for a very long period passive and quiescent—thinking man never. Division of opinion and divergence of action arise with the development of intelligence as naturally as the sparks fly upward. Unity of thought is the result of ignorance, universal, save in the few who direct it. It was inevitable, therefore, when Germany became instructed, that difference of opinion on political subjects should arise, and the passion become general for those representative institutions which might open vents, as it were, for its reception. But there was a circumstance peculiar to that country, which in an especial manner aggravated the difficulties of its situation, and inflamed the vehemence of the political passions which agitated its bosom beyond what perhaps ever occurred in any other land.

86. In most cases, where free institutions are established in a country, or the desire for them is generally felt,

it is in consequence of manufactures having flourished, commerce extended, and, as a natural consequence, colonies having been planted, which afforded a vent to the surplus population of the parent state. But nearly all these means of independence and outlets to discontent were wanting in Germany. Colonies they had none; foreign trade, except in a few towns in the north, little; manufactures were flourishing in some districts, but not so generally established as to afford any sufficient employment or vent for the inhabitants. Hamburg and Frankfort, the two largest commercial towns in Germany, do not each to this day (1864) contain more than, the former, one hundred and seventy-five, the latter, eighty thousand inhabitants—the one not a half, the other not a fifth part of Glasgow, Manchester, or Liverpool.* It results from this, that none of the ordinary outlets which draw off the bustling and active part of the community, and to which Great Britain has been so deeply indebted for her internal tranquillity, were open in Germany, while, at the same time, the general intelligence of the people inspired multitudes with the desire to elevate themselves in the world, and exchange manual for intellectual labour. Thus its governments came to be placed in the most perilous of all situations—that of being constantly in presence of educated indigence panting for elevation, and squalid multitudes destitute of employment. We boast of the stability of the Anglo-Saxon character, and the manner in which England has stood the political storms which have proved fatal to the governments of so many other states; but it is not equally generally felt how much of that is owing to the coal and iron under our feet, which has given us manufactures, and the encircling ocean, which has given us commerce and colonies. And if we would see what Great Britain has owed to these advantages, we have only to turn to Ire-

land to see what a country can be brought to which, though not without, has hitherto made little use of them.

87. So powerful is the influence of these causes, prompting to general discontent and social convulsion, that they would undoubtedly have brought on disturbance, and probably revolution, in the states of northern and western Germany long before the outbreak of 1848, were it not for other circumstances which had a directly opposite tendency, and kept the social body together when causes of discord were at work in its bosom eminently calculated to tear it in pieces. The first of these was the Federal Union, which not only gave a preponderance of votes in the general Diet to the monarchical and military states, but put the immense military force of its members entirely at their disposal. Out of the seventeen votes which composed the Diet, not more than one or two could be reckoned on by the commercial towns, or the liberal party in the smaller states: they never on a serious occasion could muster more than two votes, while Austria and Prussia could command fifteen; and of the military forces of the Confederacy not less than 225,000 was at the disposal of the great military monarchies, or those whom they influenced. The knowledge of how political and physical strength was thus arranged, prevented any partial outbreak in places where the democratic feeling was strongest, from its obvious hopelessness.

88. (2.) In this question a great degree of importance must be attached to the fact, that a majority of the German states were of the Roman Catholic persuasion. Their inhabitants were, in 1820, nineteen millions to the Protestant seventeen millions. It is true, nearly the whole genius and intelligence of the Confederacy was to be found in the Protestant states of the north, and that they almost exclusively directed the thought of the German educated classes, and the character of German literature throughout the world. But although that circumstance will doubtless come to exercise a great and probably decisive influence

* By the census of 3d December 1861 the population of Hamburg was 175,683; Frankfort, 75,930; Bremen, 67,217; and Lubeck, 31,898.—*Almanach de Gotha*, 1864.

on the fate of Germany in the end, it could not counteract, in the first instance, the efforts of the Catholic clergy in the Romish states to retain their flocks in a state of real ignorance. Rome has a perpetual dread of instruction and intelligence, because an unerring instinct tells it that they inevitably lead to division of opinion. The mere fact of the whole people in Austria and southern Germany being taught to read, had no influence in counteracting this tendency; on the contrary, it increased it. The people got leave to read nothing but little books of their priests' composition. Accordingly, on every important division in the Diet, the representatives of the Catholic states all voted with Austria and the monarchical party.

89. (3.) It was a mistake to say, as is often done by the Liberal writers, that this decided superiority of the aristocratic party, both in the Diet and the governments of Germany, was owing to the wishes and aspirations of the people being crushed by the force of military power. Constituted as the army in all the states of the Confederacy is, its voice is the exponent, not the controller of general opinion. As every man, of whatever rank, without exception, is bound to serve three years in the armed force, at the expiration of which period he retires, and makes way for his successor, who during that period has grown up to the military age, the army is in fact an *armed deputation of the nation*, just as the juries in America are a judicial committee of the majority. It is possible with a mercenary force, which has no sympathy with the people among whom they are introduced, or with a victorious host which follows the standards of a Caesar or a Napoleon, to crush effectually for a time the expression of general opinion; but with an army constituted as those of the German states are, this was impossible. The people had arms in their own hands: the whole population had been trained to their use; if they were dissatisfied with the existing system, they had the remedy in their own power. No one succession of soldiers remained so long

in the service as to come to be detached from the people, and belong to the military caste. The armies of Germany are aristocratic, and support the monarchical cause, because the great majority of the people, whatever a portion of them in the great towns may be, are of the same way of thinking, lead a simple agricultural life, and are still subject to the old influences.

90. (4.) A prominent place in the causes influencing German policy and domestic history in recent times must be assigned to the influence of Russia. That great power, essentially monarchical and despotic in its system of government, is as tenacious of purpose and far-seeing in policy, as the inhabitants of free states are vacillating and inconsiderate. The close union which subsisted between the Czar and the King of Prussia during the war of liberation, led to a very great influence of the former over the latter, and, in effect, has ever since rendered Prussia, so far as external policy is concerned, little more than an outwork of Muscovy. Austria entertained for long, and, till driven into her arms by the tortuous policy of England, a very great dread of Russia; and therefore the main efforts of the latter power, during the last quarter of a century, have been directed to gain the command of the Diet by means of extending its influence among the lesser powers. Fortuitous circumstances gave it the means of doing this with very great effect. Through the Empress Catherine, a Livonian princess, the Russian house of Romanzoff was connected with several reigning families in the north of Germany: the marriage of the Emperor Nicholas to a sister of the King of Prussia brought it into close connection with the royal family of Berlin, while that of the Emperor Alexander with a princess of the house of Baden had placed it in alliance with an old and highly connected family in central Germany. The vast armies of Russia, like those of the East India Company to Great Britain, furnished employment to many of the youth of noble extraction in Germany, to whom

circumstances and the general feeling left no other career but that of arms; and this means of influence was prodigally exerted by the Cabinet of St Petersburg to extend its sway over the German powers. Thus the influence of Russia had become nearly omnipotent, especially in the lesser states, before the French Revolution of 1830; and so strongly was this felt by the popular party, that the greatest reproach which could be cast upon a writer, and that which proved fatal to Kotzebue, was that he was a Russian spy.

91. (5.) A very curious circumstance connected with the social condition of Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century, tended greatly to extend the influence of Government, though at first sight it might seem calculated to have a directly opposite effect. This was the great extent to which education had been carried in the middle and lower ranks. That this universal opening of the gates of knowledge rendered nearly all young men at first liberal, and even revolutionary in their opinions, is indeed certain; and accordingly, extreme licence of ideas in the schools and universities was one of the circumstances which most strongly excited the solicitude of the governments of Germany. But what came of these young men, when they left college and went into the world? Universally educated, they all sighed for intellectual rather than physical labour: restricted in their walk of life by circumstances, there was not one in ten could find employment, or earn a subsistence in intellectual pursuits. Trade or manufactures in a country so little commercial could absorb only a limited number; the army furnished occupation merely for a limited number in early life; colonies there were none; emigration, till the middle of the century, was almost unknown. Thus the only channel left open was that of government employment; and the great number who crowded accordingly into that line, gave the authorities an immense sway over those who had entered upon the career and felt the wants of real life.

Dreaming of republics, and declaiming passages about Brutus and Cromwell, was very exciting, as long as the youths were at college, maintained by their parents, and animated by the presence of each other; but when they went out into the world, and found themselves alone in a garret, with scarce the means of purchasing one meal a-day, it became very desirable to exchange such penury for the certainty and security of a government office. Thus it was universally found in Germany that there were a dozen applicants for every vacant situation in the disposal of government, how humble soever, that fell vacant, and that the visionary enthusiasm of the young aspirant was speedily cooled down by the chill atmosphere of real life after he left the universities. The ardent student, burning with the passion for freedom, who had fought two duels, with his *meerschau*, his beer, and his *liebens-würdige schauspielerin*, was ere long transformed into a quiet, respectable government *employé*, who toiled at his desk twelve hours a-day for eighty pounds a-year, and thanked his stars that, in the dread competition, he had drawn such a prize in the lottery of life. It would be the same in every other country if the means of existence were equally restricted. Cut off the backwoods and California from America, or Manchester, Liverpool, and Glasgow, with India and Australia, from England, and where would be the boasted independence of the Anglo-Saxon character?

92. (6.) Among the circumstances which tended to coerce for a very long period the rising democratic spirit of Germany, must be reckoned the revolutions of Spain and Italy in 1820, and France in 1830, so productive of disaster to the cause of freedom in every part of the world. Like all other attempts by force and violence to overturn governments and change institutions, they deeply injured the cause for which they had been undertaken; and it is hard to say whether they did this most effectually by their early success or their ultimate discomfiture. The first excited the terror of the monarchical and aristocratic party all over

the world, buried their jealousies in oblivion, and caused them to coalesce cordially to oppose the revolutionary deluge: the last chilled the hopes of the friends of real freedom by the ill success which had attended the efforts of the revolutionists, and the apparent hopelessness of their cause. The treachery and defection of the Spanish army, the object of such impassioned laudation from the liberal party all over the world, in reality promoted nothing but the interests of Russia, for it rallied all the friends of order over Europe to its standard. This advance of Muscovite sway was still more furthered by the triumph of the Barriades, and the establishment of a revolutionary government on the left bank of the Rhine. The lesser German powers, violently assailed, and some of them overturned, by the outbreak of the democratic spirit in their own bosoms, were fain to take shelter under the ægis of the great conservative colossus of the north. The fall of Charles X., for which the shortsighted Liberals chanted *io-pæans* all over the world, in reality had no other effect but that of extending the Russian influence from the Niemen to the Rhine, and throwing back for a quarter of a century the cause of German freedom.

93. Such were the chief causes which acted upon the people of Germany during the thirty years which followed the termination of the war of liberation. The most cursory observation must show that they were on each side so powerful, and yet so contradictory to each other, that they could terminate only in a vehement struggle or an entire disruption of society. The restraining causes and influences were the more powerful in the commencement of the period, but the disturbing became more efficacious as time rolled on, and it was evident, at its close, that nothing but a violent shock from the neighbouring kingdom was required to throw society into convulsions. The thirty-three years which elapsed from 1815 to 1848 were throughout a long-continued preparation for the terrible convulsion in the latter year in Germany; just as the fifteen

years from 1815 to 1830 were for the Revolution of France, which overturned Charles X.; and the seventeen years from the same epoch to 1832, for that which subverted the old constitution of England. The convulsion was longer of coming in the Fatherland, because the aristocratic and monarchical influences were more powerful, and the innovating principles less active, in a great inland and agricultural Confederacy than in either of the adjoining states, where commerce and manufactures had, from the possession of coal and the vicinity of the ocean, made much greater progress.

94. And here a markworthy circumstance deserves to be noted, eminently characteristic of the ceaseless vicissitude from good to evil and from evil to good, which in the unbroken chain of events marks the progress of human affairs. It was the triumph of the conservative powers, at the close of the terrible struggle with France, which left the seeds of revolution in all the countries which had proved victorious in the strife. This History has been written to little purpose if it is not apparent that it was the vast growth of wealth and realised capital in Great Britain, during and after the war, from the immense extension of the empire which occurred during its continuance, which, by enabling the holders of it to get possession of the close boroughs, put it in their power to pursue measures calculated for their exclusive advantage, which they immediately did, and thereby brought on the Reform revolution. Spain was revolutionised in consequence of the successes of Wellington and the restoration of Ferdinand VII. in the Peninsula; Flanders, from the effects of the triumph of Waterloo. Russia was shaken to its centre from the participation of its armies in the strife of central Europe and the conquest of Leipsic; France, by the consequences of the restoration of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon. Germany was no exception to the general law. In the effects of the great and formidable Confederacy which arose out of the strife of which its fields had so

long been the theatre, is to be discerned the remote but certain spring of revolutionary movement in its bosom, more determined and bloody than any which have yet convulsed the world. Such strength as was there given to the conservative and democratic principles in the different classes of society, and such antagonism as was there created between them, could not but lead at no distant period to a frightful social convulsion. Whoever would rightly apprehend the German revolution of 1848, must devote his days and his nights to the study of the moving principles which had been brought into action among its inhabitants subsequent to the battle of Waterloo and establishment of their independence.

95. There can be no doubt that, in a social and political point of view, the formation of the German Confederacy has proved a very great blessing, not only to its own members, but to Europe in general. To its existence humanity is mainly indebted for the long peace which succeeded the revolutionary war, with the inestimable blessings which it brought in its train. Germany, for two centuries before, had not merely been the battlefield of Europe, but the coveted prize which provoked its wars. The lesser states, incapable of resisting the assault of the greater, afforded only a bait to tempt their cupidity. Religious zeal strove at one period to effect their subjugation, in order to realise the seducing dream of unity of belief; regal ambition, at another, to effect the substantial acquisition of universal dominion. The lesser states of Germany formed a sort of "land debatable," into which Gustavus Adolphus rushed to defend the cause of religious freedom, and Frederick the Great to anticipate the dreaded partition by Austria, and revolutionary France to convulse and overturn the world. The Thirty Years' War, the Seven Years' War, the Revolutionary War, the fiercest strifes which have stained the soil of Europe with blood in modern times, have all, in a great measure, arisen from the political weakness and defenceless condition of

the lesser states of Germany. But the case was very different when these little principalities formed part of a vast Confederacy, capable of bringing 300,000 men into the field, and backed by Austria and Prussia, whose armies could in a few months double that armed host. Even the greatest powers shrank from provoking such a colossus. More than this, its existence in the centre of Europe prevented the great powers from attacking each other. Beyond all doubt, it was the impediment of the German Confederacy which kept asunder France and Russia in 1831, and preserved the peace of Europe at a time when it was so violently threatened by the propagandist efforts of the French revolutionists and the despotic tendencies of the Russian autocrat.

96. If we consider the German Confederacy with reference to the internal development of constitutional ideas, and the progressive growth of civil liberty, there is unfortunately much less to admire. As the majority both of political influence and military strength was decidedly in favour of the two great powers, while the peace which they secured for the whole Confederacy was equally favourable to the growth of a passionate desire for freedom and self-government in the lesser states, as much internal jealousy and heart-burnings were created within as peace and tranquillity without. The obvious hopelessness of any attempt on the part of Würtemberg, Bavaria, or Baden, with the aid of Hamburg, Bremen, and Frankfort, to withstand the great military monarchies, prevented any general insurrectionary movement, or if it did break out, rendered it easy of suppression. But it by no means followed from that state of things that men's minds were really satisfied, or that society was seated on as solid a basis as its external appearance appeared tranquil and unruffled. On the contrary, these outward appearances were every day becoming more fallacious; the discontent of the middle class was rapidly increasing, and beneath a surface of peace and concord the flames of a

frightful volcano were in reality smouldering. Extraordinary as at first sight the revolution of 1848 may appear, it was in reality nothing more than the natural result of the long peace which Germany had enjoyed, and the peculiar circumstances of its federal union.

97. These considerations throw an important light on a question of much importance to mankind, viz., the ability of a federal union, such as those of Germany or America, to promote the ends of the social union, and advance the general happiness of society. And this question may probably be resolved by a distinction. If the states forming the Confederacy are in the same, or nearly the same, political circumstances,—as all commercial, like the Dutch—or all pastoral, like the Swiss—or all agricultural, like the vast majority of the American,—they may frame institutions adapted to their entire inhabitants, and enjoy, perhaps, at least for a time, the greatest social felicity which is allotted to man on this earth. Unity of external power, and individuality of internal institutions, present a combination which, as long as it lasts, affords the best possible security for general happiness, because it unites the inestimable advantages of national independence, domestic peace, and suitable institutions. But if the circumstances of the different states are widely and irreconcilably dissimilar—as if some are commercial and manufacturing, others agricultural or pastoral, or some resting on the labour of freemen, and others, from the heat of their climate, chained to the toil of slaves—the ends of the social union will be irrecoverably thwarted by their being united together, and no durable existence can be presaged for such confederacies. The majority in such cases will force institutions upon the minority, so prejudicial in their nature *to them*, or so unsuited to their circumstances, as to breed a dissatisfaction which will ere long burst out in revolution, or occasion a forced abstinence from vexed questions fatal in the end to the existence of the union.

Germany is an example of the first, where the great agricultural and military monarchies succeeded in denying to the free towns and commercial districts those political immunities which they so ardently desired, and for which they were so well qualified, and thereby occasioned a dissatisfaction which broke forth in the terrible revolution of 1848; America of the last, where the confederacy is only held together by a most irksome toleration, in the northern states, of slavery in the southern; and it is well understood that the first serious infringement of that compromise will be the signal for a dissolution of the Union.*

98. It does not, however, appear hopeless to expect, in the progress of time, that certain plain and simple truths may become so generally admitted, that the advantages of federal government may be combined with those of separate legislation. Hitherto, indeed, this has been found to be impracticable for any length of time; for this plain reason, that such is the selfishness and blindness of human nature, that men, when they have got the power, by means of a majority in a ruling assembly, never fail to make use of it, in the very first instance, for their immediate aggrandisement, and to force the institutions of which they themselves approve upon their neighbours, how resolutely soever the latter may be opposed to them. It is chimerical to expect that this selfish propensity will ever be lessened in the progress of time; but it is not chimerical to hope that its pernicious effect may in the end be abated, by men seeing that their *own interests will be more advanced* by adopting a more tolerant policy towards other men. Unity of institutions and laws in politics, like unity of belief and form in religion, is the dream of the inexperienced; diversity of laws and institutions is the want of civilised man. The farther he advances in his career, the greater is the divergence of ideas and habits in different places, and the greater the necessity for different in-

* Written in 1856, five years before the breaking out of the American civil war.

stitutions suited to their different circumstances. It is on account of the immense advantages which such adaptation affords, that confederacies of small states, such as those of Greece in ancient, or the Italian republics in modern times, have presented such brilliant spots in the history of the world. This splendour was instantly destroyed when they were conquered by foreign powers; and it is their experienced inability to resist such assault which has rendered them so shortlived, and men so distrustful of their advantage. But it does not seem hopeless that men may at last come to be convinced of the plain truth, that diversity of institutions arises inevitably from diversity in race, character, or occupation, but that it is not incompatible with *entire and cordial union for the purposes of internal peace and external independence*. But many ages must positively elapse, and much misery be endured, before such a union of monarchical and democratic states becomes practicable, or will ever for any length of time be realised.

99. It is a remarkable fact, clearly indicative of the real causes which have, for the time at least, made shipwreck of German freedom, that its greatest advances were made at the period when the conservative party were all-powerful in Europe, and its greatest reverses sustained when the revolutionary was in the ascendant. Estates were solemnly promised to all the states of Germany by the congress of sovereigns at Vienna, and by the King of Prussia to his subjects at Berlin, immediately before the battle of Waterloo; they were given to Poland at the same time by conservative England; they were subsequently withheld mainly in consequence of the violent and unjustifiable proceedings of the revolutionary party in other states of Europe. France, blessed with a representative government, and in the enjoyment of real freedom, was the theatre of one incessant conspiracy for the overthrow of the Government which had been attended with these inestimable advantages, ever since the Restoration, at the head of which La-

fayette and the whole Liberal leaders were to be found. England was so disturbed during the same period, that all the Continental observers thought she was on the eve of a revolution. Germany had no inducement to adopt the Constitutional regime, when it had led to such results in the countries where it had been first established; still less, when the subsequent revolutions in Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Piedmont, demonstrated that nothing short of the entire despotism of numbers would satisfy the movement party in any state of Europe.

100. The German governments were unquestionably right when they declared that their institutions should be framed according to the historical traditions of the country, and based on the representation of classes, not numbers; but they were as clearly wrong when they delayed to redeem the pledge given of establishing such institutions, and gave their opponents the fair ground of complaint that they were opposed to any advances even towards freedom, and anxious to prolong the despotism of the sixteenth amidst the light of the nineteenth century. The Liberals of Germany were in the right when they claimed from their Governments the redemption of this pledge, but as clearly wrong when, on its being delayed to be rendered, they allied themselves with the revolutionists of France and Spain, to commence their career of human emancipation by secret societies and open assassination. And thus it ever is in human affairs; the progress of freedom is checked, and the extension of human felicity prevented, not so much by wrong ends being pursued by either party, as right ends by wrong means. The most dangerous and demoralising doctrine ever put forth among men is the principle which revolutionary has borrowed from Romish ambition, that the end will justify the means. The only course which history in every age shows has been permanently beneficial, is that which pursues **THE RIGHT END BY THE RIGHT MEANS**, how long soever they may be of producing the desired result

CHAPTER XXVIII.

LITERATURE OF GERMANY IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY.

1. IMPORTANT at all times, and in all countries, the LITERATURE OF GERMANY during the early part of the nineteenth century is pre-eminently so, not only as indicating the progress of the human mind during the most important era of modern times, but as foreshadowing the course of social change, and the march of political event. In free countries, the changes of public opinion, often capricious and inconstant, are indicated by unmistakable symptoms, and future events are foreshadowed in a manner which, even by the most inconsiderate, cannot be misunderstood. The debates in the legislature give vent to general thought, and define the objects of the parties into which the state is divided; the press disseminates them through every part of the realm, and strengthens the passion of which they are the expression; public meetings indicate, often in a voice of thunder, the objects of popular desire, and the subjects of general discontent; and philosophic thought, in periodical literature, applies to present events the lessons of past experience, and stimulates or discourages future change by the contemplation or the picture of former revolution. No one who is acquainted with the literature, whether daily, monthly, or quarterly, of free states, can be at a loss to apprehend whence they are coming, or whither they are going. But it is otherwise in despotic countries. No national assemblies there furnish a safety-valve to public feeling, or indicate its tendency; the expression of discontent in any form is strongly prohibited; rigorous punishment deters from any censure, how well soever founded, on the measures of government; and while national

feeling is daily accumulating, and public discontent is at its height, the journals do little more than narrate the progress of princes and princesses from one city to another, and the universal enthusiasm when they show themselves in public. But in an age of advancing intelligence and stirring events, it is not to be supposed that the human mind is in reality dormant; it is incessantly working, but its movements are not perceived, nor is the existence of dangerous passions even suspected at a distance, till a sudden and unforeseen event at once reveals their tendency, and demonstrates their strength.

2. It is in the literature of such states that we must look for the real tendency of public opinion, and the foreshadowing of future change; and it is to be found, not in the discussion of present, but in the contemplation of past events; not in the journals, but in the drama. *Veluti in speculum* may then be with truth inscribed over the curtain of every theatre. The ardent desires and aspirations of the human mind, unable to find a vent in public assemblies, a free press, or the discussion of present events, seek it in the realms of imagination; the license of the theatre consoles for the restrictions of the senate-house; and the dreams of perfectibility are indulged in a world of the poet's creation, since they are not to be found in that of the statesman's direction. This is the true cause of the elevation and frequent grandeur of thought in the drama of despotic states, and its ultimate degradation in free communities: in the former it is the expression of magnanimous and generous thought, in the latter it is the scene of relaxation from it. Thence

it was that Corneille and Voltaire poured forth such noble declamations in favour of general freedom under the despotic rule of the Bourbons; thence it was that Shakespeare uttered such heart-stirring sentiments at the absolute court of Queen Elizabeth; and thence it was, in later times, that the drama had not even arisen in America, in an age when Schiller and Goethe had rendered it immortal in Germany, and that Alfieri's noble tragedies on Roman liberty, amidst the slavery of modern Italy, were contemporary only with Sheridan's comedies on the English stage.

3. The Germans say that the French have got the land, the English the sea, and themselves the air. No one can be acquainted with their literature without perceiving that there is much truth in this observation, and that as much as it is inferior to the works of English thought in practical utility or acquaintance with the social necessities of mankind, is it superior to most of them in ardour of imagination and romance of sentiment. This difference between two people sprung from the same stock, and commencing their career with the same institutions, is very remarkable, and strikingly indicative of the influence of situation and external circumstances upon the ultimate character of general thought. The Germans have built their castles in the air, because they were unable to construct them upon the earth. For the most part shut out by their inland position from the ocean, they were deprived of the material resources and extended intercourse of commerce; surrounded by military monarchies, which turned all the external energies of the state to war, and crushed every approach towards liberal institutions at home, the middle classes neither acquired the social importance, nor, if they had gained it, could they have wielded the physical strength necessary in a conflict with a powerful and proud aristocracy, and a government having at its command great armies. Thus the powers of intellect and imagination, second in the German race to none in the world, were of necessity

turned into the realms of imagination, from the closing of all the avenues to practical exertion; and thence both the aerial turn of their literature, and the sudden start to the very highest eminence which it made. In all respects, save race and descent, the circumstances of Great Britain were the very reverse; and if the Germans had been placed in a land encircled by the waves, abounding in coal and iron-stone, and on the frontier of the Atlantic, and the English in an inland territory, without the means of commerce, and constrained in self-defence to turn all their energies to the military art, the character of the literature of the two countries would probably have been reversed.

4. It is not in general in the outset of its intellectual course that nations, any more than individuals, evince the decided bent which race or circumstances are destined to imprint upon its subsequent stages. Early youth in both is in the first instance imitative. The Greeks themselves, gifted beyond any people that ever existed with original genius, copied in the outset from the Persians and Egyptians; the marbles of Lycia and Ægina preceded the Parthenon. On the dawn of letters and of art in modern Europe, the classical models were the object first of the most extravagant admiration, next of servile imitation. It is by the collision of original genius with the study of the great works of antiquity that a new school is formed, guided in its conceptions by the former, chastened in its execution by the latter. This is exactly what took place in Germany: the classical and imitative school preceded the romantic and original; and the latter in its infancy was strongly tinged with the images and ideas of the former. But various circumstances tended both to make the spring of intellect later in Germany than in the adjoining states, and to cause it, when it did arise, to start almost at once into perfection and vigour.

5. Its inland situation and military bent, forced upon it from being the battle-field of Europe, was the main cause of the long intellectual night

which overspread the German Empire. Its nobles were constantly, as it were, clothed in armour; its burghers arrayed in defence of their walls; its peasants tilling the soil for haughty and warlike masters. Its inhabitants were neither protected from invasion by a barrier of mountains, like the Italians or Spaniards, nor sheltered by a frontier-stream and incomparable situation like the French, nor encircled by the ocean and guarded by their fleets like the English; on the contrary, the German plains were the scene in which they all engaged in mortal conflict. Situated in the centre of Europe, and too much divided into separate dominions to be able then to repel aggression by their native strength, the German states have alternately been the prey of internal discord and the theatre of external aggression. The Poles, the Huns, the Franks, the Italians, the Spaniards, have successively ravaged their fields, or contended in them for the mastery of Europe; war has not been to them a season only of pleasurable excitement as to the French and the English, but it has brought its ravages and desolation home to the hearths of the burghers and the cottages of the poor. Such a state of things is inconsistent with the growth of a national literature, which, though it is often stimulated by the excitement and passions of war, can only take root and flourish amidst the tranquillity and enjoyments of peace. There was no national literature in Scotland till the Union with England had made it cease to be the battle-field of the British Islands; nor in Spain till the expulsion of the Moors had given the Castilians leisure to reflect on the exploits of the Cid and the Paladins of Christendom. Religious freedom was extinguished in Germany by the victory of the White Mountain near Prague; and it never acquired domestic peace till the victories of Eugene and Marlborough had tamed for a season the ambition of France, and those of Frederick the Great had secured the independence of its northern states.

6. That science had made great progress during the middle ages in Ger-

many, the land which gave the art of printing and the discovery of gunpowder to the world, need be told to none at all acquainted with these subjects; and on the revival of letters she took an honourable place both in scholarship and the exact sciences. The country of Scaliger and Erasmus will ever be dear to the lovers of classical literature; that of Kepler, Leibnitz, and Euler, to the student of astronomy and mathematics. Kepler might make with truth the sublime boast, "I may well be a century without a reader, since God Almighty has been six thousand years without such an observer as me." The Teutonic race, if not the soil of Germany, may boast of Tycho Brahe, one of the greatest of modern astronomers, whose observatory still dignifies the Sound; and of Copernicus, the discoverer of the true system of the heavens, who was born at Thorn in Prussian Poland. But the intellect of Germany at this period, bred in cloisters and nourished by the study of classical literature or the exact sciences, was entirely of a learned caste. Its productions were, for the most part, written in Latin, and addressed only to scholars. Its *national* literature did not arise till the middle of the eighteenth century.

7. LESSING was the first of this school in Germany, and his writings indicate the period when original thought, struggling for existence, was as yet fettered by the ideas and influence of classical and foreign literature. His works are chiefly critical, a circumstance which Madame de Staël considers as very singular, on the assumption that original composition in natural order precedes the examination of others—an idea directly contrary to the fact, as every schoolboy's thesis or student's essay at college attests. A bird learns to fly by imitating the motion of its parents' wings, long before it can take a flight for itself. Lessing's essays on the French and classical drama have great merit, chiefly from the correct taste, sound sense, and precision of expression by which they are distinguished, but they have little original genius. His dramas

are still more mediocere; fettered by the rules of the French stage, they are an imitation of Voltaire rather than a specimen of the powers of the Fatherland. His works, however, did an immense service to the cause of literature in Germany; they opened men's eyes to what had been done before them, and prepared the way for original conception in the admiration of that which had been already formed. What Lessing did in the drama, WINKELMAN did in art; and there is not to be found in the whole of modern literature a finer appreciation of the beauties of ancient sculpture, or a more correct exposition of the principles applicable to every species of composition on which it is founded than is to be met with in his writings.

8. Lessing, with all his talent and taste, only led the way; his works mark the transition state from the classical to the national school. It was reserved for a mightier genius—that of WIELAND—to complete the passage, and show the world of what the ardent mind and romantic disposition of Germany were capable. This great man seems to have had his soul steeped, as it were, in the ideas of two different worlds; for he alternately exhibits the elegant mythology and charming images of the classics, and the chivalrous spirit and heart-stirring incidents of the feudal ages. Like Goethe and Sir Walter Scott, he is equally felicitous in prose and in verse. It is difficult to say whether his poems or his novels bear away the palm, or most strongly fascinate the reader. In *Agathon* he has given a charming though sometimes too seducing a picture of the age of Aspasia, Alcibiades, and Cyrus the younger, in Greece; in *Don Sylvio di Rosalva*, a romance in Spain, he combines the delicate satire of *Don Quixote* with the imagery of the *Arabian Nights*. His poetry bears marks of the same combination; for if in *Oberon* he has rivalled Ariosto, and fascinated the world by the most charming conceptions that ever were formed of the romantic school, in his lesser poems he has rivalled Ovid in the skilful use he has made of classical

imagery, and the novel colours in which he has arrayed the immortal episodes of the *Metamorphoses*.

9. The great reproach which is generally made against Wieland is, that he is too licentious; and Madame de Staël, who has appreciated in so generous a spirit the literary excellence of Germany, has recorded her regret that a writer gifted with such a brilliant and creative imagination should have treated love as a passion rather than a sentiment, and dwelt more on the fascination of the senses than the melting of the heart. It cannot be denied, even by the warmest admirers of Wieland, that there is much truth in this observation; although his fault in this respect is redeemed by one peculiarity which cannot be said of Goethe, but which, while it renders his scenes sometimes more agreeable, unquestionably makes them more dangerous. He is rarely gross. His ideas are in general cast in a refined and poetical mould; and even when treating of subjects on the confines of propriety, he throws a veil of elegance and refinement over his most voluptuous conceptions. He is by no means insensible to the influence of noble and elevated sentiments, and in many passages of his works they are treated in a lofty spirit, and with the greatest effect. There is not to be found in the whole range of poetry a more beautiful conception of fidelity and devotion than in *Rezia*, the Sultan's daughter, in his charming romance of *Oberon*. But the development of such feelings is not, as in Tasso, the main object of his efforts. Variety of conception, brilliancy of imagery, interest of incident and situation, are his great characteristics, and in them he may fairly be said to be unrivalled by any author in ancient or modern times. He has grasped the imagery of both, and the fecundity of his fancy has improved upon the conceptions of either. Fairy tales, classical myths, ballads of chivalry, the *Arabian Nights*, the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, the fancy of Ariosto, seem to be alike present to his ardent mind, stored, as it were, with the aerial literature of the whole world;

and in his works, as in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, we see an epitome, brilliantly coloured, of the creations of human fancy from the dawn of imagination to the present time.

10. The same character in a great degree applies to the greatest of the German authors, though in him it is combined with many qualities which did not appear in so remarkable a manner in his brilliant contemporary. GOETHE is, by all writers of all tastes and schools, admitted to be the greatest writer of Germany; and his world-wide fame proves that, like Homer, Shakespeare, Cervantes, Sir Walter Scott, he has struck into the deep recesses of the mind of man, which in every age and country are the same. Some of his works, in particular *Iphigenia in Tauris*, demonstrate that he was familiar with the literature and images of antiquity; but that was not his great characteristic, nor does therein lie his chief excellence. His mind was not, like that of Wieland, stored with the mythology and imagery of the classical times; he had worked out a richer mine, he had laboured in a wider field—the human heart. In that he perhaps stands unrivalled in the whole range of literature, ancient or modern. So varied are his conceptions, so vast his acquaintance with the secret springs of action, so immense the range of thought and event which he has gone over, that his works do not resemble those of any individual man, but rather of a cluster of gifted spirits, each great in a separate department, and each shining with the powers of imagination, and laden with the stores of knowledge. The Germans say he is *viel seitig* (many-sided), and that is certainly his great characteristic: but he is not merely infinitely varied in subject and incident, but ideas; and, contrary to what is often observable in men of original genius, the most minute scrutiny will not detect, in the whole of his voluminous works, a single repetition of the same idea, or one expression twice repeated.

11. The fame of Goethe, both in his own and foreign countries, mainly rests on his *Faust*, which is certainly one of

the most extraordinary efforts of the human mind. Not, however, that it is by any means faultless; on the contrary, it has many and serious blemishes. Some lines in the scenes on the Brocken, in particular, are a perfect disgrace to a man of his genius and taste. Its world-wide celebrity is mainly owing to the conception of the piece, and the profound knowledge of the human heart, and, above all, the secret springs of evil which it exhibits. There is in every mind, even the strongest, a certain tendency to superstition, and a belief in supernatural spirits, which exercises a paramount influence over our destiny; and when this illusion is embodied in a creation of Goethe's imagination, and adorned with the charms of his versification, it assumes a form of irresistible attraction. The imaginative see in it a realisation of many of their hidden dreams; the romantic, a picture of what fancy has often attempted to depict, but never in such glowing colours; the experienced, a portrait of what they know too often passes in the world. The young dwell with rapture on the beautiful visions of Margarete; the elder sometimes recognise in Memory the truth of the portrait of Evil presented by Mephistopheles. Thus all ages and dispositions find something to admire in this wonderful composition, and thence its immense and universal reputation. The different characters it presents are so many *embodiments* of the varied and contradictory qualities of the author's own mind.

12. Madame de Staël says, “Il y a dans le caractère de Goethe, comme de tous les hommes de génie, des étonnans contrastes.” There can be no doubt that this remark is strictly true of the great German, though she herself is a striking exception to the general observation as to genius, for she is always the same—elevated, refined, and impassioned. Not so Goethe. The character of his works is as different as the various compartments of his mind, and unfortunately some are much less creditable than others. In a few, as *Torquato Tasso*, *Iphigenia*, *Count Eg-*

mont, Werther, and many of his lyrical pieces, we are charmed by the highest refinement and delicacy of sentiment; in others, as *Faust*, *Wilhelm Meister*, the *Relatives by Affinity*, and *Herman and Dorothea*, we see a profound knowledge of the human heart, a thorough acquaintance with the world in all its grades, and a complete insight into the secret springs of evil which are ever springing up in the breast; in a few, unhappily, an undisguised propensity to licentiousness, and occasional expressions so gross that his most ardent admirers cannot read them without regret. It is scarcely possible to conceive how the same mind which had conceived the exquisite picture of loveliness and innocence in Mignon — of passion in Margarete — could have penned some scenes in *Wilhelm Meister*, some lines in *Faust*. It is evident that he was at bottom a sensualist, and not merely so in the sense in which it is generally understood, but in the gratification of all the senses. His descriptions of love too often savour of the warmth of Moore's earlier effusions, rather than the tenderness of his *Irish Melodies*; and amidst all his admiration of the glaciers of Switzerland and the sun setting on the rosy summit of Mont Blanc, he is by no means insensible to the merits of a good dinner, or the charm of red wine after the fatigues of a sultry day.

13. On the great subject of morality and religion he does not appear to have had any fixed principles. No one could make more skilful use of their *language* than he has done on many occasions, or move the heart more intensely by the most exquisite pathos, the most elevated sentiment, the most generous self-devotion. But he does so as a barrister makes use of the flowers of rhetoric to serve his client, an actor of the expression of passion to enchant an audience; such sentiments evince the skill of the artist, not the sentiments of the man. It is doubtful if he believed in the immortality of the soul, or had anything but a wavering trust in the existence of a Supreme Being. Certain it is that

he not only disbelieved in Christianity, but had a fixed aversion to its precepts and its very name. He was too much enamoured of the good things of the world to tolerate any creed which prescribed a check upon its indulgences; and felt too strongly the enjoyments of the senses to think their abandonment was not dearly purchased by the secret approval of conscience or the public applause of the world.

14. So great was the versatility of Goethe's genius, so vast the range of his observation, so close his survey of the inmost recesses of the heart, that there is scarce any branch of literature which he has not touched, and none he has touched that he has not adorned. In the drama he stands second only to Schiller, and, in the estimation of many, even superior to that noble writer; his novels have given him a world-wide reputation; his comedies prove he was as thorough a master of the secret springs of vanity, as his tragedies do of the heroic self-sacrifice of duty; his *Life of Benvenuto Cellini* shows he was capable of writing or translating an interesting biography; his Memoirs of himself a charming autobiography. No traveller in Switzerland can fail of being fascinated by his description of the Alps; in Italy, with his generous appreciation of the beauties of art. There is no philosopher whose profound sayings are more frequently quoted, as embodying just and obvious, but yet novel reflections on human affairs; no lyric poet whose stanzas are more commonly repeated by his countrymen; no critic on literature or art who is universally acknowledged to have embodied more sense and justice in beautiful language, or more worthily appreciated with a kindred spirit the genius of others. He is the most striking example that ever occurred of the versatility of the highest class of intellect, and of the truth of Johnson's observation, that what is called original genius is nothing but strong natural parts accidentally turned in one direction.

15. This extraordinary variety of genius and reach of observation has secured for Goethe a more widespread

reputation than any other writer in Germany; but it has perhaps precluded him from reaching in any one department the very highest stage of excellence. It is not given to any one mind, not even to that of Shakespeare or Goethe, to excel at once in every branch of literature; universality of fame is a proof of universality rather than perfection of genius. Every one finds something that gratifies his taste, or strikes his intellect; but none find their expectations entirely gratified, their aspirations with nothing left to conceive. Had Raphael given to the world the sunsets of Claude Lorraine, the rocks of Salvator Rosa, the battle-pieces of Lebrun, and the boors of Teniers, as well as his Holy Families, he would have been admired by a wider circle, but he would never, by common consent, have been placed at the head of the art of painting. Some part of one quality would have insinuated itself into the works produced by another; the vulgarity of Teniers' groups, the luxuriance of Titian's figures, would have marred the chastity of his divine conceptions.* The true mark of the highest class of genius is not universality of fame, but universal admiration by the few who can really appreciate its highest works.

16. Goethe's works are peculiarly valuable and interesting in one respect, from the picture they afford of the training and formation of the German mind in the peculiar state of society that there exists. The influence of the stage seems in a peculiar manner remarkable, and to one accustomed to English habits almost inconceivable. No Mephistopheles ever exercised over a Faust a more complete empire, a more thorough fascination, than the drama does over the German youth. It pervades all ranks, enchains all minds, sweeps away all understandings. Upon the young men at the universities in particular its influence is unbounded, and often not a little

pernicious. The characters on the stage are the heroes on whom their admiration is fixed; the actresses the object of their idolatry. In *Wilhelm Meister*, and in his own Autobiography, Goethe has painted with graphic truth the evolving of sentiment in the German youth: their imaginations first excited by the puppets of the marionette theatre; their feelings next stirred by the masterpieces of Schiller and Goethe; their senses soon enthralled by the handsomest actress who captivates their eyes; their early life spent with singers, dancers, and strolling players. This mental training, so little fitted to prepare men for the duties of active life, or exercising the rights of free citizens, is partly owing, without doubt, to the enthusiastic temper of the German mind, especially in its northern provinces; but still more is it to be ascribed to the peculiar structure of society, and the sullen lines of demarcation which separate its different ranks. The burgher class, in whom intellectual cultivation most prevails, and ardent aspirations are most frequent, shut out by feudal pride from the highest circles, by despotic government from a share in public affairs, too often take refuge in the Aspasias of the theatre for relaxation, in the ideal world of the drama for occupation; and thence in a great degree the deep desire for freedom which pervades their ranks, and the general inability, when put to the test, to exercise its powers.

17. If Goethe's genius, vast as it was, was somewhat dimmed by the multitude of objects which it embraced, the same cannot be said of the author who with all obtains the second, with some the first, place in German literature. SCHILLER has not the variety of Goethe's ideas, but he has the unity of refined thought: he is a mannerist, but his mannerism is that of the *Iliad*. His mind is essentially heroic; and though on that account little prized by the ordinary herd, he will yet always occupy the highest place in the estimation of those of a similar temperament. He had not the profound knowledge of the human heart, as it

* This appears strongly in the works of Turner in the National Gallery in London, compared with the master-pieces of Claude in the same collection; the former are incomparably more varied, but never have the perfection of the latter.

exists in ordinary men, which strikes us in every page of Goethe, but he had a more thorough acquaintance with it as it beats in the breast of the noble and generous, and as it has prompted the greatest and most memorable deeds of which history makes mention. We shall look in vain in his pages for a picture, as perfect as Goethe or Marivaux has given, of the secret workings of vanity in the female, of selfishness in the masculine heart; but we shall never fail to find a portrait of the transports of love, the pangs of jealousy, the heroism of courage, the self-devotion of duty, such as no other author, ancient or modern, can exhibit. His mind was not graphic, like that of Homer; nor profound, like that of Shakespeare; nor chiefly tender, like that of Virgil or Racine. It was simply heroic, though with all the romance which usually belongs to that character, and all its impassioned sensibility to love. His works are not a collection of portraits of individual men or women, in which all recognise some of their acquaintances; but a historic gallery, into which none are admitted but the illustrious of former days, and in whose visages no emotions are depicted but such as animated those whose names have become, or were worthy to have been, immortal.

18. This is the general character of his conceptions; but it is not to be imagined from that circumstance that there is not a very great variety in his writings, and that the reader is likely to be wearied, as he so often is in Metastasio, with the frequent repetition of the same generous sentiments, the same bewitching language. He had deeply pondered on human nature; but it was neither in real life, like Goethe, nor on the opera stage, like Metastasio, nor in the dreams of aristocratic republicanism and imaginary democratic virtue, like Alfieri. It was in the page of history that he had studied mankind; and as the characters which stand forth in bold relief after the lapse of ages are those only of a lofty kind, which, for good or for evil, have stamped their impress on

human affairs, his conceptions savour somewhat of the ideal, and have their prototype only in those of a heroic disposition. He does not, however, always treat of those whom fortune had made great; his characters are not exclusively princes or princesses. He drew the heroic self-sacrifice of Joan of Arc, as she left her flocks in her native valley, the generous patriotism of William Tell on the lake of Uri, with as much enthusiasm as the pathetic scenes of Queen Mary's death, the terrible pangs of jealousy which tormented Philip in the stately solitude of the Escorial. But, high or low in worldly stations, his leading characters, those on which the force of his genius was asserted, are those to whom nature had given the patent of nobility; and hence he is immeasurably inferior when he comes to comedy, which chiefly portrays the follies, and is often occupied with the most contemptible of mankind.

19. Schiller's powers of the pathetic are of the very highest kind: the last scene of *Queen Mary*, many in *Joan of Arc*, the *Bride of Messina*, and the exquisite episode of Thekla in *Wallenstein*, are among the most perfect specimens of that species of excellence which the literature of the whole world can exhibit. They are worthy to be placed beside the parting of Hector and Andromache at the Scæan Gate, or the last scenes of Dido and Æneas in the *Æneid*. Equally remarkable are his rhetorical powers, and the graphic picture of the ideas and passions of particular ages and parties which he has given in his historical dramas. This is particularly the case in *Queen Mary* and *Don Carlos*. The best-informed student of the religious wars in the Netherlands will find something to learn in the speeches of the Marquis Posa and Don Carlos in the elaborate drama which depicts the jealousy of the Escorial. Those most acquainted with Scotch history recur to those in *Queen Mary* for an admirable summary of the considerations for and against the Reformation in this island. Schiller's historical knowledge is so great, his rhetorical power so vast, that he

throws himself, whenever an opportunity occurs, into these oratorical displays with the utmost eagerness; but though these speeches in verse excite universal admiration when read in the library, they are far from being equally effective on the stage, and often, by their tediousness, mar in the theatre the effect of his finest compositions. Whoever has seen *Don Carlos* acted on the German boards will recollect the mortal tedium of the speeches of Marquis Posa.

20. Like all other great dramatists, Schiller is equally eminent as a lyric poet. The connection between tragedy and the lyric muse is so close that they insensibly run into each other; the choruses of the Greek tragedies and the strophes of the Italian opera follow so naturally from the previous language and ideas, that the transition never appears violent. Many of his lyrical pieces, in particular the *Lay of the Bell* and *Hero and Leander*, are among the finest of the kind that modern Europe has produced. They unite the burning thoughts of Grey, the condensed expression of Campbell, to the varied pictures of Collins, the poetic fire of Pindar. He has not, however, the masculine grandeur and touching pathos of Burns; his odes are the perfection of imagination rather than feeling. They are not what Bulwer has so finely said of the outpouring of the Scottish peasant, "the perfection of sentiment set to music." His *Bride of Messina* is, from the beauty of the choruses, and the strict imitation of the Grecian drama which it presents, the most perfect specimen of that species of composition which modern Europe has produced. In several of his other pieces, in particular *Wallenstein's Death* and *Joan of Arc*, although the unities are in some places violated, yet they are in reality observed in the material parts of the piece; a peculiarity which obtains also in *Othello*, *As You Like It*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and many of Shakespeare's most popular plays, indicating the deep foundation which the ancient rules in this respect have in the hu-

man heart, and the principles of all the arts intended to move it.

21. Unlike other dramatists, Schiller is also a historian, and there his merits are by no means equally great. This is a remarkable circumstance, when the eminently historical character of his mind, as evinced in his dramas, is taken into consideration; but the same thing occurred in the case of Sir Walter Scott, Moore, Southey, and many others who have tried to combine the muse of history with that of poetry. His *Thirty Years' War* is a luminous and succinct narrative of a most important era in modern history, and as such it merits the attention of every historical student, but it has no pretension to be a great historical work. It is a good epitome of the events of the period for the use of schools and colleges, that is all. It is a curious and apparently inexplicable circumstance, that the defect always observable in the writings of poets and novelists, when they begin to write history, is, not that they are too imaginative, but that they are too prosaic; not that they are unworthy of credit, but that they are dull—the sin which is never to be forgiven either in prose or verse. Mr Fox assigns a place to history next to poetry, and before oratory; but there are few poets who, when they entered the adjoining region, have not forgotten the place given them. It would seem that the narrative of events is so different from the flights of imagination, that those who can make the farthest sweep in the latter are unable to bring their powers to bear upon the former. Fearful of being thought romancers, they become mere compilers; they curb their imagination from the dread of being too poetical, but in doing so they become prosaic. And yet this disposition is a deviation from the true principles of composition applicable to such subjects,—for what is fiction but an imitation of actual life? How is the ideal to be founded but on the real? and why should the shadow be clothed in brighter colours than the substance?

22. If general and widespread celebrity is to be taken as the test of excellence, the next place must be assigned to the great epic poet of Germany, KLOPSTOCK, in the literary gallery. Yet is this to be done, according to our ideas, rather in conformity with general reputation than our own opinion, for with all its sublime ideas, pure thoughts, and lofty imagery, there is no concealing the fact, that to read *The Messiah* is a heavy task, which fewer than are willing to admit it have been able to perform. The reason is, that it is too much in the clouds: to awaken the sympathy of mortals, it has too little of the interests, the passions, the weaknesses of humanity. There is also much too frequent an allusion in his great poem to death and immortality—topics of the utmost interest and sublimity, when properly and only occasionally introduced, but which lose their influence when too often brought forward. We cannot live always among the tombs; and if we are compelled to do so, their imagery, like death to a soldier who daily sees his comrades fall around him, will soon be stript of its chief terrors. The greatest human genius cannot avoid failure from these causes, when an attempt is made by mortals to depict the councils of Heaven. Homer only escaped from the difficulty by giving his gods and goddesses the passions and cares of men and women; Milton, by painting in *Paradise* the picture, not of divine but *human* primeval innocence. When he attempted to construct an epic poem with the materials of heaven alone, the *Paradise Regained* showed the inevitable failure of the attempt. That poem was the favourite of the author, because he felt that, in constructing it, he had greater difficulties to contend with than when the charming episode of “the bowers of *Paradise*” enlivened his pages: like the mother of a weak child, he felt more interest in it than in the more robust offspring which had never caused anxiety. But it by no means follows that the world are to be influenced by the same feelings; and it is no imputation on the

genius of Klopstock that he failed in awakening the interest of poetry in a subject in which Homer and Milton had not succeeded.

23. If we would form a correct estimate of the poetical genius of Klopstock, we must study his lyrical pieces, and then there is room only for the most unqualified approbation. Like the *Allegro* and the *Penseroso* or *Lycidas*, they evince the lustre of his imagination even more than the stately march of the epic. It is so with many, perhaps most German writers; and the reason is, that in that species of poetry they are *compelled to be brief*, contrary to the usual inclination of the German mind, as it is evinced in their prose writers, which is to be diffuse and long-winded. Nothing can exceed the beauty of some of his lyrical pieces, or the refinement and delicacy of the sentiments and images presented in them. They are not so graphic or varied as those of Goethe, nor so lofty and chivalrous as those of Schiller; they have not the exquisite rural pictures of Uhland, nor the varied earth-wide panorama of Freiligrath. But in delicacy of sentiment, purity of feeling, and refinement of language, he is equal to any of these illustrious writers; and the poetic fire of some of them proves, that if he has failed in making of *The Messiah* an interesting epic poem, it was not because his powers were unequal to the task, but because the task itself was above the power of man. It was that which made Dryden say, that the real hero of the *Paradise Lost* was the devil.

24. OEHLENSCHLAGER is perhaps the poet who, if he is not the most varied, is the most national that the Teutonic race has produced. By birth he is a Dane, and his works first were composed in the language of that country. But he is of the great Teutonic family, and his writings are chiefly known in their German garb. Several of his dramas, as *Aladdin*, and the *Waringers at Constantinople*, are filled with foreign imagery, and prove that he was feelingly alive to the blue skies and ardent sun, graceful palms and bewitching damsels of the East.

Others, in particular the beautiful play of *Correggio*, evince a thorough acquaintance with the refined ideas and delicate taste and passionate admiration of art which distinguish the inhabitants of modern Italy. But neither is his ruling disposition; his heart is elsewhere: he is a pilgrim, not a sojourner, in the land of the sun. Heart and mind he is a Goth. His inmost soul is tinged with the imagery and ideas, the passions and desires, the scenery and aspirations of his Scandinavian forefathers. His heart is at times rigid and frozen with the severity of an arctic winter; at others it gushes forth in copious floods with the breath of spring. So deeply is he impregnated with the habits and ideas of his rude ancestors, so entirely has their disposition with their blood descended into his veins, that he describes them rather as one of themselves than one of their successors. The sea-kings never had such a bard; the halls of Walhalla never resounded with such strains; the heroes of the north never inspired such enthusiasm; the Walkyria never could boast so devout a worshipper. Their courage is not the child of Roman patriotism; it is not the offspring of Grecian democracy; it is the ardent passion, the inextinguishable desire, which sends forth the children of night into the sunshine of nature. We mount with him the waves of the German Ocean; we share, in imagination, in the spoils of mighty England; we pass the Pillars of Hercules, and see the "brood of winter" revelling in the blue waves and sunny isles and pendant vintages of the Ægean Sea.

25. But it is not merely in depicting the warlike passions of the hosts whom the sea-kings of the north led forth to conquer and desolate the world that Oehlenschläger is great; he represents with not less felicity the softer feeling which melted those breasts of iron, and caused them to yield a willing homage where force was not to be found, but beauty had supplied its place. Nowhere shall we find so finely painted as in his pages the workings of that passion which

can alone tame the savage breast, which is ever strongest in the strong, most generous in the generous; which, when it is awakened in worthy bosoms, loses all its dangers by being severed from all its selfishness; which rouses great aspirations, prompts to noble deeds, and which is rightly designated by the same name as the love of heaven, for it shares in all its purity. This passion, the object of ridicule to the man of the world who cannot feel, of astonishment to the man of business who cannot conceive it, is nevertheless the foundation of the imaginative literature of modern Europe, and constitutes the great distinction between it and the fictions of ancient times. As it had its birth-place among the warriors who issued from Scandinavia to overturn the Roman empire, so it has never been so nobly represented as by one of the most gifted of their descendants. Love, as represented in the pages of Oehlenschläger, is neither the wild passion bordering on insanity of the Greek dramatists, the infliction of which was deemed one of the curses of an offended Deity, nor the licentious desire of the Roman poets, which taste sought to refine and invention to multiply; it is neither the fierce passion of the harem, which, thirsting for pleasure, perishes with enjoyment; nor the heartless vanity of the drawing-room, which, faithless to every one, seeks gratification in an endless succession of conquests. It is the profound feeling which, once awakened, can expire only with life itself; which shuns society, and is nursed in solitude; which time cannot weaken, nor distance sever; which shares with the devotion of the pilgrim its warmth, with the honour of chivalry its constancy; which commands respect from its disinterestedness, and becomes sublime from its immortality. Whoever has read with kindred feelings his beautiful dramas of *Axel und Walburg*, *Hagbarth und Sigac*, and *Das Land gefunden und verschwunden*, will not deem these observations overcharged. He will see from what source the spirit of chivalry, which has so

profoundly moved the heart and influenced the literature of modern Europe, has taken its rise.

26. GRILLPARZER is an author who belongs to the same school as Oehlenschläger, but he is more modified by the literature of antiquity and the ideas of southern Europe. He is not less national in his feelings or graphic in his descriptions: like him, he delights in painting the manners and ideas of the olden time, and bringing again on the stage the giant characters and heart-stirring incidents and splendid phantasmagoria of the heroic ages. His noble drama of *King Ottokar* is a sufficient proof how completely he was master of that imagery. But he is tinged with the ideas of the south; he partakes of Ariosto's imagination; his soul is penetrated with the sunny isles of the Mediterranean. In *Suppho* this peculiarity clearly appears: it unites the brilliant imagery of the Greeks with the chivalrous ideas of modern time: if it is less powerful than the dramas of Sophocles, it is more refined. The *Ahnfrau*, the scene of which is laid in a feudal castle, and the incidents taken from modern manners, is perhaps the most perfect drama on the Greek model, though without the chorus, which modern literature has produced; and *Medea and Jason*, constructed on the well-known tale, and on the example of antiquity, presents many of the beauties of the Greek stage. Their extreme charm and interest raise a doubt whether the neglect of the unities, and especially the most important of all, the *unity of emotion*, in England since the time of Shakespeare, is not the chief cause of the decline of the drama in this island. Nor is still more modern genius wanting in the same career:—

“Uno avulso, nec deficit alter
Aureus.”

FREDERICH SALOM, the author of *Der Sohn der Walldniss*, if he continues as he has begun, may well claim a place in the august Walhalla of German genius.

27. If celebrity on the stage and temporary theatrical success is to be

taken as a test of real dramatic excellence, KOTZEBUE is to be placed at the very head of the literature of Europe in that department. His plays have been translated into every language, represented on every theatre, drawn thunders of applause from every audience. Rendered into English by the kindred genius of Sheridan under the name of *Pizarro*, his *Death of Rolla* is one of the most popular pieces that ever appeared on the British stage. This reputation, however, is sensibly on the decline: they keep their place in the theatre, but they are seldom the study of the library. The reason is obvious; their merit consists in what appears on the boards, not what is conveyed in the lines. He was a perfect master of stage effect, and was never exceeded in the ability with which he brought forward a succession of interesting scenes and thrilling *coups de théâtre*, to entrance and keep up the excitement of his audience. Therein lay his real merit; as a dramatic poet he was very deficient. He had neither the heroic soul and ardent spirit of Schiller, nor the exquisite pathos and profound knowledge of mankind which captivate all in Goethe. His knowledge was immense, his mind eminently discursive, his glance extended over the whole world and all ages. But his characters were all the same: there was great variety of incident, but little of ideas, in his pieces. His imagination for the construction of dramas was as prolific as that of Lope de Vega, his subjects as varied as those of Voltaire; but his thoughts were almost all those of civilised Europe in the nineteenth century. His dramas owe their immense celebrity to the pantomime and theatrical effect: they would be nearly as interesting if it was all dumb show. Hence, they cannot be expected to keep their place as works of literary merit, or as the delightful companions of the fireside; but they will long amuse and delight the world, when exhibited with the charms of scenery and the magic of stage effect.

28. WERNER is in every respect the reverse of Kotzebue; he is in a great

measure ignorant of stage effect, is careless of *coups de théâtre*, and therefore his pieces are little calculated for dramatic success; but they possess a rare beauty if read at home, and regarded as lyrical effusions, or what the Germans call dramatic poems. It is not that he was ignorant of the principles of dramatic composition, and what is essential for success on the stage: but he was indifferent to it. He regarded his dramas, as Byron did his tragedies, as a convenient mode of pouring forth *poetic oratory* in a more abbreviated and less formal mode than in a regular epic poem. Accordingly, with a few brilliant exceptions, of which *Luther* is the most remarkable, his dramas have had no great success on the stage; but they form a collection second to few in German literature for study in the closet. The dignity of philosophic thought, the charm of lyrical versification, are nowhere more happily combined than in his lines. Unfortunately, he does not add to it the succession of brilliant images which forms so essential a part in dramatic and lyric poetry; therein lies his inferiority to Schiller and Goethe. Like Wordsworth, he is more diffuse than loose, profound than imaginative; he deals in thoughts more than images, and consequently, like him, he is more likely to have devout worshippers for a season than steady admirers in all future times. His finest dramas, however, *Luther*, *Attila*, the *Cross of the Baltic*, and *The Twenty-Fourth of February*, are a great addition to German literature, and must always keep a respectable place even in the galaxy of genius which the German drama presents.

29. The comic muse of Germany has by no means attained the celebrity which its tragic has reached. Even in the hands of the greatest dramatic writers—Goethe, Schiller, and Kotzebue—though it was by no means neglected, it is far from being so distinguished as the sister art. The characters are, in the estimation of a foreigner at least, too strongly drawn; they are grotesque and ridiculous rather than comic. They have neither the delicate

satire of Molière, nor the playful wit of Sheridan, nor the inexhaustible invention of Lope de Vega, nor the ludicrous farce of Goldoni. They portray with graphic truth the mean and despicable qualities of human nature as they appear in ordinary or vulgar characters, but they are destitute of the fine perception of weaknesses, the secret workings of vanity, as they are revealed in the higher classes, which we see in Beaumarchais, Marivaux, and Molière. In truth, the German mind is too serious; it is strung on too lofty a key to grasp the nice distinctions, the delicate shades of character, which are requisite for the felicitous display on the stage of the manners of high life.

30. Nor is this all. The structure and exclusive system of German society preclude the possibility of its peculiar features becoming known to the rank from which the authors of the country are taken. With a very few brilliant exceptions, they all belong to the burgher class, with which they alone associate through life, and with whose manners and follies they are alone familiar. Princes and dukes, duchesses and countesses, are not wholly unknown to them, but they are seen only at a distance—much as in England the sovereign and royal circle are to the great bulk of those who attend levees or drawing-rooms. There are scarce any nobles authors in Germany; the sword, not the pen, is in general alone wielded by the magnates of the Teutonic race. The art of war may sometimes, as in the case of the Archduke Charles or Frederick the Great, exercise the thoughts of the highest in rank—the first in genius; but these are the exceptions, not the rule. Hence the picture of elegant high-bred manners is almost a matter of impossibility in Germany, either on the stage or in romance, for this plain reason, that the persons who write both have never seen high life; and this is a want, especially in the delineation of women, for which no genius can compensate. Imagination can figure fairy-tales, heroism can portray heroic characters, and elevation of

mind will appear in elevation of language; but the delicate shades of refined society can be represented only by those to whom they are familiar. Burns never said a truer thing than when he declared that he had never seen anything in men of high rank which he had not more than anticipated, but that an elegant woman was altogether beyond his conception.

31. Madame de Staël says that in comedy there is always something of the animal; either a man speaks like an animal, or an animal like a man. Tieck affords a proof of the justice of this remark. He first introduced from the *Animali Parlanti* of Pulei the system of making animals speak, which has since been so much prosecuted in Germany, and in Andersen's *Tales* has been brought to such perfection. In this respect he much resembles, and has much of the merit of, La Fontaine. Under the guise of the inferior animals, which, with the power of speech, are supposed to be endowed with human feelings and passions, is conveyed a delicate and often amusing satire on men and women. His *Pass in Boots* is an example of this. His melodramas are often skillfully constructed, in particular *Octavian* and *Prince Zerbín*, which are full of romantic incident and interesting situations, eminently attractive to a people so passionately fond of the marvellous as the Germans. Tieck's satire is delicate, and always conveyed in refined language, and his knowledge of human nature is complete, as far as it goes; but when he leaves fairy tales and comes to real life, it is life in a small German town which alone is portrayed. As a lyric poet, he possesses higher merits; and many of his smaller pieces contain lines of exquisite beauty, second to none in the German or any other language.

32. The German drama is the branch of its literature which is most remarkable, both from the splendid genius which has been exerted on it, the brilliant position—beyond all question the first in modern Europe—which it has taken, and from its being in a manner the reflex, and the only reflex,

of the general mind. But it is not to be supposed from that circumstance that other branches of literature have been neglected; on the contrary, many have attained the very highest eminence. In the very front rank we must place lyric poetry, and at its head KÖRNER. This remarkable man, the Tyrtæus of his country, was gifted by nature with the true poetic temperament. An ardent mind, a lofty soul, a brilliant imagination, were in him united to an indomitable courage, an heroic disposition. These qualities would have made him remarkable at any time, and under any circumstances; but it was the time in which he lived, the circumstances in which he was placed, which rendered him great. His intrepid spirit chafed against the chains of French oppression: he stood forth with the strength of a giant in the war of liberation; his strains thrilled like the sound of a trumpet through the heart of the Fatherland. Several of them, in particular the *Lyre and Sword*, are among the finest lyrical pieces that ever were composed; and long after the contest had ceased, and the excitement of the moment had died away, they have, from the intense beauty of the expression, and noble feeling which they display, taken a lasting place in the highest class of German literature. Like Chateaubriand's pamphlet on Buonaparte and the Bourbons, they had a powerful influence in bringing about the fall of the great oppressor: and it was not without reason that, when he was treacherously wounded by some French hussars, unworthy of the name, they exclaimed, when the Germans announced the armistice, "No armistice for Körner!" and stabbed him.

33. Körner is chiefly known in foreign countries from the patriotic odes and songs to which his genius and tragic fate have given immortal celebrity. But he has other merits, less generally appreciated, but also of a very high order. Long before the war of liberation broke out, he was celebrated as one of the most successful dramatic writers of the age, and his best pieces had been produced on the

stage of Vienna with very great effect. Like Schiller and Goethe, he embraced the whole world in the range of his conception, and sought to extract the grand and the pathetic from the events of all ages and climes. His *Rosamond* is taken from the legend of the loves of Henry II. in the forest of Woodstock; his *Tony* from a romantic tale of love and devotion in a Creole during the horrors of the St Domingo revolt; his *Zriny* from an incident in one of the memorable sieges which the Hungarians sustained against the Turks. It cannot be said that his pieces have the profound knowledge of the heart, and the secret springs of life, which characterise the works of Goethe, or the dramatic effect and condensed eloquence which have immortalised those of Schiller; but in all we see traces of the lofty and magnanimous soul which stirred the heart of Germany, as with the sound of a trumpet, in the war with Napoleon, and never fail to be charmed with the richness of a flowing and mellifluous eloquence. Perhaps the greatest defect of his theatrical pieces is, that they possess these qualities in too high a degree, and exhibit them *too constantly*. Compounded as man is of base and selfish, as well as noble and magnanimous feelings, we cannot *long* bear to have the latter qualities constantly displayed: it strikes us as unnatural, and mortifies our self-love to have pictures before our eyes exhibiting qualities superior to what we are conscious of in ourselves. Hence it is that Sir Charles Grandison never has been a favourite hero of romance, and that Homer's characters, where the littleness as well as greatness of humanity are faithfully delineated, have stood the admiration of every age and country.

34. BURGER is a poet of a different class, but also of very high merit. It is from his ballads that the other nations of Europe for long took their idea of German literature; *Leonora*, or *Death and the White Horse*, and the *Cruel Huntsman*, rendered into the languages of the adjoining states, into English by the kindred genius of Sir Walter Scott, spread a universal charm, and awakened a high admiration, but gave

in many respects a mistaken opinion of German literature. He first opened to the general mind the idea of the magic of feudal imagery, and of that blending of imagination with the events of the dark ages which has formed so interesting a field of subsequent fiction. His ideas are bold, his fancy vivid, his conceptions often terrific, his language heart-stirring; and none ever understood better the art, so important in romance as well as the drama, of keeping expectation awake, and the mind of the reader or spectator in anxious suspense down to the very close of the piece. Persons unacquainted with the German language, and taking their ideas of its literature from his ballads, supposed at the time, and may still suppose, that that is the universal character of a literature which, the better-informed know, embraces all subjects, unfolds all ideas, and is fitted to captivate all understandings.

35. FREILIGRATH has cultivated the lyric muse with a success which seldom has been surpassed. He is not heart-stirring and sublime like Körner, nor wild and romantic as Bürger. His odes are neither fitted to strike the heart of the patriot nor to rouse the terrors of the superstitious. The whole earth is embraced in his grasp, but it is so in its ordinary and pacific guise: his lines present pictures of every climate and of every land. In turning over his pages, we roam alternately with the camel-driver in the desert, dip our feet in the cool waves of the Jordan, traverse the burning sands of the Sahara, or rejoice in the first burst of spring after the desolation of an arctic winter. The sun of Italy, the isles of Greece, the icebergs of Greenland, the waves of the Mississippi, the steppes of Buenos Ayres, the summits of the Andes, the plains of Tartary, are equally present to his vivid imagination. No poet in any language has ever made more skilful use of the immensely varied imagery which modern information has brought to light as to objects and scenery in every part of the world, or given a more decisive refutation to the opinion, now so generally entertained, that the progress of know-

ledge is fatal to the influence of imagination. The poet may mournfully exclaim, in the well-known lines—

“When Science from Creation’s face
Enchantment’s veil withdraws,
What lovely visions yield their place
To cold material laws!”

That opinion is formed only by the uninformed, unfortunately always the great majority of mankind. More extended knowledge teaches us that the imagery of nature and occurrences of real life much exceed all that imagination has ever figured; and that the only secure foundation for the ideal is to be laid in the real.

36. UHLAND shares in some degree the character of Freiligrath, but he differs from him in some important respects. He is not less observant of nature, and felicitous in his description of it, but he is less discursive and more domestic in his objects. He does not roam over the world—he remains at home. It is there that his heart is fixed—it is from thence that his imagery is drawn. His descriptions are all taken from the scenes in which he had dwelt; his images are those with which all are familiar; and the example of the “Elegy in a Country Churchyard,” and “The Deserted Village,” may teach us that, when such objects are treated in the true poetic spirit, no more charming subjects for the lyric muse are to be found. Sunset amidst the bleating of lambs in a solitary pastoral valley—the breath of spring after the severity of winter—the leafy month of June—the hoary icicles of December—the first green of the leaves—the first bloom of the flowers—the tolling of the village bell which calls the faithful to the house of God—are the images on which he loves to dwell. Unlike many of his countrymen, he is deeply impressed with the feelings of religion; and if to “look up through nature to nature’s God” is one chief end and the noblest object of poetry, few have ever attained it more successfully than Uhland. In this respect, as well as in his enthusiastic admiration of the beauties of nature, and his felicitous use of common images, he very much re-

sembles Longfellow, who has rendered, in a kindred spirit, many of his finest odes into the English language.

37. RUCKHÄRT is the most voluminous lyric poet of Germany. His works, in six volumes octavo, exceed in bulk those of all its other bards of that class put together. It does not follow from that circumstance that he is the best. Bulk in lyric poetry is generally in the inverse ratio of real merit. It will be long before England produces six volumes composed of poems like “Alexander’s Feast,” “The Progress of Poetry,” “The Allegro,” or “Hohenlinden.” Ruckhärt has in many respects considerable merit, but it is not of the highest kind. He has prodigious facility of versification, a richly-stored memory, a poetic fancy, and often shows great felicity of casual expression. Like Freiligrath, his imagery is drawn from the whole earth; and, like many other inhabitants of the northern regions, his imagination seems to have been in an especial manner fascinated by the sunny isles and graceful palms and unclouded sun of the south. What he wants is depth of feeling and elevation of thought. He is neither profound and pathetic like Goethe, nor noble and chivalrous like Schiller: he is more akin to Wieland, both in the flow of his versification and the strain of his ideas. He is not destitute of sentiment, and occasional passages of exquisite beauty are to be found in his writings; but, generally speaking, he is an epicurean in thought—not a stoic. He is more akin to Horace than Pindar. His amatory verses, which are very numerous, resemble the Italian ones in the decline of taste, when conceit and exaggeration had come in place of the simplicity of genuine affection. They remind the English reader of the extravagance of the euphuists in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Compared to the simple devotion of Thelkla or Mignon, they indeed afford a lasting proof how little all the riches of imagination can supply the want of the simple voice of nature.

38. Of all the poets whom recent times have brought forth in Germany,

REDWITZ is the most successful. His chief and longest poem, *Amaranth*, has gone in a few years through eighteen editions. There can be no doubt that it possesses merits of a very high order, and what renders his verses the more attractive to foreigners, they are peculiarly of a German character. To the simplicity and almost homeliness of rural life in the middle class of landed gentry in that country, it unites the interest of chivalrous feeling and the romance of feudal event. A sincere Christian, Redwitz presents the Romish faith under its most amiable and attractive form, and hence it is warmly recommended by the Catholic clergy to those of their persuasion, though the warmth of some of the scenes savours little of the coldness of the cloister, or the self-denial of spiritual love. In *Amaranth* the poet has portrayed in charming colours the innocence and simplicity of the virgin heart, under the influences and chastened by the spirit of religion; in *Chismonda* he has attempted to draw the portrait of the charms, the passions, and the vanities of the world. Perhaps those who know it best will say that the *dénouement* is not agreeable to nature, and that Redwitz would have interested us more if he had made Walther's breach with the Italian syren originate in something else than her refusal, at his request, to submit to sacrifice the natural aspiration after conquest universal in the female heart. Be this as it may, the poem abounds with pure and elevated ideas, great felicity and beauty of expression, and a refined taste for the influences and charms of nature.

39. KINKEL belongs to the same school as Redwitz, and his *Otto* and *Margaret* present beauties of the same description. The first is a tale of true love and chivalry, such as is recorded of the olden time, and is, we believe, more true to nature, even in these degenerate days, than, judging from the mere surface of society, we should be inclined to imagine. Its strain is as elevated and generous as that of Redwitz, though perhaps there is somewhat less of the varied and attractive

imagery which, in the latter poet as in Wieland, gives the charm of a fairy tale to the creations of fancy. *Margaret* is itself a fairy tale, in which, as in *Little Red Riding Hood*, the pathetic and the terrible are educed, by a little superinduction of the marvellous, on the common events of humble life. The extreme popularity of both these poets, and the immense extent to which their works are read in Germany, is very remarkable, and eminently characteristic of the pure feelings and lofty spirit which, in a land still untainted, for the most part, by the vices or corruptions of cities, animate the vast majority of the inhabitants. They diminish our wonder at the glorious efforts of the war of liberation, they prognosticate a corresponding generous burst in behalf of civil freedom, when the aspirations of the people shall assume a practical form, and be guided by observation, not impelled by passion.

40. If ever two branches of literature stood forth in striking contrast to each other, it is the poetry and prose of Germany. The immense celebrity of its literature, at least with the great bulk of readers, depends almost entirely upon the former. The prose writers have in many instances great merit; their learning is generally immense, their industry almost miraculous, their thoughts sometimes profound. But there is, with a few brilliant exceptions, a fatal defect in their style. As much as the Teutonic poetry is brief, condensed, and emphatic, is its prose lengthy, tedious, and obscure. The sentences are in general involved, and of inordinate length, their ideas often vague and mystical, their doctrines abstract, and incapable of any practical application to the affairs of the world. Their expressions are sometimes felicitous, and the power which their language gives them of compounding a single word so as to make it convey a whole idea, makes them often extremely striking, and renders inexcusable the wearisome length of their sentences, and the mystical obscurity of their ideas. They have neither the terse brevity of the

best class of English writers, nor the power of lucid arrangement and clear expression which seems inherent in all ranks of French. They are almost always involved and obscure, and their sentences so long that they put us in mind of what is said of some American orators, who, when they have gained possession of the floor on Tuesday, are expected to keep it during the whole remainder of the week.

41. This fault, great as it is, and seriously as it must impede, as long as it continues, both the influence of the German writers on general thought, and their fame as individuals, is not, however, to be ascribed entirely to themselves. It is the result of the youth of their literature; it is common to them with nations commencing their career in composition all over the world, and in all ages. Look at the prose writers even of the greatest genius in England, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, or soon after: Hooker, Jeremy Taylor, Sir Walter Raleigh, Milton himself. Their prose sentences are so long, their ideas so involved, that it is next to impossible, in spite of the occasional beauty of expression, to read them with the pleasure which their merit deserves. The same is the case with the early historians of Italy,—Davila, Guicciardini, Giannone. Men of vast genius, and the most powerful minds, may even at such periods indeed convey their thoughts in brief language, but it belongs only to such capacities as those of Macchiavelli, Cervantes, Montesquieu, or Bacon, to do this. Generally speaking, the era of antithesis and epigrammatic expression is late in literary history; it is in the days of Sallust or Tacitus, not of Livy or Xenophon. It is the same with individuals, even those who ultimately become most celebrated for terseness of expression and clearness of ideas. Johnson's *Essays in the Rambler* are for the most part couched in pompous periods and long rounded sentences; his colloquial sayings, recorded by Boswell, are models of vigorous thought and clear epigrammatic expression.

42. The reason is, that a young nation, like a young author, is *writing*

itself into thought, not conveying that already formed. The world will not take mere enunciations of propositions off the hands of a young nation any more than a young writer; it requires the weight of years and established reputation to effect this with either. The ideas of a nation commencing the career of thought are of necessity vague, as the movements of a traveller are when he first adventures upon an unknown region; his steps are devious and uncertain, because he does not know well where to go. Decision of thought, and consequent brevity of expression, belong to the experienced nation as well as traveller. They are the results of long consideration of the subject, and can be arrived at in no other way. Add to this that there is no oratory in Germany except that of the pulpit and the professor's chair; and they, so far from being the school of brevity, are just the reverse, for their audiences are obliged to listen in silence to the prelections of their holders, how long and wearisome soever they may be. There is no school for brevity like free debate in presence of a numerous assembly *which is at liberty to testify its weariness*, for the auditors will not tolerate long-winded effusions, and the effect of speaking there is generally in proportion to the clearness of its thought and the terseness of its expression. Thence the inimitable brevity and force of the Greek and Roman orators. But though these considerations may explain how the German prose, withal so different from their poetry, is so diffuse and tedious, they do not lessen the fault, nor render it the less true that he would confer the greatest obligation on German literature who should prevail on their writers to cut their long sentences into four, their short into two.

43. If general and widespread fame, at least among scholars and learned men, is to be taken as the test of real merit, NIEBUHR must be placed at the head of the historians of Germany. He undoubtedly possesses merits of a very high order. To the vast learning and almost incredible industry which seem in a manner indigenous in Teu-

tonic scholars, he has added the rarer gifts of a philosophic turn of mind and aptitude for general thought. He possesses the power, the distinctive mark of genius, of extracting conclusions of lasting value from particular events, and bringing an infinite multitude of detached authorities to bear upon the propositions which he wished to establish. He has evinced a rare sagacity in treating of the early history of Rome, and separating the real from the imaginary in its charming legends. But with these remarks the measure of just praise to him seems to be exhausted: what more is given, and much often is, seems rather the zeal of partisanship or the affectation of scholarship than the impartial estimate of discriminating criticism. His style is obscure, his sentences long, his narrative neither pictorial nor dramatic. Subsequent writers, and Arnold in particular, have extracted much which they have rendered interesting from his pages; but we will search for it in vain in those pages themselves. To the most enthusiastic scholar it is a heavy task to wade through his history. The matters on which he has thrown most light are the early constitution of Rome and the real nature of the Agrarian law—the contests for which so violently shook its later days; and in investigating these subjects he has displayed wonderful skill in building up consistent theories out of such fragments of information as are to be gathered from Livy or Cicero. But supposing it to be true, as it probably is, that he has shown that the authentic history of Rome begins with Ancus Martins, much is not gained for the interests of mankind by classing all previous myths with the immortal fairy tales which first charmed our childhood.

44. If Niebuhr's usefulness and fame have been seriously impaired by the want of lucidity in his style, of order in his arrangement, and brevity in his expression, the same cannot be said of the next great author who in recent times has devoted his energies to the elucidation of ancient story. Till we open the pages of HEEREN we are

wholly unaware what treasures we really possess in regard to the early ages of the world, and what a graphic and complete future may be framed by modern genius from the materials which have floated down the stream of time. His histories of the Assyrians, the Persians, the Egyptians, the Carthaginians, and the early Greeks, seem from their completeness, the vividness of the pictures they contain, to be rather the annals of contemporary nations than the history of those which have long since disappeared from the face of the earth. They have justly formed part of the education of youth in every country of Europe, but they are not less charming to the advanced in years, as bringing to his eyes, after the heat of the day is over, the images and ideas which first attracted his younger days. Heeren has nearly as much learning as Niebuhr, though, as being diffused over a wider surface, it has not gained for him so widespread a reputation: but he has not so much genius; his mind is pictorial and discursive rather than profound. If he has seldom, however, struck out original thought himself, there is no one who has furnished in greater profusion the materials of it to others; and to a mind fraught with the events and social questions of modern times there are few works which in every page furnish more ample subjects of reflection.

45. MÜLLER has thrown over a most interesting part of modern story the light of genius and the stores of unbounded antiquarian research. His *History of Switzerland* is in some respects one of the most valuable historical works which modern literature has produced. It is remarkable how much more animated and pictorial it is than Schiller's *History of the Thirty Years' War*: the work of the antiquarian seems tinged with the colours of poetry, that of the poet darkened by the shades of prose. It is the same with Gibbon's *Rome* and Scott's *Life of Napoleon*,—a curious and apparently inexplicable circumstance. Müller's memory was prodigious. It is related of him that it was once betted that he

would repeat on being asked, without previous warning, a complete list of all the sovereign counts of Bugey; he did so immediately, and taxed himself severely for want of memory in not being able to tell whether one of them whom he mentioned had been regent or sovereign. This prodigious knowledge of details, however, did not prevent him from painting the interesting scenes and events with the colours of romance. His descriptions of the sublime scenery of the Alps are masterpieces of their kind; and his account of the great events of Swiss history, the conspiracy of the field of Rutli, the battles of Sempach and Morgarten, of Næfels and Morat, of Bale and Grandcour, never were surpassed in pictorial power and romantic interest. His defect—and it is a very serious one, though common to him with the whole antiquarian school of historians—is, that he has overloaded his narrative with a mass of insignificant details, which fatigue the reader's mind, are in themselves neither interesting nor instructive, and only withdraw the attention from objects of real importance. Sir Joshua Reynolds said that he would advise every young painter to take a brush dipped in deep shade, and go over three-fourths of the figures in his picture; and the remark is still more applicable to historians, because they are perplexed with a still greater number of small figures. Müller died poor, and left an injunction to sell his manuscripts to pay his debts; and if they did so, he bequeathed his watch to his servant: a sure proof that he had the integrity of a pure mind, for with his talents, if he had chosen to pander to any of the passions or ambitions of the day, he might have made a fortune.—“Semper bone mentis soror est paupertas.”

46. Any account of the German historians would be imperfect if VOX HAMMER were not mentioned. His minute and voluminous *History of Turkey*, in twelve volumes, is an invaluable resource to all who desire to make themselves acquainted with the transactions and character of that remarkable people, who during four cen-

turies have played so important a part in the world's history, and with whom its present destiny seems decisively wound up. He undoubtedly has many great merits. He is laborious, detailed, and circumstantial, and his examination of various authorities, both on the Asiatic and European side, give his History the peculiar value of being, in a manner, a digest of both. But with these remarks the meed of applause due to him must terminate: he cannot be called a great historian. He wants both the general views of a philosopher, and the artistic skill of a painter. He is neither discursive nor dramatic. Pictorial he certainly is in a very high degree, for great part of his work is taken up with descriptions of processions, dresses, and entertainments. There is no *perspective* in his pictures; everything is represented in the foreground, and worked out with equal minuteness. This defect, of all others the most fatal to a historian, is in a peculiar manner conspicuous in his writings. If any one doubts it, he is recommended to try to read his twelve volumes. Genius is shown as much in what is rejected as what is retained in history; and it is in the judgment with which insignificant details are dropped out, even more than the skill with which interesting or material ones are portrayed, that the skill and discrimination of the artist are evinced.

47. HERDER was more a poet than a historian: his works are rather fitted to fascinate the imagination than instruct the understanding. Considered in the former point of view, however, they have a very great charm. His *Philosophy of History* has no pretensions to that character; but it is a brilliant series of pictures of ancient and remote periods, which almost bring them before our eyes in the days of their pristine splendour. The chapters on Persepolis and Babylon, on the Persians and Egyptians, carry us back to the days of Cyrus and Darius, of Sesostris and Cleopatra. His essay on the *Poetry of the Jews*, in like manner, is tinged with the soul of Oriental song; and never were the ideas, man-

ners, and habits of the children of the desert, who pervade every part of the East, unfolded with more graphic power, or stricter observance of the truth of nature. He has even gone so far as to imitate the versification of the Hebrews, and that repetition of the same image or idea in different terms, which constitutes so remarkable a feature in their poetry. "Art and nature," says he, "preserve always an imposing uniformity in the midst of their variety." This is undoubtedly true, and it is a truth applicable to others of the fine arts besides poetry. Witness the imposing grandeur of the avenue of sphinxes at Luxor, the charming identity of the columns in the Parthenon of Athens, or the façade of the Louvre at Paris. There is scarcely any form in nature so revolting that it may not be rendered imposing, or even sublime, by being repeated often on a great scale: that is a truth of which the Assyrians at Nineveh and the Egyptians at Thebes have left many proofs; and however paradoxical it may appear, it is undoubtedly true that more effect will often be produced, at least in architecture, by the repetition of ugliness than the variety of beauty. Avenues of colossal toads might become sublime.

48. SCHLOSSER has acquired a very great reputation in Germany: there are several of the best judges in that country who consider him as entitled to a place beside the first historians of England or of modern France in philosophic eminence. His *History of Europe during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* is certainly, considering the circumstances under which it was written, a surprising work; but it is far from being deserving of that high character. It has not the fault of the antiquarian historians; it generalises sufficiently, and is far from being overcharged with a multitude of insignificant details. But put beside Hume or Robertson, Macchiavelli or Montesquieu, Thucydides or Tacitus, the inferiority is at once apparent. There are general ideas in plenty, but they are those of the closet, not the forum. What is felt as wanting are

those general remarks, drawn from a close observation of the collision of the different classes of mankind in a free community, or the contending ambitions of their rulers in despotic ones, which at once carry conviction home to every succeeding age. But the absence of this is not to be ascribed as a fault in Schlosser, so much as regarded as the inevitable result of ideas being formed out of the pale of freedom; and this consideration only places in a clearer light the duty incumbent on those who do enjoy that inestimable blessing, to observe human affairs with an impartial eye, unbiassed either by the vanity of popular applause or the seductions of courtly power.

49. Among the eminent historians of modern Germany a prominent place must be assigned to RANKE, whose *History of the Popes*, rendered into every civilised tongue, has acquired a world-wide reputation. The subject is a very great one, possessed of that unity of interest which is so essential an element in success, and of undying interest, for the papal policy is unchanged and unchangeable. No one can approach it without acknowledging the benefit he has conferred on the cause of historic truth by his narrative, and the ability with which he has compressed into a very moderate compass the annals of the long series of the holy fathers. The work, however, has great deficiencies. It is wanting in interest, and its want is not redeemed by philosophic views. The extraordinary growth of the Reformation, its subsequent stationary condition during two hundred and fifty years, and the renewed vitality of Catholicism in these times, are portrayed, but they do not elicit from the author the reflections which such a series of events is fitted to awaken. No one can expect from a history of the Popes the interest in narrative or event which we see in Livy or Sallust: but we might see the graphic power in describing the changes of society which we admire in Robertson, the profound views which carry conviction to our minds in Guizot. What is wanting in Ranke may be judged of by what has been supplied

in Macaulay's review of his work, one of the most brilliant of his many splendid productions.

50. Both the SCHLEGELS have a very high reputation in Germany, and Wm. Schlegel's *Philosophy of History* is often referred to as containing profound and important views of human affairs. There does not appear to be any solid foundation for this opinion. The *Philosophy of History* may be a prodigy in Germany, but it is a very ordinary affair elsewhere. It is little more than a clear and succinct abridgment of universal history for the use of schools and colleges, with a few observations interspersed which belong to a higher class. Compared with the writings of Macchiavelli, Montesquieu, or Guizot, it is as nothing. Nowhere does it so clearly appear how essential the contests of freedom are to the growth of just views of human affairs, or the real causes which are at work in the affairs of nations. Without entire liberty of thought and action it is vain to expect that the secret springs of events are to be discovered. Macchiavelli reached them from a contemplation of the republics of modern, Montesquieu from the study of those of ancient, Italy. In the despotic atmosphere of Vienna they cannot be attained. His brother, A. F. Schlegel, stands deservedly high in the lighter branches of literary criticism. He is a philosophical critic, and in that department his merits are considerable. Perhaps nowhere in literature, ancient or modern, is to be found a higher perception of the objects of art, a more generous appreciation of genius, than in his lectures on the drama. English literature has nothing of the same description which can be compared to it. His *Esthetics*, as the Germans call them, or principles of taste in various branches of art, are models of refined feeling and just criticism, and prove that if he failed in some of the higher branches of philosophy, it was not from want of the power of generalisation, but from the difficulty of thought being adequately directed to the affairs of nations under a despotic monarchy.

51. It cannot be said that the Ger-

man military historians have rivalled the transcendent phalanx which the wars of the Revolution have called forth in France, but nevertheless they can boast of some whose merits never were surpassed. At the very head of the array is to be placed the ARCHDUKE CHARLES: the first in rank is also the first in candour, discrimination, and just reflection. His Memoirs of his own immortal campaign in Germany in 1796, and of the still more checked and heart-stirring one in Italy and the Alps in 1799, are models of lucid and authentic military history, worthy to be placed beside the *Commentaries* of Cæsar or the *Reveries* of Marshal Saxe. The principles of strategy on a great scale, to which the chief successes or reverses in war are to be ascribed, never were more profoundly reflected on or lucidly explained than by this great commander. Like the dictator, he discusses his own measures with an impartiality which is, literally speaking, *à toute épreuve*. To the merits of others, and most of all his opponents, he is ever alive, and yields a willing testimony; he is silent only on the praise due to his own great achievements. In this respect he presents a striking contrast to Napoleon, whose Memoirs, distinguished by greater acuteness, more brilliant genius, and reach of thought, are constantly disfigured by the propensity to magnify self and detract from the merits of others, which, springing from his inveterate selfishness, forms so remarkable and discreditable a feature in his writings. Above all, the narrative of the Archduke Charles is distinguished by that entire *truthfulness*, and consequent trustworthiness, which seems an inherent feature in the Teutonic character, and forms so striking a contrast to the mingled genius and falsehood which so often characterise even the greatest men of the Celtic.

52. General CLAUSEWITZ had not the immense advantage enjoyed by Cæsar, Frederick the Great, Napoleon, and the Archduke Charles, of having himself directed the movements which he described, but he had borne a considerable command in many of the

most important of them, and his intuitive military genius enabled him to do the rest. He was born a great general, if he was not made such. Many men are so who never drew a sword. The power of directing or correctly judging of military movements is a gift of nature which may be improved but is not created by practice, and often appears in its highest lustre in those who have had none. Witness Napoleon's skill in tactics as an engineer at the siege of Toulon, where he first saw a gun fired in anger; in strategy, in his first campaign in Italy. Clausewitz's account of the campaigns of 1812 and the three following years are models of clear and accurate military narrative, the study of which is eminently calculated to form great generals. He has not the splendid power of describing battles and sieges which we admire in Napier, but neither are his writings overloaded with the flood of insignificant details which in him so much distract the reader's attention. He takes a general view of his campaigns. He narrates them neither as a subordinate actor nor a general-in-chief, but rather as a superior being, who, from an elevated point in the skies, looks down, like the gods in the *Iliad*, on the contests of men. His *coup d'œil* is just and rapid—his narrative clear and succinct—his reflections generally just, often profound. They bear a close resemblance to those of the Archduke Charles; and in both we see similar proofs of the candour and equanimity of the German mind in its best mood, when swayed only by reason, and undisturbed by passion.

53. If the Revolution in France has warmed into life a crowd of memoir-writers, whose effusions throw an invaluable light on the events of that memorable period, the war of liberation in Germany has been hardly less efficacious in calling forth a host of authors, who have portrayed with equal felicity the changes and feelings of that eventful era. Their number is so considerable that a separate criticism on each, in a work of general history, is impossible; but four stand prominently forward, and deserve notice in

any account, how brief soever, of German literature. BARTHOLDY'S *Krieg der Tyroler* presents a graphic and interesting narrative of the memorable struggle of its heroic mountaineers in the year 1809; and VARNHAGEN VON ENSE has collected with much ability, and recorded with dramatic effect, the most striking incidents connected with the war of liberation, and its hero Marshal Blücher. Inferior in graphic power, but much superior in political importance and historical information, the memoirs of BARON STEIN, one of the greatest and most far-seeing of German statesmen, exhibit a most interesting account of the measures which had prepared the triumph of Prussia in that memorable struggle; while the narrative of BARON MUFFLING has furnished a valuable record, from authentic materials, of the most important steps connected with the campaigns of 1813 and 1814, and the final *dénouement* which at Waterloo terminated the eventful drama.

54. Autobiography, when relating to very eminent men, and written in a spirit of candour and moderation, is one of the most interesting, and withal instructive species of composition; for it at once amuses the indolent with the account of the efforts of the departed great, and encourages the strenuous, whom Providence has gifted with the power of emulating them. How valuable such a record may be is sufficiently proved by the admirable sketch of his life by Hume—the more elaborate and charming autobiography of Gibbon; while the confessions of Rousseau afford a melancholy proof that the revelations of a great but vain man may undermine even the most colossal reputation, and demonstrate the truth of the saying, that of all sights the most unbearable is a “naked human heart.” Vanity is the general cause of the despicable character of so many biographies of themselves by eminent men; and unfortunately this failing is generally the most conspicuous in those of the greatest celebrity—witness the autobiographies of Chateaubriand and Lamartine. It is fortunate for the memory of Byron that his has been

burnt; for it would in all probability have destroyed all respect for his character, though it could not have impaired the admiration for his genius.*

55. Germany has not been awanting in works of this description from some of the most gifted of her sons, and three stand forth pre-eminent among many others of lesser fame. Goethe's Autobiography, without being so fearful a confession of disgraceful turpitudes as Rousseau's, is a most curious and valuable record of his mind; so various, so many-sided, so full, alternately, of piercing thoughts and common inclinations. It is far too minute, however, and in consequence tedious. With more enthusiasm in his disposition and romance in his tastes, that of Oehlenschläger exhibits an interesting picture of the gradual development of an ardent and gifted mind, and of the mingled influence of the traditions of the olden and the literature of modern times upon a highly poetic temperament. It is only to be regretted that its interest is somewhat impaired, at least to a foreign reader, by the multitude of obscure names and characters who are introduced, alike unknown to general fame, and insignificant in the picture of character. But the most interesting of all these autobiographies, as the briefest, is that of Andersen, the celebrated Danish novelist. The picture of his early life in the island of Oldensee, and the patriarchal manners of the inhabitants of the archipelago in which it is placed, is in the highest degree interesting; as is also the narrative of the successive means by which his genius was developed, and the mental vigour which raised him from a humble station in a provincial town to the society of kings and queens. It is only to be regretted that vanity, the usual foible of successful authors, is too conspicuous in the later pages of

his biography, and strangely contrasts with the simplicity and candour of his earlier narrative. It is surprising that so many authors of discernment, in scanning the character of others, fall into this mistake when delineating themselves, and prove blind to the obvious truth that vanity is not only always contemptible, but never fails to defeat its own object, because it wounds the *amour propre* of those who read its effusions.

56. Romances and novels innumerable have of late years issued from the prolific press of Germany; any attempt to enumerate even their names is impossible in a work of general history. Generally speaking, they cannot be said to be at all comparable to those of England or France. Scott, Bulwer, and Madame de Staël, have met with no rivals in the Fatherland. They are generally distinguished by one characteristic—they paint only one, or at most two, strata of society. In the first instance, the extravagant admiration which was felt for Goethe's *Werther* led to a crowd of sentimental writers, who descanted on the moon, and midnight serenades, and dying lovers, till ridicule was brought over the whole subject. As usual in such cases, the next school went into the opposite extreme, and the exact representation of real life, with no fictitious additions, became the great object. By its authors, society in a village or small country town in Germany is painted with minuteness and fidelity, but nothing more. Still life of every kind is delineated with miniature accuracy. The village priest, the apothecary, the bailiff of the neighbouring castle, with occasional glimpses of the inmates of the castle itself; the simple life of the shopkeepers, the visits of strolling actors and actresses, who turn the heads of all the young men; the return from the wars of the hussar officers, who captivate all the maidens; the intrigues of a young baron with a simple true-hearted *frau*, constitute in general the staple of their tales.

57. Another class of novels belong to the philosophical school; they are filled with abstract disquisitions, and

* By far the best and most favourable, as well as truthful, picture of Lord Byron, is to be found in Lady Blessington's conversations with him—a work second only to Boswell's *Johnson* in fidelity and interest, and worthy of a lasting place beside it in English literature.

resemble rather moral or metaphysical essays than pictures of life. As a necessary consequence, they are for the most part insupportably dull: romance may often be made the vehicle of the most exalted sentiment, the purest morality, but it must be by event, not prelection—by character, not disquisition. Even the best novels of Goethe and Wieland are not free from this defect; there are many passages which every reader is fain to pass over, and most actually do. It is remarkable how much more homespun and limited in conception their novels are than their poetry or their dramas: but a little reflection must show how this has come, and unavoidably come to pass. Novels are intended to paint real life, and are in general interesting in proportion as they delineate with accuracy and truth, and yet romantic interest, the manners and incidents of those with whom we are acquainted; poetry and the drama diverge into the ideal world, and bring to view the events and character of all ages. Imagination and study can find the last, but nothing can supply the want of actual observation in the first. The German authors, who almost all belong to the burgher class, and are familiar with its manners only, can paint them, and they have done so admirably; but we can expect from them nothing more; and it need not be said that they form a part only of the materials of fiction.

58. To these observations an exception must be made in the case of one distinguished authoress whose romances have excited unusual attention in Germany. The COUNTESS HAHN-HAHN has been gifted by nature with the true genius of poetry and romance; and her position in society has enabled her to paint its highest as well as its inferior scenes. Her mind is enamoured of strong emotions; like Rachel, she makes straight to them, and, passing lightly over the smiles, dwells with sympathetic interest on the tears. Her best novels have been translated into French and English, and have acquired a European reputation. There are many

scenes in them, however, which to our ideas seem coarse, and the *dénouement* is often of questionable morality,—a singular circumstance in an authoress who, in her beautiful little volume, *Arc Maria*, has given so many proofs of a refined mind, and of the most heartfelt and exalted piety. We see the same strange mixture, however, in several other German writers, and we need not wonder at it when we observe it also in Steele and Addison. It is want of refinement in taste more than deficiency in moral sense, which is the cause of this blemish in German literature; if their ideas were more depraved, they would, like the French novelists, be more careful to shroud them in refined and elegant language.

59. It is impossible, in a sketch of this brief description, to give any idea of the immense crowd of romance-writers who during the last forty years have appeared in Germany. Their name is legion, and a discussion of their separate merits would occupy many volumes; but one has recently appeared whose merits are so great and generally acknowledged as to call for a separate notice. M. HAKLANDER unites in himself several of the most striking qualities of our greatest contemporary novelists. In graphic description of character, in all grades of society, and occasional pathetic power, he recalls Dickens; in the evolving of the story, when to all appearance hopelessly complicated, he resembles Bulwer. He has not, however, the profound knowledge of the human heart, or turn for philosophic reflection, which distinguish the works of the latter author. His most celebrated work, *Europäische Sklavensleben*, is intended to exhibit a picture of all the stages of society, from the cellars, through the saloon, to the garret, in order to prove that the conventional bonds of civilised life in Europe are even more galling than the rude fetters of the African, and that many a white slave would have something to envy in the lot of Uncle Tom. It is to be feared there is too much truth in this view of the effects of civilisation, and in working it

out M. Haklander has evinced great dramatic power, and a thorough acquaintance with all the gradations of German society. His picture of the ballet-dancers, and their fearful subjection to the caprices of the public; of the ardent and impassioned baron, of the restraints, etiquette, and difficulties of the ducal courts, and of the licentious life of the robbers, cannot be exceeded in fidelity and force of drawing. Unfortunately they are not calculated to elucidate any definite moral impression, and consequently fall short of the highest object of works of imagination, that of being at once true to nature and elevating in their tendency. The characters in the *Europäische Schwesternleben*, as in *My Novel*, by Bulwer, are so numerous that the two first volumes seem rather too complicated for interest; but in the first, as in the English novel, they are all made to concur in the *dénouement* with surprising skill. A translation of this highly popular novel, if done by kindred genius, would be one of the most popular works of fiction of our times.*

60. There is one species of fiction peculiar to Germany and the northern nations, which they have cultivated with extraordinary success: this is that of supposing animals, plants, or trees, to be animated with human feeling, and to express their thoughts in human language. ANDERSEN has composed several charming tales of this description, which may be classed with any in the world of that sort, for interest and simplicity. They have not the deep insight into human nature which distinguishes the somewhat similar fictions of La Fontaine, nor the amusing prattling of Gay; but in variety of fancy, richness of imagery, simplicity of thought, and versatility of imagination, they are unrivalled. Many ideas in them are entirely novel to English readers, and bespeak the chill of the hyperborean regions. The first burst of spring after the long night of an arctic winter, the frozen fields of Lapland, the Snow Queen, the return of the swallows in May, the migration of

the storks, and many similar images, indicate the feelings and ideas awakened by the arctic regions, and have all the attractions, in some degree, of novelty to those dwelling in milder latitudes. His *Bilderbuch ohne Bilder* is one of the most charming creations of poetic fancy. The idea of the moon recounting all the scenes on which her midnight rays fall in the wide expanse of the globe, in every country and in every clime, is not only highly poetical, but affords the richest field for graphic power and varied imagery. The Hindoo maiden who looks for an omen of the safety of her beloved in the waters of the Ganges, the icebergs of Greenland reflecting her cold beams, the camel-driver shading his face from the burning sands of the Sahara with a bunch of feathers, the tragic scenes of the French Revolution, the horrors of the Moscow retreat, the simple patriarchal life of the Danish isles, the infancy of Thorwaldsen, the last hours of Napoleon, alternately employ his magic pencil, and form, with many others, a series of pictures unrivalled in the whole field of German literature for simplicity, variety, and poetic interest.

61. JEAN PAUL RICHTER has a prodigious reputation in Germany, but it is by no means equally great in foreign countries. The reason is that his language is too homespun; his ideas are too much localised. He has observed and painted and philosophised with great ability within a certain sphere, but his vision has not gone beyond it. Life and manners in a provincial German town, and the caustic observations of a sage upon them, constitute the staple of his productions; which, though they are done with sagacious thought, witty satire, and often profound observation, are not calculated to attract universal notice. They have neither the deep thought of Bacon, nor the admirable wit of Cervantes, nor the sagacious insight into the heart, of Scott or Bulwer, which have gained for their writings universal fame. But as a satire upon German life they have undoubted merit, and are a valuable addition to European literature. A

* It has since been done by a most accomplished German scholar, Lady Wallace.

work of the size of Bacon's Essays, containing a selection of his observations and apothegms, would be of high interest, and possibly, like the maxims of Larochefoucauld, acquire a universal reputation.

62. It is not to be concluded, from the great number of imaginative writers in Germany, and the large space allotted in this sketch to their consideration, that fancy is the only field of literature which the Teutonic genius has cultivated with success. The German mind, eminently contemplative, has laboured also in the field of philosophy, and the works of their sages are not only noble monuments of thought, highly characteristic of the turn of their minds, but have exercised an important influence on the whole character of their literature, and the destinies of their country. Unlike the French philosophy of the same period, which is entirely founded on selfishness, the German is, for the most part, rested on the generous affections; unlike the philosophy of Locke, which refers all our ideas to impressions derived from the senses, it has embraced the doctrines of the idealists, who contend for the existence of innate ideas. When the realists referred to the maxim of the scholiasts, "Nihil est in intellectu quod non ante fuerat in sensu," Leibnitz, the father of the Teutonic philosophy, made the sublime addition, "Nisi intellectus ipse." It is perhaps impossible in this much-vexed question to come nearer the truth than is done in these words. Locke was quite right when he maintained that our *information* was entirely derived from our senses, and the doctrine of innate *ideas* seems to have no solid foundation in what we know of human nature. But, on the other hand, it is equally clear that when certain impressions are obtained from the senses, the mind will draw conclusions and form ideas from them altogether foreign to anything derived from the senses; and although it is doubtless true that these ideas could not have been formed but from the materials furnished by the senses, it is not the less true that all the senses in the world could not have furnished

the idea but for the self-acting powers of the sentient mind.

63. KANT is the second father of the modern German philosophy, and he is regarded by a large class of disciples in his country rather with the veneration with which the disciples of Plato looked up to their preceptor, than with the feelings usual between pupils and their masters in modern society. It cannot be denied that he was in many respects a great man. Born, bred, and living all his life to a very advanced age in Königsberg, he derived scarce anything from the intercourse of society, and found the materials for his world of thought in his own mind, and his own mind alone. But these resources were immense. The sciences, the literature, the languages of the north, were familiar to him; and without seeking to apply these advantages to the acquisition of fame or fortune, he spent his life in solitary reflections on his own thoughts, and the laws by which mind is regulated. His great work, the *Critick of Pure Reason*, which treats of the mind alone, was, like many other great works adverse to general opinion when first published, for nearly twenty years after its publication without readers; but at length some adventurous students had courage to open it, and such a multitude of original and profound ideas were discovered, as speedily led to its being generally studied, and acquiring a colossal fame in Germany. It was succeeded, after a long interval, by a treatise on *Practical Reason*, and another on *Judgment*, the first of which treats of the laws of morality, and corresponds to Reid's *Active Powers*, and the last unfolds the principles of taste and beauty. Without affirming that the solitary meditation of the German sage has in every instance led to the discovery of truth, it may safely be affirmed that they are all of an elevated and ennobling character, equally removed from the selfish egotism of the French encyclopedists, and the dangerous doctrines, tending to materialism, of the English metaphysicians. What is chiefly to be regretted in the writings of Kant is the style, which in general is so involved

and obscure as to render his meaning extremely difficult of comprehension even to the Germans themselves, and to a foreigner often unintelligible. This is a fault common to him with most other German metaphysicians, and it is in a great degree to be ascribed, as already noticed, to the extraordinary length of their sentences, which often extend over half, sometimes a whole page;—a strange unaccountable practice, which can never be sufficiently condemned, and should serve as a beacon to all writers in this country.

64. FICHTE and SCHELLING have pushed to an extreme the doctrines of Kant, and in some respects brought upon them discredit. Reversing the doctrines of the materialists, they make the soul all in all. In this respect their doctrines are akin to those of Bishop Berkeley; and if philosophy is to run into extreme, and discard one or other of the great elements of nature, it is better to do so with matter and its attributes than mind and its powers. It is needless to say, however, that the former speaks in so forcible a manner to the great majority of mankind, that the latter is never likely to find proselytes but among a small band of contemplative philosophers or dreamy enthusiasts. On this account no real danger to the interests of society or public morality is to be apprehended from their lucubrations: but the case is very different with those who represent the soul as consisting of a particular modification of matter, physical enjoyments as the chief end of existence, and the means of their acquisition the only object of a sensible man's pursuit. As these are the maxims to which the great bulk of mankind in every age are in practice inclined, any system of philosophy which gives them the support of principle is dangerous, and if generally received may prove fatal to the best interests of society. Fichte's doctrines are different in a great measure from those of Schelling, inasmuch as the former rests entirely on the contemplation of the mind, which he regards as necessarily endowed, like the circles or triangles of geometry, with certain fixed qualities, discover-

able, like them, by the efforts of philosophy; the latter admits largely the influence of external nature, and deduces most of our ideas from its sensations, and the charm of imagination, to which its beauties give rise. In this respect his ideas border on those of the materialists; but yet with this vital difference, that the material world is regarded by him as the appliances which surround and awaken the soul, but not as the soul itself, which alone is immortal, and shall exist after the outer crust shall have melted away.

65. The doctrines of the German idealists bear so close an affinity to those which, from the dawn of philosophy, have prevailed among the Orientals, and especially the inhabitants of Hindostan, that it was to be expected that ere long some one would arise who should trace the connection which subsists between them. Such a philosopher accordingly appeared in FREDERICK SCHLEGEL, brother to the great philosophical essayist. Immense study, and a thorough acquaintance with the Oriental languages, had given this very eminent man almost as complete a knowledge of the Indian philosophy as the English scholars who had been brought into personal contact with the Brahmins; and his treatise on the *Language and Philosophy of the Indians* brings out in a very interesting manner, and with the aid of great learning, the affinity which subsists between the thoughts and languages of the two great and long separated families of mankind, the similarity of which betrays their common origin. He agrees with Bailly in thinking that an original race of men had, anterior to the date of authentic history, inhabited the regions of Central Asia, and spread from thence, on the one hand, across the Himalaya snows into the plains of Hindostan; on the other, over the Ural Mountains into the Sarmatian and German fields. It is curious how the researches of philosophy, from whatever quarter arising, come back to the origin of mankind in Central Asia, and the dispersion of the children of Noah to the three quarters of the ancient world.

66. JACOBI is one of the few men of

family and fortune in Germany who, surmounting the aristocratic prejudices with which they are surrounded, have devoted their talents to philosophy and literature. His principles are as elevated as those of Kant, but they differ widely from them; they exhibit the reaction of mind against the austere doctrines of that celebrated philosopher. Dissatisfied with placing morality, like mathematical propositions, in certain abstract truths apart from human sentiment and feeling, he has gone into the other extreme, and referred it altogether to the sensibility which, according to him, is the revelation to erring man of the Divine will. Everything, in this view, which our feelings approve or admire, is right, without reference to any other standard than those feelings themselves. "Yes," says he, in a fit of enthusiasm, "I would lie, like the dying Desdemona—I would deceive, like Orestes, when he strove to die in place of Py-lades—I would assassinate, like Timoleon—I would commit perjury, like Epaminondas or John de Witt—I would commit suicide, like Cato—I would be sacrilegious, as David; for I have the internal conviction that in pardoning these faults, though they be according to the letter, man is only exercising the sovereign right which the majesty of his being confers upon him: he affixes the seal of his dignity, the seal of his divine nature, to the pardon which he accords." This eloquent hyperbole proves that there is something erroneous in the principles on which it is founded; nor is it difficult to see in what that error consists. It lies in supposing that there is no standard of right or wrong other than what our feelings may be interested in or admire—a doctrine which would utterly confound all ideas of morality, and substitute for the eternal dictates of conscience the effusions of a dreamy and enthusiastic sensibility.

67. It is often said that the character of German thought on religious matters is owing to its inhabitants having, in the northern provinces, embraced the Protestant faith: it would be nearer the truth to say, that they

have embraced Protestantism because they were impressed by nature with a certain vein of religious thought. They were dreamy and abstract in the cloister before they were so in the pulpit; their natural turn of mind was nursed in the monastery ere it reached the forum. As the Reformation everywhere was the revolt of the human mind against the ceremonies and corruptions of the Church of Rome, so it ran into the other extreme; and in those countries in which the disposition of the people led to its being embraced with most eagerness, it ended in the substitution of internal fervour, and a species of self-applauding austerity, for the external observances which had become the subject of so much abuse. This tendency is particularly observable in Germany and Scotland—two countries in which the national temperament of mingled gravity and enthusiasm is much the same, and in which the progress of the Reformation movement has been extremely similar. The insurrection of the boors in the former country was exactly analogous to the excesses of the followers of John Knox in the latter. In both countries the triumph of the Reformation was signalled by a system of faith which substituted internal illumination and fervour for external form and observance—which embraced the dogma of election, from the charitable conviction that a certain sect is the object of Divine favour, and all others of reprobation, and invariably places itself in the former class and its opponents in the latter.

68. Doctrines of this sort may, during the heat of contest or in the first fervour of innovation, prevail generally amongst a distracted people, and, from the usual tenacity of the human mind to error in matters of belief, long linger among the peasantry and half-educated classes. But it is impossible that they can long coexist with general intelligence and reflection; and they speedily melt away before the light of reason. The reaction ere long begins in the most highly educated classes and the strongest minds: the danger is that, for a time at least, it goes too far. It

began first in Scotland. The principles of Blair and Robertson were the effort of intelligent man to escape from the dogmas of the Puritans, the fervour of the Covenanters, without departing from the great truths of Christianity; and Hume's *Essays* and *History* afford a proof that, when the current sets in that direction, these limits will not long be observed. The progress was the same, though a little later, in Germany. The RATIONAL SCHOOL of divines indicates the reaction of human thought against the fervour of the peasants of Münster, the sentimental dreams of the metaphysicians, the self-applauding fervour of the elect. But it is easier to see to what cause these aberrations of thought are to be traced, and to find a parallel for them in the oscillations of the pendulum, than to provide an antidote to the opposite set of errors, which they inevitably induce; and great has been the alarm excited in the minds of the sincere friends of Christianity from the progress of the system of rationalism in Germany.

69. STRAUSS'S LIFE OF JESUS CHRIST is the leading work of this school, and the one which has done most to spread its tenets through foreign lands. It is a scheme of faith which is peculiarly attractive at first sight to persons of a vigorous intellect and masculine independent turn of mind. Equally removed from the slavish submission to authority and unmeaning ceremonies of the Roman Catholics, and the visionary dreams and self-applauding fervour of the Puritans, it professes, without openly disputing the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, to establish them on what is deemed the solid basis of truth and reason. To effect this object it strives, so far as possible, to explain away every miraculous event, to solve every dark enigma, to elude every metaphysical difficulty connected with the Christian faith, and to reduce it to a sublime and beneficent system of morality, which reason may embrace without difficulty, and reflection adhere to without regret. According to it, our Saviour was a wise and virtuous

man, whose precepts it would be well if the world would follow; but only in a greater degree than Confucius, Socrates, or Plato, illuminated by Divine light. All the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, the Trinity, the Godhead of our Saviour, the Fall of Man, the Redemption, are either denied or passed over with very little consideration, as tending only to immerse the mind in abstract and metaphysical questions, to the neglect of the weightier matters of the law.

70. Great is the alarm which these tenets, and the writings of Strauss in particular—which have had an immense circulation in Germany—have produced among divines and the friends of religion in this country. There does not appear to be any real ground for these apprehensions. A rational system of religion—that is, a religion which excludes or avoids mysteries—never will meet with a general reception among mankind, for this simple reason, that all feel the subject is wrapt in mystery, and that all attempts to penetrate it are vain. A system of faith which admits nothing but what we can understand, and which our reason approves, is universally felt to be unsatisfactory and erroneous. The slightest consideration must show that everything connected with religion, and which no faith can avoid, is a mystery which we may believe, but cannot understand. Creation, birth, death, the world to come, the growth of a plant, the formation of mind, the Supreme Being, eternity, infinity, omnipresence, omnipotence, are all mysteries which can never be explained, or even understood, on the principles of our reason. We speak of them, we give them names, we know they are real things, but if we analyse our thoughts we shall find that we cannot form a conception of them; while at the same time our reason tells us, and their appearance in all languages proves, that they are ideas which universally and inevitably arise in the human mind. We live in the midst of mysteries, of which the telescope and the microscope have revealed a part; but all the triumphs of science and improvements

of art, so far from explaining these mysteries, have only rendered them more incomprehensible. Christianity has not more of them than pure Deism. What is the mystery of the Trinity, of which so much is said, but a part, and a very small part only, of the mystery of the omnipresence of the Deity, which no faith in any age has ventured to deny? Every religion that ever prevailed generally among men has admitted the doctrine of original sin, and the necessity of expiation by sacrifice—for this reason, universally felt to be true, that every man is conscious of so much sin in himself that he shrinks from meeting the Divine justice without some atonement irrespective of his own deserts. On this account there is little danger of any system which professes to explain the mysteries of nature and existence by the mere deductions of human reason ever being permanently adopted by mankind. It may be embraced by the learned during the reaction against the absurdities of particular sects, but that will be all. By the great body of the people it will be felt as utterly unsatisfactory, like attempting without wings to ascend to heaven. There is much greater danger that superstition and absurdity will resume their sway, like mesmerism or biology, even in the most enlightened age. Revelation of mystery, belief in the incomprehensible, are indispensable for any creed which is to obtain a lasting place among men, because they alone are felt to satisfy their wants and be equal to the difficulty. And it will be found in the end that the Christian religion, which reveals enough of mystery to arrest the attention of the most reflecting, and contains enough of precept to be level to the comprehension of the most illiterate, is the one framed by Supreme Wisdom for, and best adapted to, the combined strength and weakness, knowledge and ignorance, boldness in thought and necessary submission in belief, which we see in man.

71. Such is a brief, and, of necessity, most imperfect account of German literature, as it has been developed during the period embraced in

this History. Its merit and importance will not be duly appreciated unless it is recollected that it has been entirely the creation of eighty years, and for the most part of the last half-century. Unlike the literature of Italy, which sprang up during two hundred years after the revival of letters, or of France and England, which have slowly evolved during the mental struggles of three centuries, it has all been produced by the mental effort of a few generations. No long line of illustrious men marked its progress: they all sprang up at once, as Minerva fully armed from the brain of Jupiter. This circumstance is very remarkable, when the great extent and variety of literary excellence in Germany is taken into consideration; and it is fitted to inspire the most consolatory belief in regard to the permanent nature of human progress. Goethe says that the human mind is constantly advancing, but *it is in a spiral line*; and it may be added, that in a spiral the curves are alternately in light and shadow. The annals of his own country afford the clearest proof of the truth of the observation. To appearance, the German mind was entirely dormant during the long winter of the middle ages: but on the return of spring the ceaseless progress appeared; it sprang up at once, like the burst of nature after an arctic winter. The luxuriance of intellectual vegetation which thus broke forth teaches us that, even when apparently lifeless, the human mind is incessantly acting; that it is during the long period of repose that error is forgotten and prejudice dies out; and that under circumstances where reason might despair of the fortunes of the species, the beneficent powers of nature are incessantly acting, and preparing in silence the renovation of the world.

72. The great characteristic of German literature, and that which gives it so inexpressible a charm to readers in foreign countries, is the freshness and originality of its ideas. Formed for the most part on the study of antiquity, and having in some respects attained its highest excellence when the

classical authors exclusively formed the taste of all persons of cultivated minds, the literature of Italy, Spain, France, and England of necessity is deeply imbued with its images, and regulated by its ideas. The French and Italian drama is entirely classical; not only are the characters and events almost all taken from the history of Greece or Rome, but the finest plays of Racine, Corneille, Voltaire, Alfieri, and Metastasio, are little more than free translations of those of Sophocles and Euripides. No scholar need be told how deeply read Milton and Tasso, and Ariosto and Dante, were in classical lore, and how much they are indebted to the genius of antiquity for many of their most captivating beauties and constant allusions. But it is otherwise with the Germans, at least with such of their writers as are distinguished by the true national character. The Teutonic race, when they settled in the German plains, had patriotic feeling enough to discard not only the language but the ideas of Greece and Rome. Their thoughts are as novel as their words are strange to foreign ears. Their finest writers, Schiller, Goethe, and Wieland, have borrowed, indeed, from ancient literature its taste and refinement, but they have engrafted them on their own thoughts and images and feelings. From this auspicious union has sprung a progeny more charming than either of the parents taken singly. In reading the great German writers, while we have not lost the charm of ancient taste, we feel that we have entered, as it were, upon a new world; a fresh soil has been turned up, and the earth teems with the luxuriance of virgin vegetation. Their ideas are often so novel, and yet so beautiful, that we are led to suspect for a moment that they had been the creation of some purer age, and after being buried for centuries, been newly turned up by modern hands;—like the Grecian statues, which, after lying for fifteen hundred years under the ruins of antiquity, emerge pure, unsullied in pristine beauty, when revealed by the zeal of modern industry.

73. The chief reproach which is usually made against modern German literature, is its romantic and sentimental character, and its inapplicability to the affairs of the world, whether in nations or individuals. It is impossible to deny that there is some truth in this observation; and certainly, when the enthusiasm of the German mind came to be applied in 1848 to political affairs, it afforded no indication of being qualified to produce a stable or practicable form of government. Probably, too, if any one were to take *Wilhelm Meister* or *Werther* for a guide in private life, he would be as effectually ruined as the cause of German freedom was in that year by the excesses of its supporters. But, all this notwithstanding, the tone of German literature, upon the whole, is of a noble and elevating character, and such as is fitted to produce the most beneficial effects on the character of mankind. It has one inestimable quality—it is for the most part unselfish; its follies and weaknesses, such as they are, are all of a generous and romantic character. As such, it is eminently fitted to combat the egotism and indifference to others which is the root of nearly all the social evils that afflict mankind, and which increase in intensity and influence with the growth of riches and the progress of civilisation. Beyond all question, the tone of German literature had a material influence in producing that burst of generous enthusiasm which, in the war of liberation, effected the deliverance of the Fatherland. And if it be said, What is the use of all this romance and sentiment—to what practical purpose can it be applied? the answer is, It is the antidote to the selfishness which is the bane of humanity, and the corrective of the greatest debaser of the human mind, the most prolific source of human evils. "What is the use," says Madame de Staël, "of the Apollo Belvidere, the pictures of Raphael, the poetry of Racine? What does all that is beautiful serve, if not the soul itself? It is the same with philosophy; it is the beauty of thought: it attests the dignity of that Being

which is eternal and invisible, and never ceases to strive after what is eternal and invisible, how far soever it may be removed from all that is gross in present existence."

74. The same principles which have influenced the literature and philosophy of Germany appear also in the fine arts. The imitation of nature is not the object they pursue—it is ideal beauty to which they aspire; and it is the incessant striving after that elevated shadow which is the real cause of the greatness which they have attained. It is to this that is to be ascribed the extraordinary perfection to which they have brought the composition of music, the one of the fine arts which has the least relation with the wants or appliances of present existence. MOZART and BEETHOVEN stand alone in this respect; even Italian melody must yield to the variety of their conceptions, the brilliancy of their expression, the pathos of their sentiment. It is the constant effort to express the ideal which has produced this excellence. "The impression," says Madame de Staël, "which we receive from the fine arts has not the smallest analogy to that which imitation, how perfect soever, produces. Man has in his soul innate feelings, which the real will never completely satisfy; and it is to these sentiments that the imagination of painters and poets has given form and life. The first of arts—music—what does it imitate? Yet of all the gifts of the Divinity it is the most magnificent, for *the very reason that it is the most superfluous*. The sun gives us his light; we breathe the air of a serene heaven; all the beauties of nature tend in some way to the use of man; music alone is of no utility, and it is for that reason it is so noble, and moves us so profoundly. The farther it is removed from any practical application, the nearer is it brought to that secret fountain of our thoughts, which is always only rendered more distant by its application to any practical object."

75. THORWALDSEN is a Dane by birth; but Denmark is but a promontory of Germany, and the Danes are a

branch only of the great Teutonic race. Like Andersen and Tycho Brahe, though born in Denmark, he may be claimed as one of the glories of Germany. In some respects he is the greatest sculptor that modern Europe has produced. There is no imitation about him; his conceptions, like those of all his countrymen, are drawn from himself alone. He has not the vast imagination and daring genius of Michael Angelo, but neither has he his bizarre and sometimes grotesque conceptions. Not less refined in taste and delicate in execution than Canova, he is more original; he has taken from the antique their aspiration after the ideal, but not copied their forms. Canova, in his greatest works, has done little more; his "Perseus" in the Vatican is an obvious imitation of the Apollo; his "Venus" is a modernised and half-veiled Venus de Medicis. The difference between these two great artists is seen in Thorwaldsen's "Venus presenting the Apple to Paris:" not less beautiful in form than Canova's, it is entirely original; the attitude is unlike anything in the antique. His "Triumph of Alexander" is the finest series of basso-relievos that modern genius has produced. It is a singular circumstance, indicating how many exceptions must be made to the general opinion that the fine arts can flourish only in the regions of the sun, that the mighty genius of Thorwaldsen has been warmed into life on the shores of the Baltic, and only required to be matured in taste amidst the monuments of Rome.

76. DANNEKER is another proof that it is in the north that we are now to look for the successors of Phidias. His "Ariadne seated on the Panther" has all the delicacy and beauty of the antique, while, at the same time, it is quite original; the eternal imitation of Greek forms and attitudes has been abandoned by one who had yet inhaled to the full extent their spirit. The study of antiquity, whether in art or literature, is the best foundation for fresh excellence, if it is done in a worthy spirit—that is, by a perception of its taste, and a desire to

rival, not copy, its remains. Considered as the study of achieved and impassable excellence, which is to be imitated, not emulated, it is nothing but a fetter on the human mind, and may chain it for ages to correct mediocrity. The recent sculptors of Germany have shown that they have studied the antique in the true spirit. Kiss's group of the "Amazon combating the Tiger" is worthy of being placed beside the finest Metopes of the Parthenon; for it is not merely ideal beauty, but ideal beauty in the moment of violent action,—a difficult but not impossible combination, and which, when mastered, reveals the highest powers, as well as conception of art. Compare the Apollo Belvidere with the Fighting Gladiator, and this will at once appear. The bronze statues recently erected at Berlin and Munich, by Kiss, Rausch, and several of their countrymen, have opened, as it were, a new era in art, and showed that regeneration may in the end spring even from the conquests of barbarism, and that in art as well as nature, the "Goths have broken in and annulled the puny breed."

77. The modern school of German painting is not less characteristic of the combined caution and daring, imitation and originality, industry and genius, which nature seems to have impressed as its signet-mark on the Teutonic race. In portrait-painting it has by no means attained the level of Titian or Vandyke, of Reynolds or Raeburn; perhaps the existing society in Germany does not afford sufficient encouragement for such a school to arise in that department of art. But it is otherwise in landscape-painting; in that branch the German masters have attained an eminence beyond their contemporaries in any other country of Europe, and in some respects on a level with the finest remains of ancient art. They have reached that which is the very essence of beauty in painting—combined minuteness of finishing and generality of effect. The breadth of their pieces renders them impressive at any distance, their exquisite details

worthy of admiration on the closest inspection. This combination, so uniformly conspicuous in the works of nature, and so charmingly imitated in her most gifted disciples, Claude and Poussin, is the chief characteristic and chief excellence of the modern school of German painting.

78. The landscapes of the principal modern German artists are much in the style of Ruysdael, so far as the colouring and general effect go; but the subjects are much wilder and more romantic—they savour more of Salvator's conceptions. The rugged and magnificent scenery of Norway, with its fiords, its rapids, its cataracts, its dark forests and snowy mountains, its herds of reindeer and clouds of birds, has strongly attracted the Teutonic imagination. It has flown back to the mountains of Scandinavia as to its native seats, and inhaled the spirit which, in the mighty island of the west, has inspired the kindred genius of poetry:—

"Oh, lover of the desert, hail!
Say in what wild and pathless vale,
Or in what lonely mountain-side,
Midst falls of water, you reside!
Midst broken rocks—a rugged scene—
With green and grassy dales between;
Midst forests dark of aged oak,
Ne'er echoing to the woodman's stroke,
Where Nature loves to sit alone,
Majestic, on her craggy throne!"

—WARTON.

79. Architecture has shared in the general movement of the German mind during the last half-century, and many imposing monuments of that noble art have arisen in the German field. They differ from the stately cathedrals of the medieval ages; they have not the austere but impressive gloom of the Gothic style. They share in the brilliancy of Grecian imagination, without the passion for variety which has corrupted its style in the Italian cities. The magnificent peristyle of the Walhalla overhangs in awful sublimity the stream of the Danube; the beautiful fronts of the Glyptothek charm the eye amidst the pillared scenery of Munich. Nowhere is to be seen a finer specimen of the masculine grandeur of the Doric style than in the Brandenburg Gate of Berlin, or of the

riches of the Ionic and Corinthian, than in the palace-front and some of the public edifices of that capital. Yet is it perhaps to be regretted that the vast genius of Germany has in this art in a manner forgot its proper vocation, and sought the beautiful in the refinement of imitation rather than the boldness of originality. Certainly the stately magnificence of the Cathedral of Ulm, the graceful spire of Strasbourg, the exquisite beauty of that of Cologne, destined to be the most perfect Gothic edifice in the world, show that the German genius has no need to recur to the Parthenon of Athens, or St Peter's of Rome, for the most impressive models of architectural beauty.

80. If it be true, as the wisest of men in every age have affirmed, that

"Music hath charms to tame the savage breast,"

there is no country which should be so civilised as Germany, for there is none where melody has so profoundly moved the hearts of the people. The taste for it is not confined, as in some other countries, to the higher or more cultivated classes, but extends to the whole inhabitants. Enter that church in Silesia, and you will hear Luther's Hymn sung in a style which would do honour to any opera in Europe; join in the evening devotions of that cottage in Saxony, and you will see how music has softened and refined those rugged breasts; mingle in the enraptured circle which surrounds the magnificent assemblage of regimental bands on the Parade of Mayence, and the strong bent of German taste to the enjoyments of that charming art will at once appear. Nothing has so much tended to advance the civilisation and refine the feelings of the country as this strong and universal disposition; for alone of all the creations of human genius, music is necessarily and universally pure and ennobling in its influence. Literature may be perverted to the worst of purposes, and become the corrupter instead of the purifier of mankind; painting, by the exhibition of mere-

tricious objects, can too powerfully inflame the senses; poetry may become the syren which lures us by the light of genius to perdition; but the influence of music can never be pernicious, or lead to anything but the refinement of the feelings. Incapable of application to any purpose of practical utility, having no voice which reaches the other senses, it only speaks the more powerfully to the heart; and rouses, by its all-magic influence, when not indulged to such a degree as to enervate the mind, no other feelings but those which tend to deeds of heroism or thoughts of love.

81. BEETHOVEN is by common consent, and the universal opinion of the best judges, put at the very head of modern composers. Sublimity and variety are his great characteristics; he is the Michael Angelo of music. Like that great master of painting, his conceptions are vast and daring, and his powers equal to their full expression. He is essentially, and beyond any other composer, sublime; but, like Milton, he knows how to relieve intense emotion by the awakening of softer feelings; and none can more powerfully thrill the heart by grandeur and melt it by sympathy. Music in his hands exhibits its full powers, and takes its place at once where Madame de Staël has assigned it, as the first of the fine arts, the most ethereal in its nature, the most refining in its tendency, the most severed from the grossness of sense, and which penetrates at once, like a sunbeam from heaven, into the inmost recesses of the soul. Beethoven's pieces, however, like Milton's *Paradise Lost*, or Michael Angelo's frescoes, are not adapted for ordinary capacities, nor are they calculated to awaken universal admiration. They are too complicated for an uninitiated ear, which is always most powerfully attracted by simplicity and melody. Beyond any other of the fine arts, the pleasure of music of a simple kind, is felt by the most illiterate classes; you cannot see a military band go through the street without perceiving that. But a scientific education, and no

small proficiency in the art, are indispensable to a perception of its highest excellences, which none feel entirely but such as are themselves capable of expressing them.

82. If Beethoven is the Michael Angelo of music, MOZART is its Raphael. Not less than that divine master of the sister art, his inmost soul was filled with the mysterious harmonies, the thrilling ideas, which, emerging, as it were, through the chinks of thought, fill the minds of all who feel this influence with sympathetic rapture. They throw the mind for a few seconds or minutes into a species of trance or reverie, too enchanting for long endurance, and which affords perhaps the nearest foretaste which this world presents of the joys of heaven. It is the peculiarity of the highest efforts and most perfect productions of the fine arts alone to produce this ephemeral reverie, and when it is awakened it is the same in all. The emotion produced by the Holy Families of Raphael is identical with that awakened by the symphonies of Mozart, and akin to that which springs from the contemplation of the Parthenon of Athens, or reflection on the *Penseroso* of Milton. Mozart had the very highest powers; but though gifted with the faculty of producing the sublime, he inclined, like Schiller, to the tender or pathetic, and never moved the heart so profoundly as when his lyre rang responsive to the wail of affection or the voice of passion.

83. HAYDN was a very great composer, but his character was different as a whole from either Beethoven or Mozart. His conceptions were in the highest degree sublime; human imagination never conceived anything more lofty than some bursts in the "Creation." They have rendered into sound with magic force the idea, "Let there be light; and there was light." If a continued comparison is permitted to the great masters of the pencil, he was the Annibale Caracci of music. Like him, his powers were great and various, but he aimed rather at their display than the expression of genuine heart-felt feeling. Not that he was without

sentiment, and could not, when he so inclined, give it the most charming expression; no great master in any of the fine arts ever was without it. But it was not the native bent of his mind; that led him rather to the exhibition of his great and varied powers. His reputation with the world in general is perhaps greater than that of Beethoven, because there is more simplicity in his compositions; one key-note is more uniformly sounded, and a single emotion which can be shared by all is more effectively produced. But for that very reason he is less the object of impassioned admiration to the gifted few to whom the highest powers and deepest mysteries of the art are familiar, and who know how that great master could wield the former and penetrate the latter.

84. No Englishman need be told that HANDEL was a very great composer. In the composition of warlike music—of those strains which are to animate the soldier in the field of battle, and cause danger and wounds and death to be forgotten—he never was surpassed. It was not merely, however, in the composition of these animating and heart-stirring pieces that Handel was great; his powers were as various as they were transcendent, and no one has ever expressed the feelings of piety, the glow of adoration, with greater effect by the wordless but all-powerful eloquence of the ear. No musical festival can ever take place without his works occupying a prominent place, and from age to age they will continue, like the poems of Homer, to enchant successive generations, and perpetuate, in the most aerial of the fine arts, the glory of the Fatherland.

85. It has been the extraordinary lot of Germany to have produced almost in a single generation five of the greatest musical composers which the world ever knew. Little inferior to any of the three who had gone before him in the peculiar branches in which they excelled, MENDELSSOHN was superior to any in the felicity with which he wielded their varied powers. If his immortal predecessors exceeded him in separate compositions, he was superior

to them in the genius of his combinations, and the bewitching manner in which he united in a single piece all the charms of melody and all the magic of harmony. Of him, as compared with Beethoven and Mozart, may be said, in the words of the poet, applied to the masters of song—

“The first in loftiness of thought surpassed,
The next in tenderness—in both the last :
The force of Nature could no farther go ;
To make a third, she joined the other two.”

Mendelssohn's genius is of the very highest kind ; there is no one capable of judging of the subject who does not regard it with the utmost enthusiasm. Beyond any other known composer—more so than either Rossini or Mozart—his compositions unite many and varied beauties, indicating a mind full of conceptions, and capable of turning its vast powers at will to the expression of any sentiment, the expression of any charm. In his “*Lieder ohne Worte*,” of world-wide reputation, and his “*Overture to the Midsummer Night's Dream*,” he has shown himself as thorough a master of tenderness and brilliancy, as in his oratorios of “*St Paul*” and “*Elijah*” he has of the lofty and sublime. This is the invariable characteristic of the highest class of genius—that which is master not less of itself than others, and can regulate even in its wildest flights the powers of an imagination which charms the world by a strength of mind which nothing can shake, a delicacy of taste which nothing can pervert.

86. SPOHR, the author of the celebrated opera of “*Faust*,” and GLUCK, of many famed ones, in particular “*Iphigenie*,” are both too celebrated in the musical world not to deserve a place in the gallery, however imperfect, of German genius during the last half-century. Their merits, universally appreciated by the initiated, are less so by the public in general, for a reason peculiar to music, or at least more applicable to it than to any other of the fine arts. This is, that though it is the one of the fine arts which, in its simpler form, is most universally felt by the whole of mankind, it is the

one which, in its more complicated, is felt in its full force by the smallest circle. In truth, no one can duly appreciate, or even understand, the higher branches of music, to whom nature has not given not merely the delicacy of ear requisite for appreciating the charm of sound, but the flexibility and power of hand capable of producing it. Like the figures of Michael Angelo, he must be a thorough draughtsman who can even understand them.

87. Lord Bacon says that felicities are the blessings of the Old Testament, and misfortunes of the New. Never was a more striking example of the truth of this profound observation afforded than in the intellectual resurrection of Germany during the last half-century. It is sometimes well for nations as well as individuals to be in affliction. Compare the selfishness and egotism, the courtly corruption and popular indifference, the aristocratic pride and general submissiveness of the first part of this period, with the generous sacrifices and heroic struggles of the war of liberation, the intellectual activity, social amelioration, and vast stride in national energy and in the development of the elements of future freedom which have succeeded it, and the immense impulse given to the German mind by the war of the French Revolution will at once appear. It is not in vain that their fields have been drenched with blood ; that the chariot of Napoleon has rolled over their surface ; that the iron of subjugation has entered their soul, its bitterness been brought home to every dwelling. With those mortifications the courage was strengthened which might redress, in that agony the spirit was inhaled which might overcome them. Periods of suffering are seldom in the end lost to the cause of humanity, or the moral discipline of nations ; it is the sunshine of prosperity which spreads the fatal corruption. The parallel bursts of Grecian genius after the Persian invasion ; of Roman, with the civil wars of Cæsar and Pompey ; in Italy, after the effort of the Crusades ; in England, with the Great Rebellion ; in France, with the Revolution ; in

Germany, after the war of Liberation, prove that periods of national disaster form part of the general system of Divine administration, and are the great means by which individual selfishness is obliterated by common feeling, and energy called forth by the rude discipline of suffering.

CHAPTER XXIX.

FRANCE, FROM THE EXTINCTION OF THE HEREDITARY PEERAGE IN DECEMBER 1831, TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT BY THE SUPPRESSION OF THE REVOLT IN THE CLOISTER OF ST MÉRIN IN JUNE 1832, AND THE TREATY WITH HOLLAND IN MAY 1833.

1. By the suppression of the Hereditary Peerage, and vesting the choice of the members of the Upper House for life in the executive, the French Revolutionists had carried out their principles, which were less directed against the Crown than the aristocracy, and aimed rather at equality of political rights than the establishment of security from restraint or personal freedom. But by so doing they had immensely increased the power of the executive magistrate, by whatever name he might be called, because they had rendered all the authorities in the state dependent upon his appointment, and made the Tuileries the centre from which not only all the real power, but all the lucrative patronage of the Government was to flow. To a generation thirsting for pleasure and excitement, and tormented with artificial wants, which, save from government appointments, they had no means of gratifying, this circumstance before long gave an immense preponderance to the Crown. Asiatic had been exchanged for European civilisation; the prefects had come in place of the pachas; but with the change had come also the loss of that hereditary independence and fixity of purpose, which, from the influence of territorial possessions descending from father to son, has characterised European society. In its room had been substituted the ephemeral changes of the Asiatic govern-

ments, where everything depends on the vigour and capacity of the chief. But these effects were future: in the mean time the result of the triumph of democracy was a vast addition to the power of the Executive. The Citizen King, strong in the support of the army, the National Guard, the burgher Liberals, and a portion of the Liberal press, all of whom were retained in his service by the influence of the immense patronage which he enjoyed, was for the present at least beyond the reach of attack.

2. But though the political revolution was over, and the throne of Louis Philippe, so far as external appearances went, firmly established, the interior of society was in a very different state, and the seeds of evil were beginning to germinate which were destined in the end to overturn it. The state of the working classes, especially in the great towns, which, as already shown, had rapidly deteriorated since, and in consequence of, the first Revolution, had been brought to a perfect climax of horror by the effects of the second. The almost entire stoppage of purchases and expenditure in France, in consequence of the terrors which had seized all the affluent classes, combined with the corresponding reductions in the English market, from the effect of the simultaneous Reform agitation in that country, had reduced all who were engaged in the produc-

tion of luxuries—that is, the immense majority of the working classes—to the last stages of destitution. It was hard to say whether the vine-growers of the Gironde, the silk-weavers of Lyons, the cotton-spinners of Rouen, the jewellers, the cabinet-makers, or printers of Paris, were in the greatest distress. In Bordeaux there were twenty-two thousand workmen out of employment; in Paris the number exceeded sixty thousand. At Nismes the fancy silks had sunk to a third in price, and the wages of the workmen had undergone a similar diminution. Montpellier, which depended chiefly on the sale of wines, was in the utmost distress, and loudly complained of the recent rise in the *octroi* on that article; and in Lyons the suffering had become such, that the only question seemed to be when a half of the entire inhabitants were to expire of famine. From 4 to 6 francs a-day (3s. 4d. to 5s.), which they had been in the time of Charles X., the wages of skilled workmen had fallen successively to 40, 35, 25 sous; and at length, in October 1831, matters had come to such a pass, that the most industrious workman could only earn 18 sous (8d.) a-day by working eighteen hours; and even at those miserable wages, numbers were out of employment altogether. Nor was the condition of the masters more consoling; for even at these low rates of wages, such had been the fall of prices in the manufactured article, that they could not work at a profit; and numerous failures among the most considerable, both threw numbers of workmen entirely out of employment, and fearfully augmented the general consternation.

3. The general condition of the working classes in France at this period is thus set forth by the able Republican and Socialist historian; and his description, as a picture of their circumstances after two successful revolutions, deserves a place beside that which Gibbon has transcribed from the contemporary annalists of the condition of the Eternal City at the time of its capture by the Goths: "Never had society been abandoned to such disor-

ders as those which now afflicted it under the direction of its official guides. There was an incessant strife of masters for the command of the market—of workmen for the command of employment; of the masters against the workman for the fixing of his wages—of the workman against the machine destined to destroy by superseding him; such was, under the name of free competition, the picture of the situation of France, viewed in an industrial aspect. What a picture of social disorder! The great capitalists gaining the victory in the strife, as the strong battalions in the field of battle, and the principle of *laissez faire* leading to results as ruinous as the most odious monopolies; the great manufacturers ruining the small, and the great merchants the lesser; usury by degrees gaining possession of the soil,—*a modern feudality worse than the old*; the landed property burdened by debt to above a thousand millions (£40,000,000); independent artisans giving place to those who are mere serfs; capital ingulfing itself with shameless avidity in the most perilous undertakings; all interests armed, the one against the other! The proprietor of vines at open war with the proprietor of woods; the raisers of sugar with the raisers of beet-root; the colonies, the seaport towns, with the manufacturers in the interior; the provinces of the north against the provinces of the south; Bordeaux against Paris; here markets overflowing to the despair of the capitalists, there workshops shut to the despair of the workmen; commerce turned into a struggle of legalised frauds and understood falsehood; the nation advancing to the reconstruction of feudality, by usury; of a financial oligarchy, by credit; the discoveries of science turned only into instruments of oppression; the conquests of genius over nature into arms for the conflict; tyranny multiplied in some degree by the very magnitude of progress!

4. "Turn to the working classes: is their condition more encouraging? The *prolétaire* servant of a master workman seeking, on a crisis, his bread by beggary or revolt; the father

of the workman going at sixty years of age to die in an hospital; his daughter at sixteen prostituting herself to gain a livelihood; his son doomed to breathe from seven years of age the contaminated air of great workshops, to add to the earnings of the family; *the bed of the workman, rendered improvident by misery, becoming horribly fruitful*, and the *prolétaires* menacing the kingdom with an inundation of beggars! Such was the material condition of society. On the other hand, so far as their moral condition was concerned, no attachment to traditions; the spirit of inquiry, denying everything, and yet affirming nothing, and acknowledging no other religion but the love of gain. Marriage made a matter of speculation, an object of business,—a sort of industrial speculation,—the cheapest way of providing a person to serve in a shop. As marriage, though contracted in that hideous fashion, was declared indissoluble by law, the want of divorce was in Paris and all the great towns almost always supplied by adultery. To the disorders which arose in families from the fragility of the nuptial tie, was joined the unseemly spectacle of the children disputing for the crumbs of the paternal inheritance with each other, or with their mother.

5. "In the working classes, the dissolution of families proceeded from a different cause, but one still more painful. Money among them was the main cause of prostitution. Marriage being among the *prolétaires* nothing but an increase of burdens, and libertinism an effort to escape from suffering, poverty came in a manner to be linked to poverty; misery engendered concubinage, and concubinage infanticide. If the children were spared, it was only to be sent at the most tender age to manufactories, where the strength of the body was destroyed by premature and excessive labour, and the health of the mind destroyed by the contact of the sexes. There you see every morning at five, at the doors of the factories, a crowd of pale sickly children, with downcast eyes and livid cheeks, walking with bent backs, like

old men. The social system, founded on competition, is to such a degree cruel and insensate, that it not only stifles the intelligence and depraves the disposition of the poor man's child, but it even withers up and extinguishes in them the principle of life. Hence it was that M. Charles Dupin said in the Chamber of Peers, that out of 10,000 young men conscribed in the ten chief manufacturing districts of France, 8980 were found to be infirm or deformed; while out of a similar number in the agricultural districts there were only 4029."

6. Doubtless it would be unjust to impute the whole of this hideous picture to the Revolution. Many causes concurred to bring such a state of things about; and those who are familiar with the social state of our principal manufacturing cities, will find some at least of these features, with which they are too familiar. The facts, too, brought out by the census of Great Britain in 1851—that out of one hundred children born in Manchester and Liverpool only forty-nine and a half survive the age of five years, and that in London three-fifths of the persons above twenty years of age have been born elsewhere—lead to the conclusion that the physical consequences of such employment and accumulation of human beings are nearly as formidable with us as on the other side of the Channel.* But still this

* In Glasgow, it appears from the admirable statistical tables prepared by my esteemed friend Dr Strang, that in the years 1853-1854, which were two of uncommon prosperity, the deaths of children under five years of age were 7046 and 6679 respectively, the registered births only 7597 and 8735 in these years, showing a rate of mortality much more alarming than either Manchester or Liverpool. There is reason to believe, however, that the real births were 13,000; showing still the deaths under five years of age above 50 per cent of the whole. "Without a constant immigration from the country," says Dr Strang, "into the city, Glasgow, instead of continuing a city of progression, would be retrogressive in its population."—*Social and Economic Statistics of Glasgow*, 1855. By Dr STRANG. Pp. 7-18. The registration returns for 1856 showed, on the whole year, 52 per cent of the deaths in Glasgow below five years of age. In some months the proportion was as high as 60 per cent.

striking picture of the state of France, after two successful revolutions, at least demonstrates that such social convulsions have no tendency to *remove* the greatest and most serious of social evils. And when it is recollected how large a portion of the darkest features in this picture is ascribed by the Republican historian to the desperate effects of the principle of competition pervading all classes, it is evident that they must very much have *increased* them; for the principle of revolution is to introduce absolute freedom into every department of industry; and its inevitable effect, by diminishing the consumption of the rich, is to lessen the demand for labour, and increase the struggle for employment among the poor.

7. From whatever cause they arose, the social evils of the manufacturing classes in France were such, in the latter months of the year 1831, that a convulsion had plainly become inevitable. Opinions differed among economists as to the causes to which the inordinate distress was owing. Some, among whom was the celebrated M. Say, had the courage to avow that they were mainly owing to the frantic innovations of the Constituent Assembly, which, by destroying all guilds, fraternities, and associations among the working classes, had added tenfold force to the principle of competition, and left isolated destitute workmen, without leaders or corporate funds, to maintain a hopeless contest with their masters, resting on the resources of realised capital. Others, who were called the St Simonians, from the Duke de St Simon, their well-known leader, were of opinion that the capitalist was the real enemy of the workmen equally with the consumers of their produce, and that the only way to reinstate labour in the rights of which it had been defrauded was to get quit of that class of employers altogether, and thus divide among the operatives the entire profits arising from the sale of the produce of their labour. As this system, however, absolutely required an ad-

vance of capital while the work was going on, M. Enfantin, the present leader of that sect, published a prospectus of an elaborate plan, according to which, it was said, by means of an inconvertible paper money, and myriads of shares allotted to the workmen, the necessary capital might be provided in the mean time to carry on the work till the sales came in. This project, which appeared in *Le Globe* newspaper, conducted by M. Chevalier, a great advocate of these principles, appeared to Government so dangerous, that a prosecution was instituted against the responsible editor for permitting its insertion. In Great Britain it has experienced a much more decided check than from the penalties of the law, by having been repeatedly tried and always failed. But meanwhile the distress in Lyons became so excessive that distant remedies could no longer be thought of. Instant relief was required, and the people loudly demanded, as they generally do in such cases, a forcible interposition of the constituted authorities to fix a *minimum*, below which wages should not be permitted to fall, whatever the prices of the produce might be.

8. So ignorant were both the civil and military authorities in Lyons, at the time, of the principles which should regulate their conduct on such a crisis, that they went into these demands of the workmen; and a meeting of the "*Prudhommes*," a sort of synod of workmen, called by General Roguet, the commander of the garrison, at once passed a resolution in favour of the fixing of a *minimum* for the workmen's wages.* The prefect of the city, M. Bouvier-Dumolard, a well-meaning and humane, but weak and partially instructed man, immediately adopted this principle, and on the 15th October called a meeting of the chamber of commerce, and mayors

* "Considérant qu'il est de notoriété publique que beaucoup de fabricants paient réellement des façons trop minimes, il est utile qu'un *tarif au minimum* soit fixé pour le prix des façons."—*Declaration*, 11th Oct. 1831; L. BLANC, iii. 33.

of Lyons and the three adjoining suburbs, at which it was agreed that the basis of the proposed tariff should be openly debated between twenty-two workmen, elected by that class, and a like number of masters, appointed by the chamber of commerce, which was entirely composed of the masters. This concession to the principle contended for by the workmen excited great alarm among the master manufacturers over all France, who dreaded the fixing of a tariff which the miserably low prices for every species of manufactured produce would render them unable to pay. The workmen, on the other hand, who could not be brought to see that if the *minimum* fixed was more than the masters could afford to pay, it would only lead to their own dismissal, loudly applauded the steps which had been taken; and the excitement among them had already become very great before the 25th October, the day fixed for the discussion, arrived.

9. On that day the appearance of the population was such as to excite the most serious disquietude. An immense multitude of workmen assembled on the heights of Croix-Rousse, where they principally resided, and silently and peaceably, but in military array, descended through the town to the Place Bellecour, where the discussion was to go on. They had no arms, but a huge tricolor flag waved in the centre of the column, and a ribbon in the button-hole indicated the leaders they were respectively bound to obey. After a long discussion, a tariff was agreed on, and signed on both sides. The joy of the workmen at this victory was excessive; their houses were all illuminated in the evening, and songs of triumph and festivity were heard in all the public-houses on the night of the signature. Proportionally great was the dismay among the masters, who loudly complained that the whole thing was unwarranted by law; that the concession on the part of their delegates had been extorted by threats and intimidation; and that those delegates had been appointed at a meeting of masters which a number of them had not attended, and by the proceed-

ings of which they were not bound. All murmured against the tariff. Some refused to abide by it. They were prosecuted for their refusal before the council of "Prudhommes," and decree went against them. This only made matters worse. The general discontent among the masters went on increasing; and at length, on November 10, four hundred of the principal employers of Lyons signed a protest against the tariff, and declared they would no longer be bound by it. M. Dumolard, upon this, saw he had gone too far, and wrote a letter to the council of "Prudhommes," to say that the tariff had not the force of law, and therefore was not obligatory, except on such as chose to abide by it. At the same time the Chamber of Commerce at Paris published a manifesto against the tariff and the conduct of M. Dumolard, and Government testified its displeasure at what had been done, and recommended that the tariff should be allowed quietly to become a dead letter.

10. But it is an easier matter to excite the hopes and passions of a starving multitude than to allay them when once excited. The murmurs and discontent of the workmen were now as loud as those of the masters had formerly been, and a review of the national guard of Lyons on the 20th November brought matters to a crisis. Some, and they were the richest portion, were clothed in the splendid uniform of the Restoration; the legions from the poorer quarters were arrayed in the humbler garb prescribed in the last ordinances of Louis Philippe. This difference gave rise to sarcasms and menaces, and everything announced a rupture on the day following. The prefect requested an interview with General Roguet; but the latter had become distrustful of him, from his leaning to the popular side, and refused to see him. The regular troops in Lyons only amounted to three thousand men, and on one of the regiments (the 66th of the line) little reliance could be placed. Bouvier-Dumolard had remonstrated with Government on the weakness of the garrison, but his

representations met with no attention. General Roguet persisted in declaring that his measures were already taken, that there was nothing to fear; and the mayor of the Croix-Rousse shared his fatal security. Thus nothing was done to guard against the approaching danger but to station guards at the five gates leading from the Croix-Rousse to Lyons; while the workmen on that eminence spent the night in the most vigorous preparations for a decisive conflict on the succeeding day.

11. At seven in the morning of the 21st, some hundred silk-weavers set out from the Croix-Rousse, and, descending towards Lyons, began forcibly to eject from the workshops those of the workmen who had agreed to take less than the tariff. They were met by a column of grenadiers of the national guard, composed of the masters; and as they refused to retire, the national guard fired, and eight workmen fell severely wounded. Upon this the body retreated hastily to Croix-Rousse, where they spread, uttering cries of despair through the streets and lanes. Immediately a frightful tumult arose. Everywhere the cry was heard, "Aux armes! on assassine nos frères!" and with the rapidity of lightning, furious combatants issued from every house, armed with sticks, stones, and pitchforks. More effective weapons, however, were soon found in the muskets and two guns of the national guard, who from the workmen's quarters of the city all joined them. Armed by this important accession of force, the insurgents arrayed themselves in columns, threw up barricades, and again descended into the city, preceded by a banner, bearing the words, which are sublime from the intensity of feeling they exhibited, "Vivre en travaillant ou mourir en combatant."

12. The remainder of the 20th was spent in vain endeavours on the part of M. Dumolard and General Roguet to effect an accommodation. The workmen demanded wages which the masters asserted would render sales on their part under existing circumstances impossible. The *générale* beat in all

quarters of the town, but not a third of the national guard appeared, and those of the Croix-Rousse, La Guillotière, and the other suburbs, all took part with the insurgents.* More than half of the entire civic force of Lyons had joined them before the night of the 21st, and of such as had not, nearly the whole had disappeared and left their ranks. The prefect, in one of the parleys, when he was endeavouring to persuade the workmen to desist, was surrounded and made prisoner. General Ordonneau, who commanded the national guard, was also captured in the same manner, and the insurgents profited by that circumstance to force from him a written order to the only battalion of that force which still resisted, to retire; which they, not knowing of his captivity, immediately did. Meanwhile the fire of the national guards from the heights of Croix-Rousse on the streets below was so violent, that the regular troops were forced to retire, leaving the pavement covered with their dead. Towards evening M. Dumolard and General Ordonneau were liberated by the rebels, in hopes that they might effect an accommodation; but the thing proved impossible, and both parties prepared, during the night, for a decisive conflict on the morrow.

13. The morning of the 22d was ushered in with mournful presages for the inhabitants of Lyons. The dismal clang of the tocsin was heard from the steeple of St Paul's, the *générale* beat in all the streets, and the whole inhabitants repaired to their different rallying-points, to take part on one side or another in the approaching conflict. At two in the morning the 40th regiment of the line arrived from Trévoux, but the reinforcements which the insurgents received were much more considerable. The sound of the tocsin,

* "Des quatre bataillons de la Garde Nationale de Lyon, on peut à peine réunir six cents hommes, — deux bataillons presque entiers, composés en majeure partie des ouvriers des quartiers de St Georges et de St Jean, passeront dans les rangs des insurgés, ainsi que ceux de la Guillotière et de la Croix-Rousse."—*Dépêche du Prefet*, 22 Nov. 1831; CAPEFIGUE, v. 420.

the discharges of the cannon, the rattle of the musketry, brought the whole population of the neighbouring towns and villages into Lyons, many of whom were national guards with their arms, who forthwith joined the insurgents. The strife soon became general. General Roguet established a battery of guns to command the bridges Morand and Lafayette, from whence multitudes were pouring out of the Quartier des Brotteaux into Lyons, and for some time it had the desired effect of checking them. But meanwhile the whole city was in insurrection, and the regular troops, stationed in force on a few points, found themselves surrounded by bodies of insurgents four times their own number, for the most part composed of national guards as skilful in the use of arms as themselves. Cries of "*Vive la République!*" were heard on all sides; from having been social, the insurrection had become political. The national guards on the side of Government gradually slipped away; before evening there were not thirty around their standards. The troops of the line in some instances fraternised with, and refused to act against them; in all, they opposed only a languid and reluctant resistance. They could not see how that could be wrong at Lyons which had been the object of such unbounded eulogy at Paris in the preceding year. At length, towards evening, the troops were driven back at all points to the Hôtel de Ville, which their chief rightly judged was untenable, as they had no communications or provisions. Accordingly, Roguet resolved to evacuate the city, and take a position on some of the adjoining heights, there to await reinforcements and farther orders. The insurgents tried to bar the retreat, but a sustained fire soon dispersed the armed multitude which made the attempt. Attenuated by fatigue, and thinned in numbers, but still maintaining their military aspect, and bearing with them their cannon and wounded, the troops arrived at midnight at Montessuy, where they took up a position. The insurgents immediately occupied the Hôtel de Ville, and established a pro-

visional committee for the management of the city.

14. The first intelligence which the Government received of these events was by a telegraphic message, which simply announced that "an insurrection has broken out at Lyons, and the city is in the hands of the insurgents." The remainder of the telegraphic message was illegible from fog. The utmost alarm immediately seized upon both the Government and the people. In the twinkling of an eye, the most alarming rumours were in circulation; —that the insurrection had spread like lightning through all the adjoining towns and villages; that the workmen of St Etienne, Vienne, and Taras had united with those of Lyons; that disturbances had broken out at Grenoble and Toulon, and that Rouen and Bordeaux were prepared to follow the example. Such was the general panic that the Funds fell 5 per cent in a single day. But whatever apprehensions were felt by the Government, no vacillation or want of resolution appeared in their measures. A Cabinet Council was immediately held, at which M. Casimir Périer exhibited the utmost irritation at the revolt, and called for the most vigorous measures for its repression. Marshal Soult, who, as War Minister, was present, declared, "that he would engage to prevent the movement from proceeding farther, if clothed with sufficient powers. He should be authorised to assemble sufficient forces round Lyons: they should march instantly upon that city, so as not to give it time to know what it was about. An old soldier himself, he would not spare his person; he would speak to the regiments,—he would restore their courage. The more force there was displayed, the less blood would be shed. In order to give an air of clemency to the proceeding, the Prince-Royal should accompany Marshal Soult, that measures of mercy might reflect their lustre on the Crown." This wise advice was unanimously agreed to: it was determined to give no terms to the rebels, but insist on unconditional surrender; and orders were immediately despatched

by the telegraph for all the troops within fifty miles of Lyons to converge with the utmost expedition towards that city, and join General Roguet in position before it.

15. Meanwhile Lyons exhibited a spectacle perhaps unique in the history of the world. The prefect had remained at the Hôtel de Ville when the troops withdrew, with the laudable design of being a check upon the insurgents, by whom he was much beloved. The real power, however, resided with them, as he had no force, civil or military, at his disposal; and to their honour be it said, no acts of outrage or disorder disgraced the victory of the people. They even went so far as to station guards and sentinels at all the important points to preserve order, and aid in transporting the wounded of both sides to the hospitals. They seemed to have no definite or ulterior object in view, but, like the Vendéans, thought the victory was gained, and nothing remained to do when the enemy was driven out of their streets. The prefect still issued his orders from the Hôtel de Ville, which were generally obeyed, though, as might be supposed, they were such as accorded with the wishes of the workmen; and he engaged to exert his influence to the uttermost to obtain the restoration of the tariff, and an advance in the wages of labour.

16. But this pleasing illusion was of short duration. General Roguet had already collected seven thousand men in his camp at Montessuy, when the telegraph announced to him the vigorous resolutions of the Government. Reinforcements rapidly poured in on all sides. On the evening of the 2d December, forty thousand men, with one hundred pieces of cannon, were collected round Lyons, and at midnight of the 3d a salvo of artillery announced the arrival of the Prince-Royal and Marshal Soult at the camp. The Marshal spoke in severe terms to the regiments which had failed in their duty, and published a proclamation to the citizens, ordering instant submission and the delivery of all arms. Resistance was hopeless in presence of so

great a force, and on the day following the Marshal made his entrance at the head of his troops, with drums beating, matches lighted, bayonets fixed, and sabres drawn, in the midst of all the pomp and circumstance of war. Stupified and terrified, the workmen attempted no resistance, and the most decisive measures were immediately adopted to break their power. The disarming was instantly and rigorously enforced, the national guard disbanded, a garrison of twenty thousand men stationed in the town, and the Croix-Rousse, where the insurrection had begun, surrounded by a girdle of forts, armed with mortars. M. Dumolard was censured, his resignation accepted, and a new prefect appointed of firm character, and entirely devoted to the existing Government.*

17. So ignorant were the most sagacious politicians in France at that period of the magnitude of the *social* evils which then pressed upon the country, and were destined in the end to lead to such frightful results, that the public mind was entirely relieved when it was discovered what the insurrection really was directed against. "It is nothing," said the organs of Government; "it is only a dispute between masters and workmen about their wages." "Assured," said the *Journal des Débats*, "of external peace, surrounded by a

* The terrible results of the attempt on the part of M. Dumolard to interfere, by positive enactment, in regulating the wages of labour, demonstrates the extreme danger of any such interposition on the part of those invested with authority. Such dangers are by no means unknown in this country. The author has been repeatedly urged, during strikes and periods of mercantile depression, by the cotton-spinners, colliers, iron-miners, and iron-moulders of Lanarkshire, to interpose his authority as chief magistrate of the county to a certain rate of wages, or to accept a submission on the part of the workmen to fix what they should be. He always declined, however, upon the grounds—1. That he had no power to fix wages; 2. That if he had the power he would not exercise it, because if he fixed the rate too low, it would do the workmen no good; if too high, it would lead to their being dismissed, and the works being closed, and thus essentially injure them. The distress on which the applications were founded, has been often as great in his experience in Glasgow as it was in Lyons in 1831, when M. Dumolard sanctioned the tariff.

powerful army united under the tricolor flag, the Government have no cause to apprehend anything from this insurrection but local and private suffering—very serious, without doubt, but which will be lessened by the force of legal repression.” The Chamber of Deputies presented an address to the King, in which they said: “We hasten to lay before your Majesty the unanimous wish of the deputies of France, that you should oppose to these deplorable excesses the whole power of the laws. Personal security has been violently attacked, property menaced in its principle, the liberty of industry threatened with destruction, the voice of the magistrates disregarded. These disorders must instantly cease, such attempts must be energetically repressed. Entire France is wounded in the attack made on the rights of all in the persons of some citizens; it owes them a decisive protection.” There can be no doubt of the truth of these words; but it is singular that it had never occurred to the Legislature, when they overturned the Government of Charles X., that the example then so generally applauded might be repeated, and under circumstances of general distress, when it was likely to be more readily embraced by the great body of the working classes. The evils now so much condemned as a “mere dispute between masters and workmen about wages,” within seventeen years afterwards overturned the throne of Louis Philippe, and convulsed every monarchy in Europe! One of the most curious and instructive lessons which history teaches is the entire formation of general opinion in all ranks by present events, and the impossibility of getting the great majority of men either to reflect upon the past or anticipate the future.

18. The Republicans were much more alive to the signs of the times. Without disquieting themselves more than the burgher representatives in the Legislature with the causes of the general distress or the means of obviating it, they were content to take the existing suffering as it stood, and to make use of it as a powerful engine to

overturn the Government. They accordingly set themselves vigorously to work to improve their present advantages, both in the press and the Legislature. On January 2, M. ARMAND CARREL, in the *National*, openly declared for a republic; and a few days after, M. GARNIER PAGES entered the Chamber of Deputies avowedly to support the same principle. The former of these men bore too conspicuous a part in the disturbances which ensued in the course of the year, not to deserve a place in contemporary history. His appearance and manners, his erect stature, piercing eye, and intrepid air, bespoke rather the soldier than the civilian, and his early life had been passed in camps. An officer under the Restoration, he had been faithless to his oaths, and joined in the conspiracy of Befort; repeatedly tried before courts-martial for accession to plots, he had escaped them all; a refugee in Spain, he had borne arms there against the white flag. Upon the ruin of the Peninsular republicans by the French invasion of 1823, he came to Paris, where he gained a livelihood by writing for the most violent democratic journals, and soon acquired a reputation by the vigour of his ideas and the fearlessness of his language. Irony and sarcasm were his favourite weapons, and these he wielded with tremendous effect. He did little to defend his own principles; he took them for granted, and bent the whole force of his intellect to wither and crush his adversaries. His writings exhibit little information, and no traces of originality of thought, but great vigour and capacity in individual encounter. A political dispute with him was like a single combat, in which he freely hazarded his own life, and sought only to destroy that of his adversary. But though this turn of mind deprives his writings of all value for future times, or as a magazine of thought, they only rendered them the more attractive to the present, with which a dispute of persons is always more exciting than one of principles, and which is ever happy to step from a strife of parties into a duel of individuals.

19. GARNIER PAGES was in all these respects the very reverse of Armand Carrel, and as well fitted to win the suffrages of an adverse legislature as the latter was to excite the passions of concordant democracy. His youth had been spent in assiduous industry, the happy consequence often of apparently rigorous fortune, which had compelled him early in life to exertion. From the outset, however, he was set on great things; the ordinary advantages of wealth or station had for him no charm. "Do you take care of our fortune," said he to his brother; "I will labour for the glory of our name." Such energy and elevated objects were not long, as they seldom are, of meeting with their reward; and his entry into the Chamber brought him into the theatre where his peculiar talents had their most appropriate field for exertion. A long habit of close attention, great practical acquaintance with men, a temper proof against all the acerbities of strife, a ready elocution, and remarkable facility of expression, without any of the highest powers of eloquence, rendered him eminently qualified to contend in the Chamber with a hostile majority. Many men had been heard there more qualified to bear down opposition by the torrent of eloquence; none more fitted to disarm opposition by the charm of manner and the tact of expression. Though a decided Republican in his ideas, and the avowed organ of that party in the Assembly, he never rose without commanding the attention of all parties; and his bland manner and moderate ideas went far to detach the cause of a commonwealth from the bloody images with which it had been associated by the Reign of Terror.

20. Under the direction of those able leaders, the republican party soon made itself felt both in the Chamber and the public press. Several journals, particularly the *Fortune*, the *Revolution*, the *Movement*, the *National*, openly advocated their most decided ideas, and declaimed incessantly against the extravagance of the Court, and the entire departure of the King from the principles which

had placed him upon the throne. M. de Cormenin in an especial manner excelled in this guerilla warfare, which was the more attractive to the multitude that it was levelled at individuals, not directed against principles. It must be confessed that the extravagance and insatiable demands of the courtiers afforded him too fair a subject of declamation. The civil list brought forward by Ministers proposed to settle no less than 18,535,500 francs (£748,000) a-year on the King: a sum, said the Republicans, thirty-seven times as large as that settled on Napoleon as First Consul, and a hundred and forty-eight times as large as the salary of the President of the United States of America. The enormity of this grant was the more conspicuous from the circumstance that the private fortune of the King, derived from the noble restoration of it by Charles X., which he had not blended with the property of the Crown, in terms of the law of 8th November 1814, amounted to no less than 2,500,000 francs yearly (£100,000), besides 4,000,000 (£160,000) a-year from lands and forests.

21. To complete the picture of the results of the rule of the Citizen King, there appeared at the same time a notice from one of the boards of charity in Paris, to the effect that "24,000 persons on the lists of the poor in the twelfth arrondissement alone were without either bread or clothing." Already the people began to contrast the extravagance of the establishment of the revolutionary with the economy of that of the legitimist monarch; and it did not escape observation that the charges of the chapel-royal were ten times greater than they had been under Charles X., though no one accused Louis Philippe of being priest-ridden; that though he enjoyed excellent health, the apothecaries' bill was stated at 80,000 francs (£3200) yearly, being quadruple that of the gouty and decrepit Louis XVIII.; that 300 horses were set down at 1000 crowns a-head, being twice the salary of a member of the Privy Council or the Institute; that the allowance for

the personal service of the King was 3,773,000 francs (£150,000) a-year, though he affected a philosophic contempt for all physical enjoyments; and that the civil list of Charles X. never exceeded 11,500,000 francs (£450,000), though it was charged with numerous expenses thrown on the nation by his successor. So great was the clamour, that though the Ministers carried their grant to the King, no less than 180 members of the Chamber protested with Odillon Barrot against so extravagant a waste of the public money, and 107 actually voted against the grant. The truth was, that the King personally was not addicted, as many of his ancestors had been, to any great expenses, but he was surrounded by needy supporters, whose demands could not be refused: and France now began to waken to the disagreeable truth, that the more democratic an old government is, the greater become its expenses; and that a throne surrounded by republican institutions, in reality means a throne surrounded by republican mendicants.

22. These extravagant charges for the royal household were the ones most likely to irritate the people; but in reality they constituted a very small part of the national expenditure. The great bulk of it was occasioned by the vast additions made to the strength of the army; and they were so considerable, that the estimated expenditure of the year was stated by the Minister of Finance at above 1,100,000,000 francs (£44,000,000), being greatly above that of the last year of Charles X., which had been 987,000,000 francs only.* M. Lafitte boasted in the Chamber, that in the first months of the year 1832 France would have 500,000 regular troops and 1,000,000 national guards under arms, besides all the fortresses armed and provisioned; and so she had, but the cost occasioned an enormous addition to the public expenditure, which greatly swelled the general discontent. In truth, the expense was unavoidable, and was the necessary consequence of the change of government. The overthrow of Charles X. had excited a

* The budget of the year 1832 was thus stated by the Minister of Finance:—

<i>Recettes.</i>		Francs.
Contributions directes,	.	353,136,909
Additionelle,	.	1,077,000
Timbre et domaines,	.	198,225,000
Bois,	.	18,000,000
Douanes,	.	60,910,000
Contributions indirectes,	.	171,000,000
Postes,	.	34,290,000
Loterie,	.	8,000
Salines et mines,	.	23,185,882
Moyens extraordinaires,	.	148,498,267
		1,116,323,058 or £44,750,000
<i>Dépenses.</i>		Francs.
Dette consolidée,	.	215,768,242
Flotante pensions, &c.,	.	129,686,661
Dotations,	.	17,228,417
Justice,	.	18,374,700
Etrangères affaires,	.	6,939,700
Instruction publique,	.	36,327,883
Intérieur,	.	3,889,600
Commerce et travaux publics,	.	122,894,589
Guerre,	.	309,030,400
Marine,	.	65,172,900
Finances,	.	24,156,900
Administration du revenu public,	.	114,759,433
Remboursements,	.	42,989,445
		1,106,618,270 or £44,240,000

—*Ann. Hist.*, xv. 96-99 (*Doc. Hist.*)

The actual receipts were 1,064,031,296 francs, and the expenditure 1,174,629,757 francs. The army numbered 389,273 men.—*Statistique de la France.*

spirit, both in France and the adjoining states, which the new Government, how anxious soever, was unable to control. The revolution in Belgium, the democratic movements in Switzerland, the attack of the republicans on Spain, the overthrow of the government in Hesse-Cassel, had entirely done away with the prestige in favour of Louis Philippe which at first existed at the Continental courts, from his having interposed between them and a general convulsion. They doubted now, not his inclination, but his ability to restrain the movement, and all were rapidly arming in their own defence. Prussia took up arms to defend her provinces on the Rhine, Austria to protect her possessions in Italy, Russia to overawe the malcontents on the Vistula. France was placed by its own act in a state of antagonism with all Europe: its inhabitants had already discovered that though revolutions may be very exciting things, they are very expensive; and that a people which plays the part of knocker-down and putter-up of kings must be content to pay the charges contingent on the assumption of such a character.

23. So general was the discontent excited by these circumstances, that it led to various plots among the Republicans in different parts of France. One, called the conspiracy of Notre Dame, consisted in an attempt, made by a dozen desperadoes, to set fire to that venerable pile, as a signal, it was supposed, for a general insurrection in the capital. The flames took effect, and were with difficulty extinguished. One of the incendiaries, arrested on the spot, being interrogated as to his profession, answered, "An émeutier." Twelve persons were seized in the cathedral under the most suspicious circumstances, but five only were convicted, and that merely of the minor offence of concealing a conspiracy, which was only punishable with imprisonment. It appeared on the trial that the police had been warned, and taken no steps to prevent it. Shortly after, a more serious conspiracy was discovered, the centre of which was in

the Rue Prouvaires, in which some partisans of the Royalists and leaders of the Napoleonists were engaged. The object of the conspirators, who were said to be connected with extensive ramifications in the neighbouring towns, was to march on the Tuileries and overturn the Government. The police had information all along from some traitors in the plot of what was going on, but they allowed it to proceed till the designs of the leaders were approaching maturity. They then acted, and with such effect, that the chiefs, in number about two hundred, were arrested at their place of meeting in the Rue Prouvaires at midnight, after some resistance, in which a sergeant of police was killed and several of the conspirators wounded. Paris was astonished next morning by the report of so considerable an arrest during the night, and the ringleaders were tried and convicted some months afterwards.

24. These alarming symptoms in Paris were re-echoed by equally threatening notices from the provinces. At Toulon, Strasbourg, and Grenoble, there had, during the whole winter, been repeated altercations between the military and the citizens, in which it was observed that the national guard generally took part with the latter. At length, in the middle of March, matters came to a crisis in the latter city. A foolish dispute had got up there between the prefect and citizens about a masquerade of children and a masked ball, which he, dreading ulterior designs, had prohibited.* Great discontent existed at this act of authority, and cries of "A bad prefect!" were heard in the streets, where groups of murmuring and threatening malcontents were soon formed. The prefect, alarmed at these appearances, called out the military, and the *général* beat to assemble the national guard; but, as usual at that time, none obeyed the summons. Upon this, orders were

* Three of the figures in the masquerade were meant to represent the *budget*, and two *supplementary budgets*; a circumstance which sufficiently proved the political character of the procession, but at which any man of sense, so as matters did not go farther, would only have laughed.

given to the military to clear the streets. They advanced accordingly, with fixed bayonets, and several of the mob received wounds from that weapon before the assemblage was dispersed. No great mischief had been done on either side, but in the excited state of men's minds, extreme indignation arose among the people. The whole inhabitants rose, and were joined by vast multitudes from the country; and soon the prefect, whose firmness in presence of danger was not equal to his rashness in provoking it, was obliged to take refuge in his hotel, and the soldiers, to avoid a collision, were confined to their barracks. The national guard joined the insurgents; the city for two days was in their possession. Such was the threatening aspect of affairs that General Hulot, who arrived with a regiment of dragoons and a battery of cannon from Lyons, deemed it expedient to withdraw the obnoxious regiment from the city, which at length appeased the tumult.

25. These repeated outbreaks in so many different places soon after each other, convinced Casimir Périer both of the futility of the National Guard as any security against popular disturbances, and of the necessity of presenting some object of external interest to the French, to prevent them from perpetually brooding over their internal grievances. In Flanders, the avowed object of French predilection and ambition, any hostile expedition was coerced by the jealous alliance of England, and the open hostility of Prussia, whose battalions were assembling in warlike attitude on the banks of the Meuse. Italy, therefore, was the quarter where an exciting and interesting eruption could with least risk be made; and although it could not of course be attempted without awakening the jealousy of Austria, yet her hostility was less to be dreaded than that of England and Prussia, and her finances and military preparations were not in such a state as to render it probable that in any event she would actually draw the sword. An expedition to Italy was therefore resolved on,

in the double view of presenting a distraction to French thought at home, and counteracting Austrian influence abroad; and Ancona was the place to which it was determined to send the expeditionary force.

26. The situation of Italy at this period was such, it must be confessed, as to invite, and in a manner justify, such an intervention. Its inhabitants had never recovered the shock of the revolution of July, and such had been the agitation in the Roman States in particular, that, on the requisition of the Papal Government, the Austrians had, in the spring of 1831, moved a body of troops into the Romagna, and Marshal Firmont, with 20,000 men, occupied Bologna. The French Government had remonstrated against that step; but its military preparations were at that period too incomplete to admit of any ulterior measure, and the Austrian troops remained for some time in the Legations, where their presence, though not openly resisted, was a perpetual cause of irritation and discontent. Tranquillity being apparently restored, they withdrew; but remained in such a position near the frontiers as showed a manifest intention of returning, should their presence be required. Aware that this state of things could not long continue without inducing a rupture between them, France and Austria, with the concurrence of the other powers, by a joint note on May 21, 1831, invited his Holiness to appease the discontents of his subjects by introducing among them some of the reforms which were most ardently desired and seemed most reasonable. These were, that provincial assemblies, elected by a certain degree of popular choice, should be established to regulate local concerns; that a central junta should be organised to revise the administrative departments of the Government; that laymen should be admitted to all its offices; and a council of state appointed, composed of the most respectable and eminent men in the nation.

27. How reasonable soever these demands may appear to those who are accustomed to the actions of a consti-

tutional government, they were far from meeting the views of the Holy See, which was desirous, above all things, of retaining the administration of affairs in the hands of the ecclesiastics, and excluding every approach to popular control. Accordingly, although the Pontifical Court declared its willingness to make every concession which could reasonably be desired, yet the changes made, which were expressed as done *ex proprio motu*, were far from satisfying the general wish; chiefly because, though provincial assemblies were established, their members were chosen, not by popular election, but by the governors of provinces, and laymen were excluded from the government of the Legations. The public discontent, accordingly, so far from being appeased, went on continually increasing. At length matters reached such a crisis, and the disturbances in the Legations were so threatening, that, on the 10th January 1832, the Papal Government announced to the ambassadors of the five powers the resolution they had taken of marching troops into the Legations, and disarming the civic guards. England strongly disapproved this step, but it was cordially approved by the other powers; and strange to say, the French ambassador, M. de St Aulaire, expressed his entire acquiescence in it.* Notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, the inhabitants of Romagna were in such a state of excitement that they resolved on resistance. A conflict took place on the plains of Cesena, which the insurgents, 3000 strong, though they had only three pieces of cannon, and the Pontifical troops were double their number, maintained with great courage; but they

were at length routed, and the victorious soldiers, pursuing the fugitives, made their way into Forlì, which underwent all the horrors of a town taken by assault. Soon after Ravenna was occupied by the Pope's troops, the passage of the Bastia was forced, and the whole sea-coast of the Adriatic fell into their hands.

28. The civic guards and insurgents upon these disasters retired to Bologna, where they concentrated from all quarters. Their position and numbers were there so threatening that the Pontifical generals did not deem themselves strong enough to hazard an attack without external aid, and they applied to COUNT RADETSKY, governor of Milan, for assistance accordingly. The Austrian general, in obedience to the orders of his Court, and in accordance with a secret convention previously concluded with the Court of Rome, lost no time in complying with the request; and on 28th January 6000 Imperialists, under General Grabowsky, entered Bologna, where they were next day followed by 3000 of the Pontifical troops. These forces were so considerable as to render resistance hopeless, and forcibly re-establish tranquillity in the Papal States to the north of the Apennines. But in doing so it roused a new storm to the north of the Alps, and it soon appeared that the peace of Europe was put in imminent hazard by this intervention.

29. Casimir Périer had long had his eye on the disturbances in Italy, both from jealousy of Austria and the wish to present an object of counter-irritation to the discontent of France; and the occupation of Bologna by the Austrians appeared to him to present a favourable opportunity for intervention. His designs were taken with decision, secrecy, and skill. The Suffrein ship of the line and two frigates were immediately fitted out for sea, and 2500 men, under Col. Combe, embarked on board them, with orders to proceed with all possible expedition to Ancona and occupy that town; while at the same time General Cubières, who was to command the expedition, was despatched to Rome to pre-

* "S'il arrivait," disait l'ambassadeur de France, M. de St Aulaire, "que dans leur mission toute pacifique, les troupes exécutant les ordres de leur souverain rencontrassent une résistance comble, et que quelques factieux osassent commencer une guerre civile aussi insensée dans son but que funeste dans ses résultats, le soussigné ne fait aucune difficulté à déclarer que ces hommes seraient considérés comme les plus dangereux ennemis de la paix générale, par le Gouvernement Français."—*Note de M. de St Aulaire*, 10th January 1832; LOUIS BLANC, iii. 182.

pare the Cabinet of the Vatican for the invasion of their territory. Some accidental delays retarded the journey of General Cubières; and on the other hand, the expedition met with so favourable a passage that it arrived first in the Roman States. On the 22d February, at daybreak, three strange vessels were descried from the walls of Ancona, which soon hoisted French colours and made straight for the mole. France being a friendly power, they were admitted without suspicion into the harbour, and they instantly landed the troops, to the unbounded astonishment of the inhabitants, and made straight for the citadel, of which they required the immediate surrender. The governor in vain demanded some respite in order to ascertain whether this occupation was or was not authorised by his Government. Col. Combe, a resolute veteran of the school of Napoleon, would admit of no delay, and threatened an immediate assault if the place was not instantly surrendered. The governor, being wholly unprepared, was in no condition to resist, and he accordingly capitulated. The troops immediately entered, and the tricolor flag was hoisted from the citadel, while the Austrian standards were seen only three leagues distant in the plains.

30. No words can describe the astonishment in Italy, and the indignation of the Papal Government, when these events were made known. General Cubières arrived at Rome two hours after the intelligence had been received, and he experienced the first burst of the Pope's indignation. "There has been nothing like this since the days of the Saracens," were the first words he uttered. "We have only imitated the Austrians," replied M. de St Aulaire: "they occupied, and we occupied." Though there was much truth in this rejoinder, yet it afforded little consolation to the Government of the Vatican that their territory had in this manner become the object of a double occupation by the tramontane states; and they accordingly transmitted a very angry note on the subject to the Cabinet of the Tuileries, and for

some time the attitude of the Court of Rome as well as of the Cabinet of Vienna was very hostile. The storm, however, blew over: neither state was as yet prepared for war, and the Austrians were satisfied, or feigned to be so, with the assurance that a temporary occupation by a limited number of troops was alone intended. In Italy the descent of the French, and the sight of the tricolor flag, excited the most unbounded transports. It was immediately displayed from every window in Ancona: the state prisons were forthwith thrown open, and the captives liberated; and the people, fraternising in the coffee-houses and the streets with the French soldiers, surrendered themselves for a brief season to the pleasing illusion of Italian independence.

31. The excitement of these events, external and internal, was cut short in Paris, in the end of March 1832, by the appearance of a domestic enemy more formidable than any foreign foe. The CHOLERA had for some months past been making strides from Asia through the east of Europe, and its regular progress, like that of civilisation, from east to west, gave too certain assurance that it would soon make its appearance even in the states next the Atlantic. This anticipation was not long of being realised. On the 29th March the commissary of police announced, in the middle of a ball at the Opera, the sinister intelligence—"The cholera is in Paris;" and this was shortly after followed by the publication of an official bulletin confirming the intelligence, and declaring that the cases in the hospitals already amounted to twenty-six. Indescribable was the terror which this announcement produced. The advance of the terrible unknown epidemic across Russia, Poland, and Germany, had been watched with intense anxiety, and rumour had even exaggerated the terrors of its approach. In truth, they were sufficiently formidable without any addition from the power of imagination. The dreadful disease, springing apparently from the hot marshes of the Nile or the Ganges, advanced with ceaseless march

through the air, unchecked either by the skill of man or the force of nature. Neither a long tract of wind blowing from the west, nor the utmost sanitary or police precautions in all the realms over which it had passed, could arrest its dreaded approach. The journals of St Petersburg, Moscow, and Constantinople, were filled at the same time with the details of its devastation, the terrors of its advent. They were ere long too fatally verified. A few ventured the first day to discredit the report, but it was soon ascertained to be too true. On the very next day the deaths amounted to one hundred and fifty; and the police, by whom the scourge had long been expected, and who had taken every precaution against it, issued the most urgent proclamations, enjoining implicit and instant obedience to the sanitary regulations which had been promulgated.

32. In Paris, as in all other places which it has visited, the symptoms of this terrible epidemic baffled alike the efforts of medical skill, the anticipations of reason, and the deductions of experience. To all appearance the poison came through the air, and was inhaled, in the first instance at least, by the lungs; yet how was this reconcilable with its constant progress from east to west, in opposition to the wind, which in all the states of western Europe blows two hundred and fifty days in the year, and nearly all the autumn and winter, from west to east? The character of the disease, and the localities in which it sometimes appeared with most virulence, led to the general belief that filth, and impurity of water or air, were most likely to aggravate it: but although many facts apparently supporting this opinion very generally occurred, yet others of a directly opposite character were not long of showing themselves; and in many places, while the filthiest and worst-aired quarters of cities escaped almost untouched, the pestilence seized with most virulence on those who dwelt in the most cleanly and well-aired.*

* In Glasgow, where cholera has broken out three times with great violence, these contradictory symptoms have been clearly

33. The first symptoms of the disease seemed to indicate the existence of some poisonous or deleterious matter in the system, which nature was making an effort to throw off; yet the mode of treatment which has uniformly proved most successful to arrest at least the premonitory symptoms, are laudanum, or other binding medicine, which might retain the poison in it. Its sudden advent, and its appearance among many different persons in different places at the same time, clearly demonstrates that it is at first epidemic, and not merely transmitted, like the plague, by contact: yet subsequent experience has everywhere brought to light many facts which lead to the conclusion that it is, in its later stages at least, contagious. It

evinced. In 1848, which was its second visit, while the low and ill-aired districts, abounding with filth and the lowest lodging-houses, crowded with Irish, were almost untouched, the highest, richest, and best-aired part of the city, that of Blythswood Hill, had one or more deaths in every house. The vast influence of intoxication in predisposing to the reception of the poison was clearly proved by the fact, that after having been three weeks in the city, the deaths had not risen, on 30th December 1847, to more than 30 or 40 a-day: but on 2d January, after the drunkenness of the New Year, they at once rose to 239. The deaths in the three years of the epidemic were:—

	Deaths.	Population.
1832, . . .	3005	210,000
1848, . . .	3777	320,000
1853, . . .	4612	400,000

—STRANG'S *Vital Statistics of Glasgow*, p. 9.

In Paris the same strange and unexpected results appeared:—"A Passy, où l'air est si pur, le nombre des décès s'éleva à 26 par 1000 habitants, tandis qu'il y eut à peine 16 morts par 1000 habitants dans l'atmosphère empestée de Montfaucon. Parmi les communes rurales, si quelques villages remarquables par leur salubrité, tels que Chatenay, Vitry, Chabellon, eurent en point de cholériques, d'autres qui se trouvaient dans les mêmes conditions, tels que Saint Ouen, Fontenay, Louis-Bois, Asnières, Puteaux, comptèrent de 35 à 50 morts sur 1000 habitants. Certaines professions jugées mortelles se trouvèrent privilégiées, c'est ainsi que parmi les ouvriers employés à disséquer des animaux en putréfaction, pas un ne fut sérieusement menacé."—L. BLANC, iii. 223. Add to this, that in the epidemic of 1854, out of 2600 persons employed in cleaning out the drains and common sewers in London, not one took the cholera, while its ravages were great in some of the most salubrious parts of the metropolis.

is not surprising that a pestilence attended with such strange and contradictory symptoms should for long baffle medical skill, and give rise to more than even the usual amount of difference of opinion among medical men. They have at length, however, it is believed, very generally united in the opinion that it is first induced by an atmospheric influence, though rather one connected with electricity than what is inhaled by the lungs; that it is both epidemic and contagious; that filth and insalubrious air aggravate the disease, by weakening the frames of those exposed to its influence, not producing itself; that mental depression, or the reaction of intoxication, powerfully predisposes for its reception; and that medical skill, though all-powerful in arresting it in its commencement, has very little influence in its later stages, and is efficacious rather by aiding the patient to survive the malady than by subduing itself.

34. When this terrible pestilence first made its appearance in Moscow, St Petersburg, and Berlin, the suddenness of its spread, and the symptoms of violent bowel-complaint with which it always commenced, gave rise to immediate suspicion of the food or water used having been poisoned, and serious disturbances took place in consequence. The same thing occurred on its first appearance in Paris. To increase the panic occasioned by the natural symptoms of the disease, and pervert it to political purposes, some abandoned wretches there were said to have put poison into the public wells and fountains, and a police magistrate in Paris had the infatuation to publish a proclamation on the subject. The consequences might easily have been foreseen. The populace rose in crowds in the thickly-peopled quarters of the city, seized upon the persons whom they suspected of being implicated in these atrocities, and proceeded to execute what they deemed justice upon them with their own hands. Two men, suspected of being poisoners, having been arrested in the Faubourg St Antoine, and sent under a guard to the

Hôtel de Ville, the mob defied the police, seized the supposed offenders, and threw one into the Seine. Two others were only rescued from death by the courageous efforts of the Municipal Guard, which extricated them out of the hands of the populace as they were stringing them up to the street lamps. The horrors of the Revolution seemed to be recommencing through the effects of one of the most awful visitations of Providence.

35. Yet were the terrors of that mournful time really so great as to require no addition at the hands of man. In the densely-peopled quarters of the city, where the ravages of the pestilence were greatest, the appearances which Boccaccio has immortalised in Italy, and Defoe in England, were again exhibited. The deaths increased with frightful rapidity, and by the 9th April they had risen to 864 a-day, of whom nearly a half were in public hospitals. So great a mortality, which was chiefly produced in limited quarters of the city, diffused universal consternation. Terror seized upon every one; the most ordinary and harmless occupations of life became suspected, and were prohibited. A rumour got up that the scavengers spread the epidemic from their frequent contact with filth; they were chased in consequence from the worst parts of the city, and the streets were choked with dunghills, which no one ventured to remove. The theatres, by public command, remained open; but the actors, a thing unheard of in Paris, played to empty benches. The usual litters for carrying patients to the public hospitals could no longer suffice, and seven hundred men were employed in constructing new ones; but none could be found to carry them. The artillery waggons upon this were put in requisition to collect the dead, and remove the living to their places of treatment; but the mournful sound of the wheels froze every heart with horror, as they passed along at night through the deserted streets, and the jolting of the wheels caused the dead bodies to burst, and a frightful line of putrid matter marked the track of

the wheels. At last the terror became such that no one was to be seen in the streets but those who were engaged in tending the living or burying the dead. Funerals, even of the most respected persons, were conducted without pomp or attendants, generally at daybreak. The dead among the poor were thrown into the graves with their clothes on without ceremony of any sort, as on the field of battle. In the general danger, as in all similar emergencies, selfishness prevailed in the generality of men over the generous affections; and the great majority, in terror for their own lives, became callous to the sufferings of others, or failed in the ordinary duties of humanity and domestic life.*

36. Yet were there some noble exceptions, and which, in the extremity of danger, vindicated the character of human nature. The King and royal family set an honourable example. Unlike too many of the higher ranks, they did not leave Paris on the outbreak of the epidemic, but remained at their post, assuaging suffering by their cares, lessening terror by their example. The Duke of Orléans, accompanied by M. Casimir Périer, visited in person the cholera hospitals,

* The deaths in Paris, in the first fortnight of the epidemic, were as follows:—

Date.	Deaths.
March 31,	128
April 1,	79
„ 2,	168
„ 3,	212
„ 4,	242
„ 5,	351
„ 6,	416
„ 7,	582
„ 8,	769
„ 9,	864
„ 10,	848
„ 11,	769
„ 12,	728
„ 13,	816
„ 14,	692
Total,	7664

—CAPEFIGUE, vi. 882; *Moniteur*, April 15, 1832.

In April, 12,700 persons died. The epidemic lasted one hundred and eighty-nine days in Paris, during which the reported deaths were 18,402, but the real number was probably a half greater. The population of Paris at this period was 960,000.—*L. BLANC*, iii. 237; and *Statistique de la France* (Population), 87.

and the latter there contracted the malady of which he afterwards died. Immense were the sums devoted by the public bodies and the affluent classes towards arresting the progress of the disease. The police expended in less than a month 19,915 francs (£795) in carriages, for the conveyance of medical men from one sick-bed to another. Five thousand rations of rice were distributed a-day among the convalescent at the expense of the Duke of Orléans. Numerous splendid gifts were bestowed by individuals on the hospitals, to enable them to accommodate the sick; the medical profession of all ages evinced that generous zeal and courageous devotion which its members never fail to evince on similar occasions; and the Sisters of Charity, whose numbers seemed to multiply with the demand for their services, were everywhere to be seen aiding the recovery of the convalescent, or smoothing the pillow of the dying. Only two unworthy acts signalised that period of general beneficence. The Archbishop of Paris had offered his country house of Conflans as an hospital for the use of the convalescent; it was refused by the Council-General of the Department, because that prelate had said that the cholera was a visitation of Heaven on Paris for the Revolution of July. The Duchess de Berri, through M. de Chateaubriand, had sent 12,000 francs (£480) for the relief of the poor of Paris, but it was refused by order of M. Montalivet, the Minister of the Interior! Conscience makes cowards of us all; and so did it shake the mind of Louis Philippe, that he saw a political move in the offer of an aged archbishop, worthy of St Charles Borromeo, and in the gift of a young princess to the suffering poor of a city, where she had formerly appeared as a vision of felicity, adorned with flowers, and surrounded by admiration.*

* M. de Chateaubriand, in an admirable pamphlet on this strange refusal, made these remarks, as just as they are eloquent:—“Ce qu’a fait Madame la Duchesse de Berri est français, ce que j’ai fait en son nom est français, tout de grand jour et la tête haute. Le nom de la veuve que ses ennemis n’ont pré-

37. The period of alarm felt for the cholera at Paris was signalised by the death of two very eminent men, who, however, were not carried off by that pestilence—M. Casimir Périer, and M. Cuvier the immortal naturalist. The former of these persons, who was of a very nervous and excitable temperament, had never recovered the dolorous impression which the visit to the cholera hospital with the Duke of Orléans had produced. He had been in feeble health before; and the anxieties consequent on his situation as Prime Minister had preyed upon his mind, and, like Mr Canning, brought on a febrile irritable state of the system, which proved fatal. Shortly before his death he had an interview with M. Pozzo di Borgo, the Russian ambassador, who having made use of the expression, "The Emperor, my master, does not wish—," "Tell your master," said he, interrupting him, "that France has no orders to receive, and that as long as Casimir Périer lives, she will take counsel only of her honour." These words were pronounced with extreme animation and a flushed countenance. He sank down immediately after, exhausted, in his arm-chair, and, looking at his feeble limbs, he exclaimed, "Ah! I am gone; they have killed me." His malady appearing hopeless, M. de Montalivet was, by an ordonnance dated 17th April, appointed, *ad interim*, Minister of the Interior and President of the Council; and on the 16th May he breathed his last. On the same day Cuvier expired. A splendid funeral was accorded to the Prime Minister, at which M. Royer Collard pronounced an eloquent *éloge* on the departed Premier. M. Cuvier sank almost unnoticed into the grave; no political passions or selfish interests celebrated his funeral obsequies. To which tomb will pilgrims in future

times resort—that of the forgotten Prime Minister, or of the immortal philosopher?

38. But although Casimir Périer did not live long enough to engrave his name in a durable manner on the tablets of French history, yet was he a remarkable man, and worthy of a place in the gallery of historic portraits. A banker and manufacturer by profession, and in possession of a large fortune made by these means, he became a Liberal and a revolutionist, from the natural desire of persons of that description to obtain a lead in public affairs. His mercantile interests, however, which suffered severely from the commercial crisis which ensued on the fall of Charles X., taught him the necessity of peace to the re-establishment of the trading interests of his country. To this object his efforts were mainly directed, this was the leading principle of his policy. The expedition to Ancona was an exceptional measure contrary to his usual system, suggested by the necessity of presenting some object of external excitement to the heated imaginations and real sufferings of the French people, so as to draw off their attention from domestic evils. His mind, however, was bold, his vision clear, his temper warm, his disposition ardent. A civilian by accident, he was a soldier by nature, and a hero in character. He made head against the serious convulsions which occurred during his administration with a vigour worthy of the highest admiration. Had he been the minister of Charles X. instead of Polignac, he would have met the revolt as he did that at Lyons, and the elder branch of the house of Bourbon would in all probability have been still on the throne. He sank at last under the irritation produced by the clear perception he had obtained of the vanity of all his triumphs. He died under the mournful conviction that revolutions brought about by force do nothing but retard the advance of freedom, and that the minister who is called to rule an insurgent people is speedily compelled to have recourse to more severe measures of

noncé que pour le honnir de leurs calomnies, éclate enfin publiquement d'une manière digne d'elle. La première fois que la mère du Duc de Bordeaux fait entendre la voix depuis qu'elle est bannie ce n'est pas pour réclamer un trône, c'est pour offrir quelques secours à des infortunés."—CHATEAUBRIAND, *Œuvres*, xviii. 297.

coercion than those to the exercise of which he owed his elevation.

39. The divided state of opinion in France, and the open resistance in many places of the Republicans to the Government, led at this period to a very singular attempt on the part of the Legitimist party, attended by the most romantic incidents. Ever since they had been assigned Holyrood House at Edinburgh as a residence by the cold and prudent policy of the English Government, the sad court of Charles X. there had been divided into two parties, such as usually in such cases are to be found in the councils of exiled princes. The one, taught by experience, was prudent, cautious, and desirous to await the course of events; the second, ardent, sanguine, and impetuous, and determined to lead them. At the head of the first in Holyrood were Charles X. and the Duchess d'Angoulême; and at Paris, M. de Chateaubriand, M. Berryer, and Marshal Victor. They contemplated no insurrection or violent means, deprecated all attempts to force on the current, and trusted for the hoped-for restoration to the influence of suffering, and the gradual return of the people to more rational sentiments from the experience they had had of the consequences of deviating from them. They expected that Henry V. would be recalled by a vote of the Chambers without shedding a drop of blood. The second party, at the head of which was the Duchess de Berri and M. de Blacas at Holyrood, and M. Beaumont at Paris, thought that it was in vain to wait for a spontaneous ebullition of Royalist feeling on the part of the legislature or people of the capital; and that the time had now come when, by a bold move in the southern and western provinces, it was possible to throw off the ascendancy of the rebellious capital, and re-establish the throne of the legitimate sovereigns.

40. Worn to death with the ennui and dulness of Holyrood, so different from the brilliant fêtes of Naples or the Tuileries, inspired with a heroic contempt of danger, and animated by a generous desire to regain the throne

for her son, of which he had been deprived by the astute ingratitude of the first prince of the blood after the royal family in France, the Duchess de Berri resolved on a great effort to raise the western provinces, and to make the attempt in person. It was thought, not without some show of probability, that the spectacle of a young and charming princess throwing herself, without external aid, on the loyalty of her subjects, and braving hardship, captivity, and death, in the attempt to regain the throne for her son, would not speak in vain to a people once pre-eminent in their attachment to the royal family, and in which the chivalrous feelings were not yet wholly extinct. Charles X., seeing the Princess determined, gave a reluctant consent; and in order to give her the requisite authority, and confer a show of consistency on the expedition, he appointed her regent of the realm during the minority of her son. Various events delayed the departure of the Princess; but at length they were all removed, and she set out from Holyrood on her perilous mission. Travelling through Germany, she crossed the Alps, and reached Naples in safety; but there she found the influence of the new dynasty so powerful that her presence was inopportune, and no assistance could be hoped for. She repaired accordingly to Massa, the little court of which was entirely at her devotion; and there, recognised as Regent of France, at least by her own subjects, and surrounded by a band of faithful adherents, composed of a few women of the highest rank, and men of the most devoted courage, she surrendered herself to the hopes and illusions with which exiles so often beguile the weary hours of banishment from their country.

41. It was not surprising that the young and inexperienced Duchess gave credit to these flattering illusions, for her correspondents from all parts of France represented the new government as tottering, the discontent universal, and everything ripe for a revolt. She was compelled also to try her fortune at once by the representations of

Prince Metternich, who was aware of what was going on, and who, although anything rather than a friend to usurpation, was impressed with a belief that Louis Philippe was the best barrier that could be opposed in the mean time to the revolutionary spirit, and that a Royalist attempt in France would only lead to fresh convulsions, and endanger the peace of Europe. He sent notice to the Duchess, accordingly, that her presence in Massa was inopportune, and that she had better look out for some other asylum. Thus impelled alike by the entreaties of her friends and the menaces of her enemies, the Princess took counsel only of her own courage; orders were given for a general armament and rising, in the provinces in the south and west of France, which were at her devotion. Though local and partial only, the preparations were far from being inconsiderable. In the country between the Sarthe and the Mayenne alone, twenty-six companies had been formed, of fifty men each, well armed with their redoubtable fowling-pieces. In La Vendée and at Marseilles a strong Royalist organisation existed. The measures, such as they were, having been completed, several proclamations were prepared in the name of the Duchess as regent, forbidding the payment of taxes to the revolutionary Government, ordering the disbanding of the army, abolishing the *octroi* duties on wine and salt, permitting the return of the conscripts since 1828 to their homes, and promising a gratuity of three months' pay to the whole army of Africa. All things being in readiness, the Duchess embarked with a few attendants on board the Carlo-Alberto steamboat from Reggio on the 24th April, in the highest spirits, attended by Marshal Bourmont, his son, and a few faithful attendants, and steered for Marseilles, where a rising was expected. Though she appeared always with a joyous visage before others, the Princess was well aware in her secret heart of the perils of her enterprise: she made her will while on board.

42. It was fully expected by the Royalists that a rising in their favour

was to take place at Marseilles, in which city and its environs they had numerous partisans organised for an outbreak. Various impolitic acts on the part of the Government had also violently irritated the feelings of the peasants of La Vendée. Rigorous searches for arms had been made in the whole of that province, and in the course of these the feelings of the inhabitants had been wantonly injured. The monuments of Quiberon and Savenay had been defaced, the statue of Cathelineau mutilated, the column of Stofflet, in the court of the chateau of Maulévrier, broken by orders of the Government, and several peasants slain by the gendarmes in the course of quarrels in the searching for arms. In effect, a rising was prepared at Marseilles on the arrival of the Princess; and the rendezvous was fixed at the Pharo de Planier, in the neighbourhood of Maberly. During the voyage the vessel passed several French ships of war without being discovered, and it was not till midnight on the 28th that the Carlo-Alberto came within sight of the lighthouse. The agreed-on signal was immediately hoisted, by the hanging of two lanterns from the rigging, and a boat came off to take the Princess ashore. At two in the morning, amidst a tempestuous sea and a stormy sky, she stepped on board the boat, then rocking violently, attended by Marshal Bourmont, MM. de Kergolay, de Mesnard, and de Brissac, dressed as fishermen. Her attendants, who remained in the vessel, beheld with anxiety mingled with pride the courage with which she set out on her dangerous adventure, which was increased when she was seen gaily tripping up a narrow and dangerous pathway among rocks, after she landed on the shore, which the most intrepid smugglers did not ascend without apprehension.

43. The intelligence of the landing of the Duchess de Berri was speedily made known to her partisans in Marseilles, and by the imprudence of one of them it came to the ears of the constituted authorities. Preparations were immediately made on both sides; and so strong was the feeling in her

favour among the people, that although all the posts had been doubled, and every precaution taken, the movement at first met with surprising success. The insurgents, to the number of above two thousand, composed chiefly of fishermen from the coast, assembled at the appointed rendezvous on La Tourette, the highest point in the city, from whence Cæsar in former times had directed his attacks against it, and where the Marseillaise women gloriously defended it against the assault of Charles V. Soon the whole quarter was in their possession. Cries of "*Vive Henri Cinq!*" were heard on all sides; and from the cottage where she had waited for the break of day, the Princess, with speechless delight, beheld the white flag waving on the summit of the steeple of St Laurent, the highest point in the place. But her joy was of short duration. The tocsin indeed sounded loudly from the steeple, and the Royalists assembled in great numbers: but few leaders appeared, the majority of those present were unarmed; a great proportion of the crowd was composed of women. First uncertainty, then anxiety, appeared on their countenances. A body which attempted to get possession of the Palais de Justice, where a company of military was stationed, was dispersed by a charge of the bayonet, and their leaders, MM. de Candole, de Bermond, and de Lachau, seized. This proved fatal to the whole enterprise. The crowd dispersed; the Duchess had the pain of seeing the white flag pulled down and replaced by the tricolor on the steeple of St Laurent; and at one o'clock in the afternoon she received from an unknown hand a note containing the words, "The movement has failed; you must leave France."

44. The Princess was sad but not discouraged. At Massa she had had a dream, in which she saw her husband, who said to her, "I approve of your designs: but you will not succeed in the south; you will have no success but in La Vendée." This dream took such possession of her imagination that it produced all the

effect of reality: she saw in her present failure a confirmation of her vision, and the herald of future triumph. Instantly she took her determination, and declared she would cross France to La Vendée. In vain her few counsellors strenuously represented that the enterprise was hopeless; that M. Ker-golay had been arrested the moment he stepped ashore; and that nothing remained but to re-embark on board the Carlo-Alberto, and make for Spain, where a secure asylum would be found. Nothing could shake the determination of the heroic Princess. "I am here now," she said, "and I will remain. Too many people have been compromised for me; I will not abandon them." She set out accordingly on foot, attended only by Marshal Bourmont, disguised as a peasant. Directing their course across fields and by bypaths, to elude pursuit, they lost their way before night in a wood; and the Princess, overwhelmed with fatigue, sank to the ground at the foot of a tree, and fell asleep. The marshal, standing near, watched her slumbers without reposing himself; and thus passed the first night of the regent's sojourn in her dominions.*

45. Louis Philippe, with great humanity, and not less wisdom, had given orders to his cruisers that if the Duchess de Berri was taken she should not be brought to France, but conveyed to Naples, and redelivered to her parents. He felt the same anxiety to save her life which he had done to spare those of the ministers of Charles X. at their memorable trial. This circumstance slackened the pursuit of the Duchess, and was the main cause of her reaching La Vendée in safety. The Carlo-Alberto was soon captured; and among the other attendants of the Princess was a young lady, Made-moiselle Lebesch, who was taken for her, and conveyed to Corsica, where,

* What a scene for a picture! When the time comes, as come it will one day, that the free expression of feeling is permitted in France, the adventures of the Duchess de Berri during her romantic expedition to La Vendée will form a favourite subject of the painter's pencil and of melodramatic representation.

although she did all she could to perpetuate it, the error was ere long discovered. While the delusion lasted, however, it was universally credited, and contributed very much to the safe passage of the Duchess across France. The adventures of the Princess during that long journey, from the rocks of Marseilles to the Bocage of La Vendée, exceed anything that ever was figured in romance or described in poetry. Though she lodged in general in the houses of the Royalist proprietors, where she was perfectly secure, she sometimes ran very great risks on the road, from which she was extricated only by her admirable courage and presence of mind. On one occasion, having lost her way when wandering alone in a wood, she was obliged to pass the night in a miserable shed, of which she herself forced open the door: on another, when driven by hunger to seek human habitation, she boldly presented herself to a Republican, saying, "I am the Duchess de Berri." He had the generosity not to betray the trust. The gendarmes, however, were everywhere on the alert, and but for the fortunate report of her seizure on board the Carlo-Alberto, she would in all probability have been taken. But that mistake stood her in good stead; and at length, after having surmounted a thousand perils, and frequently passed unknown through large bodies of gendarmes, she reached the chateau of Plassac, near Saintes in La Vendée, on the 17th May, and a general rising of her followers was appointed for the 24th of the same month.

46. Great was the disquietude and uneasiness of the Royalists in Paris at these unexpected events. The intrepid character and unalterable resolution of the Princess were well known, as well as the ardent spirit and sanguine temperament of the *preux chevaliers* by whom she was immediately surrounded, so that no modification of her determination was to be looked for. At the same time, the Royalist committee in the capital, far better informed, and awake to the signs of the times, were painfully alive to the

perils, it might be said the hopelessness, of the attempt. Not less chivalrous or loyal than M. de Bourmont and M. de Kergolay, they were more aware of the difficulties it had to encounter. La Vendée was no longer what it had been during its first immortal struggle. Material interests had invaded the Bocage, and divided the feelings of its heroic inhabitants. They were not less brave or loyal than they had been in the days when they followed the standards of Henri Larochefoucauld or M. de Lescure, but they were more dependent on the capital. The great roads which Napoleon had constructed through every part of their territory had not only let in knowledge and information, but opened up to their industry the market of Paris. Their cattle, the produce of their dairies, their sheep, lambs, and wool, were bought up and sent to the metropolis. Men paused before they ventured on a contest of which the dangers were now well known, and which threatened not only to endanger their lives and families, but to deprive them of the means of subsistence. A considerable part of the richest proprietors in the country had bought the national domains, and were attached to the new order of things. Thus, though the majority retained their traditional feelings of loyalty, and the influence of the old families over their tenantry was undiminished, there was a much greater division of opinion in the country, and the same unanimity as formerly in any Royalist movement was no longer to be looked for. M. de Chateaubriand, M. Hyde de Neuville, M. Berryer, and the other enlightened leaders of the Royalists in Paris, were well aware of these changes, and earnestly dissuaded any insurrectionary attempt. Their constant doctrine was to let the Revolution work out its own fruits, the people experience the consequences of their own actions; and in the end suffering would alter their opinions, and the Citizen King would be dethroned by the Chamber which had created him.

47. Although there are probably few persons who will doubt that these

views were, in the circumstances, well founded, and that it would have been well for the Princess if she had adopted them, they were far from being agreeable either to herself or the gallant, though inconsiderate, cavaliers by whom she was surrounded. They persisted in attempting a general rising; the orders to that effect were transmitted to all the Vendean chiefs: and a few days before the day appointed, the Princess, dressed in the costume of the young peasants of La Vendée, repaired on horseback to Mesliers, on the 21st May, the rendezvous appointed for her followers. An artificial head-dress of dark hair concealed her beautiful light locks; she had quite the look of a handsome youth, and took the name of "*Petit Pierre*." But few obeyed the summons, and such as did come portrayed in the strongest terms the hopelessness of the attempt. They represented respectfully, but firmly, that La Vendée had engaged to take up arms only on the occurrence of one of three events—a foreign invasion, the proclamation of a republic, or an insurrection in the south—none of which had occurred, and that it was impossible to induce the peasants to rise. The Princess, with fervent eloquence, and all the passionate earnestness of her sex and country, represented how much she had risked in behalf of the cause, and conjured them to alter their resolution; but in vain. With a smile on her lips, but despair in her heart, she was obliged to dismiss them with a request for a written opinion, which they sent her next day.

48. But next day a letter arrived from Toulon, addressed to the Princess by the name of *Bernard*, which she was known by in the south, which overcame all hesitation on her part. The moment she read the letter, she exclaimed, "Oh my God, all the south is in flames! No, I will not depart;" and immediately sitting down, she wrote to M. Berryer that she had changed her mind, and was determined to persist; and to the Baron de Charette a letter ordering the rising for the 26th May, which terminated with the words:

"My dear friend, do not resign your situation, since *Petit Pierre* has not resigned his." With mournful resolution the Vendean chiefs prepared to obey the summons, and assemblages of five or six hundred men took place in several quarters. But, by a strange fatality, the rising was prevented from becoming general, or acquiring any degree of consistency, by a counter order which had been issued by Marshal Bourmont on the 19th May, which fixed the day for the 4th June. The effect of these opposite and contradictory orders proved fatal to the whole enterprise. The greater part of the chiefs got the order of M. de Bourmont first, and remained quiet; and such as did not get it, finding themselves not supported as they expected, concluded that the attempt had failed, and dismissed their followers. Some conflicts took place between bodies of the peasants and the troops of the line, in which the former displayed all their ancient valour, and in some instances proved victorious. But these detached encounters, however honourable to the Royalists, decided nothing; they were not in sufficient force in any one place to make head against the vastly superior forces of the enemy which were concentrated against them; and ere long their detached bands melted away, and the insurrection was happily terminated without any serious effusion of blood. The finishing-stroke was put to its prospects by the seizure, by General Dérmoncourt, of a packet of papers in the Chateau de la Chaslière, containing the whole details of the conspiracy, and the names of the persons engaged in it.

49. But although the insurrection, considered as a public movement, was thus at an end, yet various tragic incidents occurred in the course of it which attested at once the heroic spirit of the inhabitants, and the dangers which might have threatened the throne of the Citizen King had it been more wisely conducted, or traversed by a less number of unfortunate accidents. In the Chateau of La Penissière forty-five Vendéans were stationed, and they defended themselves so resolutely that it became necessary to set it on fire in

order to overcome them. The upper part of the building was soon in flames, and a circle of bayonets surrounded its base: but they still combated, amidst the music of two trumpets, and cries of "*Vive Henri Cinq!*" and at length, after five of their number had been slain, and when the conflagration had spread into every part of the edifice, they found their way out, and got off unconquered. Unhappily, as in the former war, deeds of heroism on the one side were marked with acts of savage barbarity on the other. A son of the famous Cathelineau was shot dead by the troops of Louis Philippe as he advanced with two companions, saying, "We are disarmed; do not fire." A chateau belonging to M. de Roberie was entered by a body of troops, who put to death the farmer and his wife who occupied it, and barbarously murdered a girl of sixteen in their family. M. Charles de Bascher was surprised by a body of national guards, and severely wounded in his attempt to escape. As they were conducting him a prisoner to Angerfeuille, he became faint from loss of blood, and could not walk as quick as his guards desired. They shot him in consequence on the road, without even according him the quarter of an hour which he requested to make his peace with Heaven!

50. Amidst these scenes of horror, the melancholy result of her rash and ill-starred enterprise, the Duchess de Berri escaped, thanks to the courage and vigilance of her attendants, her own intrepidity and presence of mind, and the unvarying fidelity of the Royalists to whom her place of retreat was known. Her hairbreadth escapes and romantic adventures recall those of Charles-Edward a century before in the mountains of Scotland. Many nights she slept on the ground in the woods; at other times, on the shoulders of her guide, she passed marshes deemed impracticable, with the water up to the middle of those who bore her. On one occasion, when the pursuit was hottest, she found shelter in a ditch covered with bushes, while the soldiers who were following her searched in vain, and probed with

their bayonets every thicket in the wood with which it was environed. The variety, the fatigue, the dangers of her life, had inexpressible charms for a person of her ardent and romantic disposition. She often said, "Don't speak to me of suffering: I never was so happy at Naples or Paris as I am now." More than once she entered towns occupied by the hostile troops disguised as a peasant girl, with the great wooden shoes on her little feet, and conversed gaily with the gendarmes by whom the gates were guarded. Meanwhile the Government, in mortal anxiety at her continued residence in the country, made the utmost efforts to make head against the danger. The four departments of Maine-et-Loire, La Vendée, Loire-Inferieure, and Deux-Sevres, were declared in a state of siege; troops were poured in from all quarters, and soon fifty thousand regular soldiers occupied a district where they had no other foes to contend with but a fugitive Princess and two or three of her devoted cavaliers.

51. External events of no light weight soon, however, occurred, which convinced the heroic Princess that her attempt, for the present at least, had permanently failed of all chance of success. The *Moniteur* announced the interview of the King of the French with the King of the Belgians at Compiègne, and the approaching marriage of Leopold with the Princess Louise, daughter of Louis Philippe. Convinced now that the legitimate sovereigns had abandoned her cause, she saw the necessity of considering her own safety, and after much deliberation, finding that the roads and coasts were alike rigorously guarded, she resolved to remain in France, and selected the city of Nantes as her asylum—a place generally hostile to her cause, where her person was unknown, and where the searches of the Government authorities would not probably be so rigorous as in more suspected quarters. Thither, accordingly, she directed her steps, and she succeeded in entering the town, disguised as a peasant girl, accompanied by

Mdlle. Eulalie de Korsabice. She found an asylum in it in the house of some faithful Royalists, who redeemed the character of human nature, by having the courage, at the hazard of their lives, to afford a shelter to their sovereign in misfortune.

52. So faithfully was the secret kept, that the Princess remained for some months in this place of concealment in safety. By degrees, however, vague rumours reached the Government that the Duchess was either in Nantes, or frequently visited there, accompanied by intelligence that her situation was such that they might, by her capture, and sparing her life, terminate her influence more completely than by destroying it. Orders were accordingly sent to redouble the vigilance of the authorities in Nantes. During this period of anxious suspense she still maintained a correspondence with her adherents, and from her place of concealment issued her orders as Regent of France. She even addressed a letter to the Queen of the French in behalf of the brave Vendéans who were to be brought to trial for having taken up arms in her defence, full of generous and noble sentiments.* The Government acted with equal wisdom and

* "Quelles que soient les conséquences qui peuvent résulter pour moi de la position dans laquelle je me suis mise en remplissant mes devoirs de mère, je ne vous parlerai jamais de mon intérêt, Madame. Mais des braves se sont compromis pour la cause de mon fils; je ne saurais me refuser à tenter pour les sauver ce qui peut se faire honorablement.

"Je prie donc ma tante, son bon cœur et sa religion me sont connus, d'employer tout son crédit pour intéresser en leur faveur. Le porteur de cette lettre donnera des détails sur leur situation; il dira que les juges qu'on leur donne sont des hommes contre lesquels ils se sont battus.

"Malgré la différence actuelle de nos situations, un volcan est aussi sous vos pas, Madame; vous le savez. J'ai connu vos terreurs bien naturelles à une époque où j'étais en sûreté et je n'y ai pas été insensible. Dieu seul connaît ce qu'il nous destine, et peut être un jour me saurez vous gré d'avoir pris confiance dans votre bonté, et de vous avoir fourni l'occasion d'en faire usage envers mes amis malheureux. Croyez à ma reconnaissance. Je vous souhaite le bonheur, Madame. Car j'ai trop bonne opinion de vous pour croire qu'il soit possible que vous soyez heureuse dans votre situation. —MARIE CAROLINE."—LOUIS BLANC, iii. 379.

humanity in the prosecution of the accused. Twenty-two were placed at the bar, but the prosecutions were so managed that the greater part escaped, and such as were convicted were sentenced to imprisonment only. M. Berryer was brought to trial; but such was the public admiration for his talents and exalted character, that he was acquitted, in a manner, by acclamation, almost immediately after the proceedings commenced. The Government had no need of severity: they were about to strike a blow at the chief of the conspiracy, which they felt assured would paralyse it in the whole of its ramifications.

53. At this time there was in France a renegade Jew named Deutz, who had unfortunately acquired the confidence of the Pope and of the Duchess de Berri. This wretch had for some time been soliciting the employment of a traitor from M. Montalivet: it is one of the misfortunes of statesmanship that it brings men into contact with such characters. At length he obtained the treacherous employment he desired. He had long been in the confidence of the royal family, had travelled in the suite of Mademoiselle Bourmont from London to Italy, and had been charged, at the Pope's recommendation, with important despatches from the Princess to the Queen of Spain and Dom Miguel. He was even then, however, in correspondence with the opposite party, and had been sent on a secret errand to Nantes by M. Thiers. Deutz undertook, for a large reward, to discover the Princess's place of concealment at Nantes, and in this attempt he proved too successful. Arrived there, he succeeded in persuading some influential Royalists that he had important despatches for the Duchess, which must be delivered into her own hands, and that it was necessary, therefore, that he should have a personal interview with her royal highness. This was accordingly granted: the Princess received him in the kindest manner, in a house where she usually saw visitors, conversed with him familiarly, and said to one of her attendants, "This is a good

Breton, faithful and devoted without bounds."

54. As he was not made acquainted at this interview with the Princess's place of retreat, Dentz solicited and obtained a second interview, which was fixed for the 6th November. Of this place of meeting he informed the police; and to enhance the value of his treachery, he endeavoured, though without effect, to persuade Marshal Bourmont to accompany him, in order that they might both be taken at once. The Princess, however, came, and immediately after the house was surrounded by troops, and the police officers, with pistols in their hands, entered it. Her royal highness had only time to take refuge with Mdlles. de Korsabice, Mesnard, and Guebourg, in a little space formed behind the apartment, in the angle between two walls and the roof, the entrance of which was at the back of the chimney-piece. The police searched the house in the most rigorous manner in vain; but meanwhile the Princess was undergoing the most exerceuiating suffering. So small was their place of refuge, that she and her three attendants were obliged alternately to put their mouths to a little aperture, three inches across, which was the sole communication with the external air. To add to their sufferings, the gendarmes in the room lighted, on the approach of night, a fire in the grate, which converted the space behind into a burning oven. At length, after enduring tortures for sixteen hours, the sufferings of the prisoners became so great that they were obliged to come out and deliver themselves up. "Gentlemen," said the Princess, as she emerged from her place of concealment, "you have made war on me à la St Laurent. I have nothing to reproach myself with: I have only discharged the duty of a mother to regain the inheritance of her son."*

55. The Princess was treated by General Dermoncourt with the respect and courtesy due to her rank, and conducted a prisoner to the castle of Nan-

* Alluding to the martyrdom of St Laurent by being roasted on a gridiron.

tes. From thence she was embarked two days afterwards, attended by her faithful ladies, with no other effects than what she could carry in her handkerchief, on board a brig, and conducted to the castle of Blaye, where she was guarded, like Queen Mary in Lochleven or Fotheringay, with the most jealous care, and where, like her immortal predecessor, she bore a prolonged and tedious captivity with cheerfulness and gaiety. The *dénouement*, however, of the drama, if less tragic, was more withering than that of the Scottish heroine. Unhappily, the Princess, with all the courage and chivalry of the heroic character, possessed also the ardour and *insouciance* which is so often its accompaniment. She had all the intrepidity of Clorinda, but unfortunately she had also, with the charms, the facility of Armida. It was known to the Government of Louis Philippe that at this time she was *en-cinte*, and with cold and calculating prudence they calmly awaited till time brought about its natural result. After an imprisonment of some months, she herself announced her pregnancy to the Cabinet of the Tuileries.* The utmost pains were immediately taken to give her every assistance which her situation required, and on the 10th May she was safely delivered of a daughter, who was declared to be the issue of the Princess and Count Hector Lucchese-Palli, Count of Campo-Franco, one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber of the King of the Two Sicilies. The object of the Government was now gained; the Princess was discredited; her followers were in despair. The romance had terminated in ridicule, and she was permitted by the Government with her infant quietly to return to Italy.

56. Long before this *dénouement* of the romantic drama in La Vandée occurred, a great democratic movement

* "Poussée par les circonstances et par les mesures ordonnées par les Gouvernements, quoique j'eusse les motifs les plus graves pour tenir mon mariage secret, je crois devoir à moi-même ainsi qu'à mes enfans de déclarer m'être mariée secrètement pendant mon séjour en Italie. — MARIE CAROLINE. 22d Feb. 1833."—CAPEFIGUE, vii. 69, note.

had taken place in the capital, and Paris had been the theatre of conflicts so determined and bloody as to throw those which overturned Charles X. into the shade. The Republican party there had long been in a state of the utmost discontent, in consequence of the entire failure of their hopes from the results of the Revolution of July, and the clear evidence which was now afforded that they had only revolted to fix chains about their necks incomparably heavier and more irremovable than those which were around them under the former government of Polignac and his priests. The extreme suffering which had long prevailed, especially among the working classes, from the dreadful shock to credit and vast diminution of consumption which had resulted from that convulsion, had inclined nearly the whole of them to the same sentiments, and the democratic press was unanimous in ascribing everything complained of to the tyrannical Government of Louis Philippe, and its departure from the principles of the Revolution of July. So far did the agitation proceed, that a meeting of all the Opposition was held at Lafitte's, at which it was agreed to make an appeal to the people—in other words, commence an insurrection; and a committee was appointed, consisting of M. de Lafayette, M. Odillon Barrot, M. Mauguin, and other Liberal deputies, to draw up an address to the nation. But before it could be prepared, or the requisite organisation made for effecting a general insurrection, an event occurred which brought on the crisis, and precipitated matters sooner than the leaders of the movement had intended. This was the death of General Lamarque, which took place at Paris on the 1st June, at the age of sixty years.

57. Though one of the generals of the Empire, this respectable veteran was not so much distinguished by his exploits in the field as by the celebrity he had acquired since the Restoration by his eloquence on the popular side in the tribune. In consequence of this circumstance, Napoleon, who prized that weapon as much when wielded

on his side in adversity, as he detested it when directed against him in prosperity, had recommended him on his deathbed at St Helena for a Marshal of France. Those implicated in the Hundred Days had found in him a zealous protector, a faithful friend; his efforts in behalf of the Poles had endeared him to every one of that ardent and chivalrous race; and the whole democratic party looked up to him as their guardian and future leader, when the final contest should commence. The *bourgeois* party had made a grand display on occasion of the funeral of M. Casimir Périer, and the Revolutionists resolved on a counter pageant on so heart-stirring an event as the obsequies of General Lamarque. The violent leaders were induced to make arrangements for rendering it the commencement of an insurrection, by the decree which appeared three days after in the columns of the *Moniteur*, declaring the four western departments in a state of siege. This extreme measure, always unpopular in France, made the Revolutionists regard the disturbances in La Vendée as much more serious than they really were, and conclude, not without reason, that they should not let slip the present opportunity, never likely to recur, when a formidable Royalist insurrection in the districts of the west might be combined with a great democratic movement in the capital. Orders were therefore given by all the popular committees for an immense assemblage of people for the funeral, which was fixed for the 5th June; and preparations were secretly made, by the distribution of arms and ammunition to the persons who could be trusted, for making it the commencement of a general insurrection against the Government.

58. The funeral procession was to set out from the house in the Rue St Honoré, where the deceased had died, and proceed by the Madeleine and the Chateau d'Eau, along the boulevards, to the Place of the Bastille, in its way to the place of sepulture in the south of France. Immense preparations had been made to give it all the solemnity

and magnificence possible, and calculated in every way to affect the imagination of the people. A splendid car was prepared, on which the body was to be placed, and numerous deputations from all the public bodies in Paris were to follow the vehicle. At their head was a large part of the Chamber of Deputies, headed by Marshal Clausel, General Lafayette, M. Lafitte, and M. Manguin, who bore the four corners of the pall. The car was covered with tricolor flags and *immortelles*. Nearly the whole of the popular societies, Les Amis du Peuple, La Société des Droits de l'Homme, La Société Gauloise, and La Société de l'Organisation des Municipalités, came next. From daybreak an immense crowd collected all along the Rue St Honoré, in the Place Louis XV., and the whole way along the boulevards, where the procession was to pass, in which, in addition to the numerous and sturdy Republicans of Paris, were to be seen great numbers of ardent refugees of all nations. Among them the Poles were particularly conspicuous, by their number, daring look, and the interest which they excited among the bystanders. Banners of various devices, but all of the most decided revolutionary tendency, floated over the crowd in all directions; and from the anxiety manifest in all visages, and the eager conferences which were going on in the agitated groups in every quarter, it was evident that a great design was in contemplation, and that the huge multitude had not assembled merely to do honour to the dead, but with some dark designs against the living.

59. Aware of the danger which menaced them, the Government had made preparations on the greatest scale to meet it. There was none of the infatuation and *insouciance* with which Prince Polignac and the priests had met the revolt of July. 18,000 infantry of the line, 4000 cavalry, and 2000 municipal guards were in Paris itself, with 80 pieces of cannon, ready equipped. In addition to these forces, there were 30,000 regular troops in the environs of the capital, who might

be called in at a moment's notice, and the Government could depend on the support of at least 6000 of the national guard, chiefly from the *banlieue* or environs of the capital. Those of Paris were for the most part not relied on, as their known disposition rendered it more than doubtful which side they would take in the approaching conflict. But without them, the Government had 60,000 men and 120 guns at their disposal, and they were distributed so as to occupy, or be ready on a short notice to occupy, all the most important posts and streets in the capital. But, on the other hand, the insurgents, or those inclined to side with them, were above 100,000, of whom a great proportion were old soldiers or national guards, well acquainted with the use of arms; and it was easy to foresee that, if any vacillation were to appear in the troops of the line, or even a few of them were to join the insurgents, the regular soldiers would soon have the whole working-population of Paris on their hands.

60. The procession set out from the Rue St Honoré at ten o'clock, but from the very outset the disorder and excitement were so great, that it was evident it would never terminate without a serious convulsion. When it reached the corner of the Rue de la Paix, it was forcibly turned aside from the intended route, and obliged to go round the Pillar of Austerlitz, in the Place Vendôme, by a crowd of enthusiastic young men. The troops at the Hôtel de l'Etat Major in the Place withdrew when the disorderly mob approached; instantly the cry arose, "They are insulting the manes of Lamarque!" and the soldiers were forced to turn out and salute the car to avoid an immediate collision. Cries of "*Vive la République!*" were now heard, and the sombre menacing aspect of the immense crowd too surely presaged an approaching storm. The general indignation was roused to the highest point by the appearance of the Duke de Fitz-James at the balcony of his hôtel, with his hat on his head, as the cortège passed; a volley of stones drove him quickly back, and broke

every window in his dwelling. The crowd increased at every step as they proceeded in their course along the boulevards towards the Chateau d'Eau. Several police officers, stationed along the line marked out for the procession, were desperately wounded by the people. Arms were seen in many hands, and in a transport of enthusiasm, numbers climbed up the trees in the boulevards to break off branches that might serve as weapons of offence. It was plain to every one that an insurrection was approaching; things had not looked so threatening at the commencement of the Revolution of July; the fidelity of the troops was evidently wavering, and there were few in the multitude who did not think it was all over with the Government of Louis Philippe. "Where are they leading us to?" cried a voice from a group of students in one of the most crowded parts of the boulevards. "To the Republic!" answered the leader of a division decorated with the medal of July; "rest assured, we shall sleep to-night in the Tuileries."

61. A hundred and fifty scholars of the Polytechnic School, who had forced their way out of their establishment, joined the procession at the corner of the Rue du Temple, near the Chateau d'Eau, and their arrival, which was received with loud cries of "*Vive la liberté!*" "*Vive les élèves de l'Ecole Polytechnique!*" roused the people to a perfect climax of enthusiasm. No one doubted of victory, now that these renowned champions of July had arrived to range themselves by their side. It was only a question when the insurrection should begin; many thought it was too long delayed. They went on, however, in the utmost disorder, the huge car drawn by enthusiastic bands, shouting "*Vive la République!*" "*A bas Louis Philippe!*" "*Vive Lamarque!*"—through the Place of the Bastille, as far as the Bridge of Austerlitz, where the funeral oration was to be pronounced, and the ceremony was to close, preparatory to the departure of the body for the place of sepulture in the Pyrenees. General Umenski and M. Mauguin pronounced the speeches.

"Lamarque," said the former, "worthy representative of the people, you were ours; you belonged to the human race. All people who love freedom will shed tears at your tomb. In raising your noble voice for Poland, you served the cause of all nations as well as France. You served the cause of liberty, that of the interests dearest to humanity; you defended it against that Holy Alliance which grew up on the tomb of Poland, and which will never cease to threaten the liberties of the world, till the crime which cemented it shall have been effaced by the resurrection of its unfortunate victim. You have deserved, Lamarque, the eternal gratitude of the Polish people." "Before we separate," said Marshal Clausel, "for ever from the mortal remains of Lamarque, allow me to inscribe, in the name of the army, a last homage on his tomb. We will feel his want when the work, as yet imperfect, has need of all hands; and the fall of Lamarque, gifted with such prodigious powers of labour, resounds through the world like the fall of many men. Adieu, Lamarque! Adieu, in the name of soldiers of all grades! I bow before your coffin."

62. It may be conceived what enthusiasm these eloquent words, addressed at the moment of separating from the mortal remains of their beloved leader, produced in the people. Such was the general agitation, that Lafayette, who still hesitated, called for his carriage, and hastily entered it. Instantly the crowd unharnessed the horses, and began to draw the vehicle, amidst cries of "*Vive Lafayette!*" "*Vive la République!*" He was urged to go at once to the Hôtel de Ville and establish a provisional government; but his habitual indecision withheld him at a moment when he might have overturned the throne. The carriage was still moving forward with difficulty through the prodigious crowd which choked up every part of the Place, when the cry arose, "The dragoons, the dragoons!" and the glittering helmets and breastplates of the cuirassiers were seen in dense array advancing through the throng. Instantly the

cry arose, "To the barricades!" "*Vive la République!*" and the front rank of the soldiers, unable to force their way in line through the compact crowd, was broken into small bodies, and soon engaged in single combat with the most daring of the revolutionists. Blood flowed on all sides; and so dense was the mass of the populace, and so determined the front which they presented, that the cuirassiers, after several attempts, found themselves unable to pass through. Orders were therefore given for a retreat; and the withdrawal of the military was the signal for a general insurrection. In the twinkling of an eye, the whole of the faubourgs St Antoine and St Marceau, so well known in the worst days of the Revolution, were in motion: the boulevards from the Place of the Bastille to the Passage du Saumon were filled with ardent multitudes preparing for the conflict; and before intelligence of what was going forward could reach the Tuileries, barricades were already erected in the narrow streets in the centre of the city, and above a third of the metropolis, embracing its most densely inhabited quarters, was in the hands of the insurgents.

63. Foreseeing that a conflict was approaching, the King had left St Cloud in the morning, and sat in council with his ministers in the Tuileries all forenoon. At three in the afternoon, intelligence arrived that a prodigious crowd filled the boulevards, that seditious cries had been heard, and soon after that the contest had commenced, and appeared to be very serious. At Marshal Soult's suggestion, orders were in consequence immediately despatched for all the troops within thirty miles of Paris to march upon the capital, and the whole national guard of the city and its environs called out. Before nightfall the *générale* beat in all the streets, and all Paris was in motion, some hurrying to their rallying-points assigned by Government, some to the posts occupied in strength by the insurgents. By this means it was calculated that by noon on the following day, Government would have at its disposal 50,000 troops of the line, and an

equal number of national guards; and if the latter remained faithful, it seemed impossible that the insurrection could maintain its ground against so prodigious an armed force.

64. Everything, however, depended on the fidelity of the troops of the line and the national guard, for the capital was in such a state of effervescence that the most determined resistance from the working classes might confidently be expected, and the defection of even a few regiments might neutralise the rest, and at once overturn the Government. During the evening and night of the 5th, everything appeared to prognosticate success to the insurgents; indeed, the contest seemed well-nigh decided. Nearly a half of the city was in their undisputed possession; barricades were rapidly rising in the centre of the capital; the armourers' shops had been generally broken into and pillaged; and a considerable number of the national guard in the suspected quarters had already joined them. At nine o'clock a mysterious meeting was held at M. Lafitte's, who might truly be called, like the Last of the Barons, Warwick, "the Knocker-down and Putter-up of Kings." It was not numerously attended; the majority awaited the course of events before declaring themselves; but by such as did come the most violent sentiments were uttered. The word "Dethronement" was openly pronounced; and to complete the resemblance to the similar meeting in the same room which had directed the movement which overthrew Charles X., M. de Lafayette arrived before midnight to "discuss the situation of affairs." These were ominous words, coming from such a quarter, and they were accordingly discussed in every view. An address to the King, a movement in the Chambers, a change of government, of dynasty, were alternately brought into review; but at length the majority ranged themselves with the opinion of M. de Lafayette, that they should await the course of events, and declare for that side which the future should prove to be in the ascendant.

65. During the night, however, the

insurrection made very great progress on both sides of the Seine. Several posts were stormed, and the arms they contained distributed to the people; and in some encounters between detached parties of the military and the insurgents, the latter had proved victorious. Before ten at night the Republicans were masters of the Arsenal, of the posts of the Galiote, and the Chateau d'Eau; they were in entire possession of the Marais and the eighth arrondissement; the manufactory of arms in the Rue Popincourt had fallen into their hands, with twelve hundred muskets; they had advanced close to the Place des Victoires, and were preparing to assault the Bank, the Post-office, and the Barrack des Petits Frères. But the great centre of their strength was in the Rue St Martin and the adjoining streets, which were all strongly fortified with barricades, and where the headquarters of the insurrection had been established. The dragoons had been defeated by the people in attempting to retake that post, and it remained in their hands; the Halle aux Vins had been passed, and all the southern bank of the river as far as the Pantheon had fallen into their power. But the great points of the Tuileries, the Louvre, the Hôtel de Ville, the Post-office, and the other public offices, were still in the hands of the Government, which remained in possession of the entire city to the westward of the Place de Grève.

66. While the advantages of position were thus, after the first day's encounter, so nearly balanced between the contending parties, a similar equality prevailed in the moral influences by which the struggle was still more likely in the end to be determined. The insurgents had committed what turned out to be a grievous mistake in the outset, by hoisting the *drapeau rouge*, and displaying several *chapeaux rouges* in the crowd when the disturbance first began. That fatal ensign stamped its character upon the insurrection, and in most places deterred the middle ranks and national guard from joining it. On the other hand, the working classes, especially in the centre and eastern

quarters of the city, were in such extreme misery, from the effects of the Revolution of July, that it might reasonably be expected that they would, if the contest was prolonged, nearly all join in the revolt; the national guard in many quarters were notoriously disaffected, and not a few of their uniforms were to be seen in the opposite ranks; and the regular troops, shaken by the events of July, and the rewards then bestowed on those who had violated their oaths, were in a very vacillating state, and some of them, particularly the sappers and miners in the Rue Sainte Catherine, had openly sided with the insurrection. Even where they did obey the *général*, which beat in every quarter of Paris, the national guards turned out in very small numbers, and with evident reluctance; the horrors of civil warfare were present to every mind; wives, mothers, and sisters were indefatigable in their efforts to keep them at home; and such as did appear at their rallying points came with downcast looks and anxious visages, rather like martyrs going to the stake than the defenders of their country marching to victory.

67. The measures taken at the Tuileries in this crisis were characterised by vigour, tempered by prudence. The King and Ministers sat in council all night, and at six on the morning of the 6th, when accounts had been received on all sides of the rapid progress of the insurgents, the question was proposed by the Monarch, whether the capital should be declared in a state of siege? Many members of the council thought it should; but the King, who was always averse to decisive measures, declared that, in his opinion, so extreme a step should be reserved for the last extremity, that they should await the course of events, and in the mean time measures of repression only should be attempted. As it was known also what had taken place the preceding night at Lafitte's, several members of the council strongly urged the arrest of Lafayette and Lafitte; but this too the King opposed as too bold a measure—a sort of *coup d'état*, which was unnecessary, as the

former was a vain garrulous old man, incapable of taking a vigorous resolution, and the latter was, he knew, in secret attached to himself. Orders were, however, given for the arrest of M. Garnier Pages, M. Cabet, and M. Laboissière; and three important decrees were agreed to, which immediately appeared in the columns of the *Moniteur*. By the first, the artillery of the national guard of Paris was disbanded; by the second, the military Veterinary School of Alfort was disbanded; by the third, the Polytechnic School was dissolved, the scholars ordered to be sent to their homes, and the few who had remained faithful directed to form the nucleus of a new establishment. Orders had previously been given to the police to enter the printing-offices of the *Tribune*, the *Quotidienne*, the *Courrier de l'Europe*, the *National*, the *Courrier Français*, the *Journal du Commerce*, and the *Corsaire*, and break their presses to pieces, lest they should be used to throw off proclamations addressed to the workmen; and this was accordingly done. This was the very thing most complained of on the part of the Polignac Administration, and which had brought on the Revolution of July; but Louis Philippe was doomed in every stage of his career to be the author of the justification of Charles X.

68. It was not, however, by decrees on paper that the formidable insurrection which had broken out in Paris was to be put down; and in devising measures for this purpose, Marshal Soult displayed all his wonted vigour and capacity. His plan was to act as they had done at Lyons—destroy all the barricades at once, and crush the insurrection in its centre by a vast and converging attack of military force. Probably all will agree that this is the proper way to act when you have such a force: the difficulty is, what to do when you have it not, or it proves traitor in your hands. To carry out this plan, every preparation was made as for a pitched battle with the whole military strength of Prussia or Austria, and the force employed was equal to that which conquered at Jena or

Austerlitz. The entire national guard of Paris, except the artillery, which had been disbanded, was summoned; that of the *banlieue*, for a circuit fifteen miles round the capital, was marched in with the utmost expedition; and all the troops within twenty miles received their orders over-night, and came rapidly in on the morning and forenoon of the 6th. But the national guard of the capital, as usual, failed at the decisive moment; many of its battalions never made their appearance at all; of those which did come, nearly two-thirds were absent. Not so the national guard of the *banlieue*; they presented themselves early at the place of rendezvous in the Carrousel in great and unexpected strength. Instead of 6000, who alone were expected, 10,000 had obeyed the summons of the generals, and their determined looks, serried ranks, and loud cheers, as they marched past the King at the gate of the Tuileries, proved that there were men in France who could be relied on in the hour of danger. Living in the country, and engaged in agricultural pursuits, they were strangers to the passions and changes of the capital; and the opinion was universal amongst them, that Paris was in the hands of a set of assassins and plunderers, who, after sacking it, and destroying the market for their produce, would end by imposing a *maximum* on the price of agricultural productions, as their predecessors had done in 1793. Altogether, Marshal Soult found himself, at ten o'clock on the 6th, at the head of 60,000 regular troops, of whom 6000 were cavalry, with 120 guns, besides 20,000 national guards, more than half of whom might safely be relied on in the approaching conflict.

69. Great as these forces were, they were by no means incommensurate to the danger which threatened, for the progress of the insurgents during the night and early in the morning had been immense. Before nightfall they had forced one of the bridges, and opened up the communications between the southern and northern quarters of the city; they had carried with great slaughter the posts of the Bastille, the Marché

St Martin, and the Blancs Manteaux; and at seven in the morning they had erected a strong barricade across the entrance of the Petit Pont de l'Hôtel Dieu, defeated a part of the 25th regiment sent to destroy it, and surrounded on all sides the Prefecture of Police, which was hourly expected to fall into their hands. Steadily advancing from the eastern parts and centre of the city, and fortifying every street they carried with barricades, they were rapidly approaching the Hôtel de Ville and Post-office, and might soon be expected in the Place des Victoires around the Palais Royal, and in front of the Louvre. The intelligence of these events excited the utmost alarm at the Tuileries; consternation was painted in every visage; the throne of the Citizen King seemed to be crumbling before the very forces which had created it. The palace no longer presented its wonted crowded aspect; there was no throng in the ante-chamber; numbers were slipping away. The persons in office were already secreting their most valuable effects: it was openly proposed in the council that the Tuileries should be abandoned. Were they to remain there till a sudden panic seized the troops, or the defection of a single regiment gave them an entrance, as on the 29th July 1830? What was most dreaded was that General Lafayette or Marshal Clausel should join the movement, and give it the weight of their military and political influence. Certain it is that Armand Carrel had a mysterious interview during the night with Marshal Clausel; but he found him undetermined, and unwilling to commit himself till some of the troops had revolted. Strange to say, the advice to abandon the Tuileries came from Marshal Soult himself, and was opposed by M. Gisquet, the head of the police; and nothing is more certain than that, if either Clausel or Lafayette had joined the insurgents, a part of the troops would have gone with them, and it would have been all over with the monarchy of the Citizen King.

70. But although politically timid, Soult's military measures were char-

acterised by vigour and resolution. To secure the fidelity of the national guards, he intermingled their battalions among the troops of the line, and the forces thus united were placed in enormous strength on either side of the centre of the insurrection. Thirty thousand men were stationed on the boulevards, from the Porte St Denis to the Place of the Bastille, and an equal force along the quays, from the Bridge of Austerlitz to the Pont des Arts. Between these two arms of iron Soult hoped to crush the insurgents, who, although not inferior in number if their forces had all been concentrated, were not yet all collected, were by no means equal to the regular troops in arms or equipment, and were entirely destitute of artillery. Finding themselves, by this immense accumulation of forces, reduced to the defensive, the insurgents strengthened themselves as much as possible in the densely-peopled part of the city which they had selected for their stronghold, where the height of the houses, generally of five or six storeys, gave every facility for a dropping fire of musketry, and the narrowness of the streets rendered easy the construction of the most formidable barricades. Their headquarters were re-established in the CLOISTER OF ST MÉRI, which became famous in the desperate conflict which ensued; and all the streets leading to it on either side, especially the Rue des Arcis and the Rue de la Verrerie, were barricaded in the strongest manner. There the revolutionists resolved to maintain the conflict to the very last extremity, in the hope that the national guards might refuse to assault their barricades, or that the defection of one or two regiments of the line might, as on the former revolt, open them the path to victory, the Tuileries, and empire.

71. The order for a general attack upon the insurgents was given at seven in the morning, and immediately commenced with great vigour and immense numbers. The first assault was made on the barricades of the Bastille and of the Faubourg St Antoine, and they were carried after an obstinate

resistance. Steadily advancing as they cleared the streets of the obstructions, the victorious troops gained ground to the westward as far as the Rue St Antoine and the Barrière du Trône, and penetrated into the narrow streets flanked on either side with lofty stone buildings, which form the centre of Paris. The Bridge of Austerlitz was at the same time stormed, and the troops cleared the quays and the narrow streets running into them. Still the central position of the insurgents in the Rue St Martin and at the Cloister de St Méri remained in their hands; and though the combatants there were not numerous, they held a very strong position, and they were animated with the most heroic resolution. All the houses were filled with musketeers, who kept up a deadly dropping fire upon every column which approached them, and the strength of the barricades, solidly constructed of stone, seemed to defy the discharges even of the heaviest artillery. The desperate resolution with which the insurgents had defended themselves in several quarters, particularly in a house near the Passage du Saumon, where they combated to the last man, pre-saged a bloody encounter in this their last stronghold. The tocsin incessantly sounded from the summit of the church of St Méri to call the Republicans to the decisive point, and they were not wanting to the appeal. Young women, children of twelve years of age, old men tottering on the verge of the grave, flocked to the scene of danger, and stood side by side with the manly combatants. Never had there been in the long annals of the revolutionary conflicts such universal enthusiasm and determined resolution on the part of the Republicans.

72. The troops first brought up to assault this formidable position were some battalions of the national guard of Paris, which, ignorant of the strength of its opponents, advanced gaily as to certain victory. Assailed by a close fire from the barricade in the Rue St Martin, the front rank first hesitated and then recoiled: a plunging discharge of surprising accuracy from the

windows next threw the whole column into disorder. In wild confusion they fled back to the quays, throwing their arms and shakos away, and dispersed in all directions. Upon this Soult brought up several pieces of the heaviest field-artillery, and gave the insurgents ten minutes to surrender at discretion. When the time had elapsed, without any tender of submission, the guns opened and battered the barricades for some time with the utmost violence. When they appeared to be ruined by the fire, several battalions of the national guard of the *banlieue* were moved forward, and formed in column close behind the guns, while howitzers in their rear threw shells over their heads into the space behind the barricades. After a general discharge, and before the smoke had cleared away, the men rushed forward at the *pas de charge*, and succeeded, though with heavy loss, in scrambling over the barricades. The insurgents upon this retreated into the adjoining houses, but there with desperate courage they fought to the last. Sixty in a corner house at the junction of the Rue de St Méri and Rue des Arcis, maintained the contest till their last cartridge was exhausted, when nearly the whole of them perished under the bayonets of the infuriated assailants. Scarcely any quarter was either asked or given, and many savage deeds disgraced the triumph of the soldiers of order. This bloody triumph closed the contest and extinguished the revolt. In the last resort the throne of the Citizen King was saved, neither by the valour of its regular infantry, nor the chivalry of its steel-clad cuirassiers, but by the courage of the national guard of the *banlieue*, composed of the market-gardeners and milk-hucksters of Paris, who, untainted by the passions of the capital, and exasperated by the stoppage of the sale of their humble produce in its markets, flocked to the theatre of conflict, and were hurried over the barricades almost before they knew what they were doing.*

* The author visited the theatre of this conflict shortly after. The walls were all perforated by grape-shot or cannon-balls, the

73. Physically brave, the politically irresolute Louis Philippe acted a noble part on this occasion. He had insisted on the Queen and the Princess Adelaide, who were a prey to the most dreadful apprehensions, accompanying him from St Cloud to Paris when the insurrection began; and at mid-day on the 6th, before the firing had yet ceased in the central parts of the city, he set out on horseback, accompanied by his sons and chief officers, to review the troops. The courageous act, as is generally the case on such occasions, excited general admiration, and the cortège was loudly applauded as it proceeded along the Rue de Rivoli, the Rue de la Paix, and the boulevards, to the Place de la Bastille, and back by the quays to the Louvre. The King was not actually under fire; but in the crowded streets and excited state of the population, he ran no small risk of being assassinated by some of the political fanatics with whom the capital at that time abounded. The garrison of Paris had 55 killed and 240 wounded in this combat; the national guard, chiefly of the *banlieue*, 18 killed and 104 wounded. The loss on the side of the insurgents was never distinctly known: but 93 dead bodies and 291 wounded persons were brought to the public hospitals—probably not more than a half of the real sufferers on the occasion, who were withdrawn as much as possible, after the revolt failed, from public sight by their relations. Fifteen hundred of them were made prisoners.

74. A meeting of the liberal deputies was again held at M. Lafitte's, on the morning of the 6th, to discuss the "*eventualities*" which might occur. Beyond all doubt, they assembled to deliberate on the dethronement of the King; but the course of events induced

windows and doors smashed to atoms, and marks of the most desperate strife in every room. The only surprising thing appeared to be how any one, either of the assailants or defenders, survived such a dreadful conflict. It is the defence of this barricade which is described with such graphic power in Victor Hugo's wonderful historic romance, *Les Misérables*.

them to alter their views. When the display of troops proved that revolt was hopeless, and the discharge of cannon told that the Cloister of St Méri was in process of being stormed, they quietly slipped over to the other side, and sought only to mitigate the victors' wrath. A deputation, consisting of M. Arago, M. Odillon Barrot, and M. Lafitte, was appointed to wait upon the King, *congratulate him on his victory*, and implore him to temper justice with mercy in the moment of triumph. The deputation, which forcibly recalled that of which the same Arago had formed a part to Marmont two years before, during the revolt of July, arrived at the Tuileries immediately after the King's return from his progress through the city. They could not have arrived more inopportunistly than when the monarch had just witnessed with his own eyes the extremities to which the violence of factions had reduced his capital. In vain M. Odillon Barrot represented, with all the eloquence of which he was master, that the excesses all originated in the coercive system commenced by M. Casimir Périer and the Cabinet of 13th March; that it had led to revolts within, loss of influence and consideration without; that it had induced the insurrections of Grenoble and Lyons, the putting four departments in the west in a state of siege; in fine, in a rebellion which had bathed Paris in blood. "We beseech you, Sire!" he concluded, "to shut your ears to those who would counsel measures of violence in the moment of victory. In that career, allow us to say, it is difficult to stop when you have once entered. You have triumphed in the name of the law; but the triumph is for ever to be deplored, for it has been purchased by the blood of the French."

75. "Who is responsible for these disorders?" interrupted the King; "who must answer for the blood which has been shed? The miserable wretches who took advantage of the funeral of General Lamarque to attack the Government by open force—to fire on the troops of the line and the na-

tional guard? My duty was traced out in characters which cannot be misunderstood. The cannon you have heard is that which has demolished the barricades of St Méri: the revolt is terminated. I do not know what can lead you to suppose that violent measures are to be adopted, but, rely upon it, they are loudly called for. During my ride through the city I repeatedly heard the cry, 'Sire, a prompt justice.' That is enough: but I trust justice will be able to resume its course without violence of any sort. I see nothing in my conduct which should make me lose my popularity, if it is not the violence of the opposite factions. I know the press is constantly endeavouring to destroy me, but it is by the aid of falsehood. I ask you, Is there any person of whom you have ever heard against whom a greater torrent of calumny has been poured forth than myself?" The conference broke up with no other result but increased exasperation on both sides; and it soon appeared that the King had abated nothing of his firm resolution by their endeavours. Next morning there appeared in the columns of the *Moniteur* an ordonnance, dated June 6, declaring Paris in a state of siege, and the most rigorous measures were adopted by the police against the secret societies and the printing-offices of the liberal journals.

76. How necessary soever the ordonnance of June 6th, proclaiming the state of siege, may have been in this excited state of the metropolis, it met immediately with the most impassioned resistance from all parties. Republicans, Legitimists, Carlists, Napoleonists, united in condemning it as harsh and unnecessary, seeing the revolt had already been suppressed before it was issued. It was a more extreme measure than the ordinances of Polignac, for it superseded, in all cases connected with the insurrection, the ordinary tribunals, substituted courts-martial for juries, and, as explained by an ordonnance on the following day, applied also to delinquencies of the press.* This ominous

declaration excited the utmost indignation in that numerous and influential body who, in a highly civilised state of society, live by inflaming the passions of the moment, whatever they are. The storm was universal, and violent in the extreme; and it was no easy matter for Government, resting on the support only of the military and civil *employés*, to make head against it. The general excitement was increased by the cool way in which the Prefect of Police, M. Giquet, carried into execution the intentions of Government, striking on the right and the left without distinction; multiplying arrests of suspected persons of all parties on very slight grounds, including several deputies, and breaking to pieces, without mercy, all the printing-presses of the Opposition journals, whether Carlist or Republican. All that had been made the subject of such reproach to M. de Polignac, when *attempted*, was now *done* by his successor, but done with tenfold severity and vigour. It was only necessary to substitute the name of M. Montalivet for that of M. de Polignac, and the indictment against the one would apply to the other.

77. To give an air of impartiality to their proceedings, and represent the insurrection as the combined work of the Republicans and Carlists, the Government, at the same time that it ordered the arrest of MM. Laboussière, Cabet, and Garnier Pages on the side of the Democrats, apprehended also MM. de Chateaubriand, Fitzjames, Hyde de Neuville, and Berryer as the *l'autorité militaire est de droit investie des attributions qui, dans l'état ordinaire, appartiennent aux autorités civiles tant administratives que judiciaires. Toutefois l'intention du gouvernement du Roi est que, dans cette circonstance, l'action de la Justice militaire s'applique seulement aux cas spéciaux ayant rapport à l'insurrection, au soulèvement, à l'embauchage, à la séduction des troupes, aux provocations à la révolte, et autres circonstances constituant la complicité, et enfin aux faits tendant à troubler l'Etat par la guerre civile, l'illégal emploi de la force armée, la dévastation et le pillage public. Quant à la presse, les provocations à la révolte faites par cette voie et les attributs de l'ordre public sont des crimes justiciables des conseils de guerre.*"—Ordonn., 7th June 1832; *Moniteur*, *ibid*.

* "Par la déclaration de l'état de siège

leaders of the Legitimists. The arrest of so many noble characters, especially on a charge of which all the world knew they were entirely innocent, excited the utmost indignation in Paris. The Government journals, in particular the *Journal des Débats*, were loud in its condemnation. M. de Chateaubriand had resigned all his appointments, and refused to take the oath to Government; but every one knew that he was incapable of engaging in a conspiracy, and least of all with the Republicans. He looked for the restoration of the elder branch of the Bourbons by a vote of the Chambers and constitutional means, and by that alone. The dignified manner in which he bore his captivity, and the delicate raillery with which he replied to the charges preferred against him, excited the admiration even of his enemies.* Nothing whatever was discovered to implicate any of them in the proceedings which had taken place either in Paris or La Vendée; and after a detention of a few weeks, during which they experienced the utmost courtesy

* In a letter written from prison to M. Bertin, the editor of the *Journal des Débats*, M. de Chateaubriand said—"J'attendais là, mon cher Bertin, votre vieille amitié, elle s'est trouvée à point nommé à l'heure de l'infortune. Les compagnons d'exil et de prison, sont comme des camarades de collège, à jamais liés par le souvenir des joies et des leçons en commun. Je voudrais bien vous voir et vous aller remercier. Je voudrais bien aussi remercier tous les journaux qui m'ont témoigné tant d'intérêt, et se sont souvenus du défenseur de la liberté de la presse; mais vous savez que je suis captif, captivité d'ailleurs adoucie par la politesse de mes hôtes. Je ne saurais trop me louer de la bienveillance de M. le Préfet de Police. J'ai refusé tout serment à l'ordre politique actuel; j'ai envoyé ma démission de Ministre d'Etat, et renoncé à ma pension.

"Je ne puis donc être un traître ni un ingrat envers le Gouvernement de Louis Philippe. Veut-on me prendre pour un ennemi? Mais alors je suis un ennemi loyal, désarmé, un vaincu qui supporte la nécessité d'un fait sans demander grâce. J'ai fondé mon refus de serment sur deux raisons—1. La Monarchie actuelle ne tire pas selon moi son droit par succession de l'ancienne Monarchie. 2. La Monarchie actuelle ne tire pas selon moi son droit de la souveraineté populaire, puisqu'un congrès national exprès a été assemblé pour décider de la forme du gouvernement."—M. DE CHATEAUBRIAND à M. BERTIN, June 10, 1832; CAPEFIGUE, *Discours de Louis Philippe*, vi. 246, 247.

from M. Gisquet, the Prefect of Police, they were all liberated.

78. Upon the proclamation of the state of siege, two councils of war were formed, to whom the cognisance of the cases connected with the insurrection was committed. The officers summoned, however, evinced from the first the utmost repugnance at their invidious office, and they were so strongly supported by public opinion that it was more than doubtful whether their appointment would lead to any result. Two persons brought before the first council of war were acquitted; but an artist, named Geoffroy, accused of having taken a part in the insurrection of the 5th, and borne the *chapeau rouge* on that occasion, was convicted, and condemned to death. This sentence, however, was brought under the review of the Court of Cassation, by which it was set aside on the ground of the illegality of the constitution of the court by the ordinance of June 6th. This decision made an immense sensation, as a victory over the Government; and it was so entirely supported by public opinion that Louis Philippe bent before the storm. By an ordinance of June 30th the courts-martial were declared dissolved in the capital, and retained only in the western provinces, where the Royalists were to be prosecuted. Nothing remained now but to bring the accused before the ordinary courts, where they fell under the cognisance of juries, and twenty-two of the leaders of the conspiracy were put to the bar in July. Sixteen were acquitted, including a young heroine named Louise Antoinette, whose courage had been signalled at the barricades; and six were convicted, and sentenced to various periods of transportation and imprisonment. They evinced the greatest heroism and intrepidity during the trial, and on receiving sentence: most of them bore the medal of July on their bosoms.*

* The following *procès verbal* of the examination of Jeanne, one of the leading conspirators, will illustrate the indomitable spirit with which they were animated: "Le 5 Juin vous assistiez au convoi?—Oui, monsieur. Sur les cinq heures n'étiez vous pas au carre-

To the honour of the Government, it must be added that no capital sentence was pronounced, and that one of the most serious insurrections recorded in French annals was suppressed without the shedding of human blood.

79. Disappointed in their expectations of crushing the spirit of insubordination in Paris by the rude, though effective, method of military commissions, the Government had recourse to the slower but not less efficacious modes of continued detentions of accused persons in prison, and multiplied prosecutions against the press. Strange to say, amidst all their declamations in favour of freedom, the French had never thought of laying the first foundation for it in the limiting the power of imprisonment at the instance of the Government; and Louis Philippe took advantage of this omission to detain the persons arrested for the insurrection of June, eighteen hundred in number, for the most part eighteen months or two years in prison, without bringing them to trial. Nor was the war against the press, by means of prosecutions, less active. The number of these prosecutions, and

the anxiety with which they were conducted, exceeded anything previously witnessed, not merely in French, but in European history. The restrictions so much complained of during the Restoration were as nothing compared to it. From the accession of Louis Philippe to the 1st October 1832, a period of little more than two years, there occurred in France 281 seizures of journals, and 251 judgments on them. No less than eighty-one journals had been condemned, of which forty-one were in Paris alone. The total number of months of imprisonment inflicted on editors of journals during this period was 1226; and the amount of fines levied, 347,550 francs (£14,000). This is perhaps the hottest warfare, without the aid of the censorship, ever yet waged, during so short a period, against the liberty of the press. The system of Louis Philippe was, to bring incessant prosecutions against the parties responsible for journals, without caring much whether they were successful or not, hoping that he would wear them out by the trouble and expense of conducting their defences, whether the prosecutions terminated one way or the other;—an astute and sagacious policy, and perhaps the only one which promised any prospect of success, when the passions on all sides were so strongly excited, that the voice of reason or truth had not a chance of being heard, and convictions by juries, even in the clearest cases, were not to be expected. But it appeared not a little strange when coming from the councils of the Citizen King, the monarch of the Barricades, and showed how little the cause of real freedom had gained by the success of that convulsion.

four St Mary?—Oui, avec l'arme que j'étais allé prendre chez moi. Vous avez travaillé à la barricade?—Oui, deux gardes nationaux ont été tués pres de moi sur le boulevard; on avait tiré sur nous sans provocation; je courus à mes armes. N'avez-vous pas le premier commandé le feu?—Non, une balle venait de m'atteindre au milieu des reins et m'avait renversé. Je me suis levé toutefois et j'ai tiré un coup du fusil, un seul, car ils avaient fui. N'êtes-vous pas resté toute la nuit sur la barricade?—Oui, et je faisais feu. Ne distribuiez-vous pas des cartouches?—Oui, quand ils en avaient besoin. Le lendemain vous avez tiré toute la journée?—Toute la journée. N'êtes-vous pas un de ceux qui tiraient des croisées de la maison No. 5 à la fin de l'attaque?—Oui, quand on se rendit maître de la barricade nous n'avions plus de cartouches, sans cela nous y serions restés. Nous nous sommes retirés en traversant à la baïonnette la troupe de ligne." He was sentenced to transportation.—It is difficult whether, in this interrogatory, the *leading* feature of the questions put by the presiding judge is most to be condemned, or the courage and candour of the accused in answering them is to be admired. Jeanne's mother, a Spartan matron, sat by her son the whole time of the trial, encouraging him by her words and example to persevere in his heroic demeanour.—L. BLANC, iii. 338, 339.

80. The Government of Louis Philippe was both greatly strengthened within, and acquired great additional consideration without, by the suppression of the revolts of May in La Vendée, and June in Paris. His Government had at length met its most formidable antagonists face to face, and proved victorious in the strife. The heroism of Marie Caroline and the chi-

valry of the Royalists had not succeeded in rousing a general insurrection in the western provinces; the intrepidity and enthusiasm of the Republicans had failed in sustaining one, when commenced under the most favourable circumstances, in the metropolis. This double victory produced a great impression on men's minds, both in France and the adjoining States. The capitalists and manufacturers of Paris and the chief towns of France, began to feel confidence in the stability of a Government which had withstood so rude a shock: the sovereigns and diplomatists of foreign States came to think the dynasty of the Citizen King might remain permanent, and that it would be well to conciliate by negotiation a power which might yet acquire a lead in Europe. The effects of this change of opinion, externally and internally, were immediately conspicuous. Capital began to reappear from its hiding-places, industry to resume its labours in the workshops, purchases to be made in the bazaars. The day after the insurrection had been put down, all the shops in Paris were open, the streets were perfectly quiet, and a confidence unknown for months before was felt. All men had previously been aware that a conflict was approaching; all now saw it was over.

81. The effect of the King's victory appeared soon in the increased returns of the revenue, and the improved condition of the people. The public funds rapidly rose: the Five per Cents, which had been ninety-two in January, reached in the end of June ninety-seven, in July ninety-eight, and in August ninety-nine, at which high level they remained for the remainder of the year. The produce of the taxes, though still below what it had been before the Revolution of 1830, advanced considerably, and exhibited for the last six months of 1832 an increase of 28,000,000 francs over the corresponding months of the preceding year. The loan of 150,000,000 (£6,000,000), authorised by the vote of the Chambers to be raised for the public service, was contracted for on August 8, at 98.50. for a rent of 5 francs, or somewhat

above 5 per cent; a very favourable contract for the public, for in the preceding year a loan of 120,000,000 had only been got at 84 francs. Industry sensibly revived in the metropolis; many workshops which had been closed since the Revolution of July were reopened. Sales were more frequent in the shops, and the symptoms of general prosperity began to reappear. The working classes had been ruined by their victory; the first dawn of hope opened to them from their defeat.

82. An auspicious event at the same time took place in the family of the Citizen King, of much importance, both as extending his connections and influence, and demonstrating the good understanding which existed between the Cabinets of the Tuileries and St James's. On the 9th August, Leopold, the new King of Belgium, was married to the Princess Louise-Marie, daughter of Louis Philippe. The marriage ceremony was performed according to the forms of the Lutheran Church, to which Leopold belonged, by the Protestant minister, and by the Bishop of Meaux, with royal pomp and magnificence, according to the Catholic ritual. After the ceremony was over, the newly-married pair set out for Brussels, and Louis Philippe and his family returned to St Cloud amidst tears and lamentations on both sides; for the royal family were sincerely attached to each other—the more so as the peril in which they were all involved since his accession to the throne had drawn closer the bonds of domestic love.

83. The double shock which the Government had undergone from the Carlist and Republican insurrections, and the narrow escape it had made from total shipwreck on occasion of the last, had, however, been too severe to pass over without a change in the Ministry. The leading part which Marshal Soult had played in that crisis, and the necessity of military vigour and capacity to secure a Government now resting almost entirely on military force, pointed him out as the proper head of the Administration. By an ordonnance, accordingly, of October 11, he was appointed President of the

Council; the Duke de Broglie, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Hermann, of Finance; M. Thiers, of the Interior; M. Guizot, of Public Instruction. This Cabinet, with the exception of its military head, was entirely composed of the Doctrinaire party. M. Montalivet was removed from the Ministry of the Interior to the head of the Civil List. A far more exceptional step was taken two days after by the creation of SIXTY-THREE new peers, making in all NINE-TY-NINE since the accession of Louis Philippe. The predictions of the Royalists were already verified; the Revolution of July 1830, and the subsequent abolition of the hereditary peerage to which it had led, had destroyed the independence and influence of the Upper House, and reduced it to a crowd of titled and salaried partisans of a Ministry, holding their dignities only for life, and pledged to its support.*

84. It soon appeared that the marriage of the widow of the Princess Charlotte of England to a daughter of France was not to be the only result of the intimate alliance, or *entente cordiale*, as it was called, which had now grown up between the two nations. Political consequences, also, of the strangest and most unexpected kind, followed the alliance, and the prodigy was presented to the astonished world of an English fleet and a French army combining to wrest the great fortress, which Napoleon had erected for our subjugation, from its lawful sovereign, and restore it to revolutionary influence and the sway of the tricolor flag. ANTWERP was the point from whence, for centuries, the independence of Great Britain had been most seriously menaced. When the Duke of Parma received orders to co-operate in the invasion of England by the Armada, it was there he collected the fleet which was to convey the veterans of Spain to the British shores. The first efforts of Marlborough after the victory of Ramillies were directed to wresting it

from France. When Napoleon arrived at supreme power in 1800, his first care was to make a journey to the Scheldt to examine its capabilities. His eagle eye soon discerned its vast importance as the outwork of France against England. He gave orders immediately for the construction of magnificent docks under its guns, and a fleet of forty sail of the line. The right wing of the Army of England was to have embarked, when the invasion was attempted, from its quays; and so strongly was the danger to Britain felt from so great a naval and military establishment being formed in its close vicinity, that the greatest armament which ever left the British shores was in 1809 directed for its subjugation. Napoleon every day felt more strongly the inestimable importance of this great stronghold for the prosecution of his designs against this country; he often said Antwerp was worth to him a kingdom; amidst all his misfortunes he clung to it with invincible tenacity; he refused peace at Chatillon rather than consent to its relinquishment; and when the mighty conqueror was struck to the earth, his right hand still held the citadel of Antwerp.*

85. It is one of the most extraordinary circumstances recorded in history, that after having twice over, as the fruit of the victories of Marlborough and Wellington, wrested this great and menacing fortress from France, and after having been fully taught by her inveterate enemy its paramount importance, England should have entered into a compact with France for its RESTORATION to the dependant of that power, and rendered it again the advanced work of the tricolor flag! Were Great Britain now, after having wrested the fortifications of Sebastopol from Russia, to enter into a convention with the Cabinet of St Petersburg to restore them in their original strength to the arms of the Czar, it would be a less act of suicidal folly, in proportion as the

* The peers were now 288 in number, of whom 99, or above a third, had been created by Louis Philippe. Four more were created on 8th November, making his creations 103 in two years and a quarter.—*Ann. Hist.*, xv. 215.

* "If I could have made up my mind to abandon Antwerp, I might have had peace at Chatillon."—*NAPOLEON in O'MEARA*, i. 247.

Crimea is farther from the British shores than the Scheldt, and the command of the Black Sea less vital to our independence than that of the British Channel. So it was, however; the thing was done, and is not now likely to be ever undone. On 22d October 1832, a convention was signed at London between M. de Talleyrand and Lord Palmerston, to the effect "that the kings of Holland and Belgium should be summoned to take, before the 2d November, measures for withdrawing their troops from the places which they respectively held within each other's territories, as fixed by the treaty of 15th November 1831. In the event of this evacuation not being agreed to by King William on the part of Holland, an embargo was immediately to be placed on all Dutch vessels in the harbours of France and England, and an English and French squadron was to be fitted out, which was to arrest all Dutch vessels on the seas. Should Dutch troops still be found on the Belgian territory on the 15th November, a French army was to enter Belgium to expel the Dutch troops from the citadel of Antwerp and the neighbouring forts." Though ostensibly directed against *both* the contending powers in Flanders, this convention was in reality levelled at Holland alone, since the Belgian troops occupied no part of the Dutch territory. And in order to carry it into immediate effect, a powerful French army, under Marshal Gérard, was directed to be in readiness on the frontier of Flanders, while a strong English squadron was collected at Spithead. This decisive resolution was taken by the Cabinets of London and Paris alone; the northern powers declined to be parties to it; and as it brought the five powers to the very edge of a general war, it in a manner broke up the London conference.

86. As might have been expected, the King of Holland returned an answer in the negative to the summons to evacuate the most important fortress in his dominions; and this to all appearance brought matters to a general war—France and England on the

one side, Austria, Prussia, and Russia on the other. Again, as in 1793, the advance of the French to the Scheldt was to be the signal for a universal conflagration; but this time England was on the opposite side to that she had formerly espoused: she interfered now to give Antwerp to France, not to keep it from that power. Such marvels had the Revolution of July in France and the Reform Bill in England already achieved! The danger was imminent that this alliance would produce a corresponding counter-league among the northern powers, and that Prussia in particular would take the alarm at the close approach of danger to her Rhenish provinces. Every effort accordingly was made by the French and English diplomatists to calm the apprehensions of the Cabinet of Berlin, and prevent the cannonade of Antwerp from lighting up the flames of a general war. To the Prussian minister in London they confidentially represented, "That Prussia had nothing to fear from the aggressive movement of France in the Low Country—that it had been stipulated in secret articles that the French troops should not remain in Belgium—that the Cabinet of London would confine their operations to the siege of Antwerp—that there was a precise engagement to that effect—and that England was as much interested as Prussia in the faithful execution of that convention." The Cabinet of Berlin, however, was far from being satisfied with these assurances, and, regarding England and France as now united in a league to revolutionise the other states in Europe, they haughtily announced, "that not only would they be no parties to the attack on Holland, but they would oppose it by all the military means in their power." At the same time orders were given to form an army of 70,000 men on the Meuse, and the landwehr of the whole kingdom was called out. It was well known that in this language and these measures Prussia was entirely supported by Russia and Austria, and she openly spoke in the name of the German Diet; so that if

the western powers persevered, there did not appear a chance of preserving the peace of Europe.*

87. When the two western powers in this manner threw down the gauntlet to the rest of continental Europe, England was, as usual after a long peace, wholly unprepared for war. No preparations whatever had been made for it; her forces by sea and land had been brought down by the incessant clamour of the House of Commons for economy to the lowest point, and it is impossible to over-estimate the disasters which might have ensued, if, in this unprotected state, she had been suddenly precipitated into hostilities with the whole of Germany and Russia. But it was far otherwise in France. Separated only by the waters of the Rhine from the Germanic Confederacy, which could bring 300,000 men

* "Ainsi qu'il est déjà à la connaissance de la sérénissime diète, la Grande Bretagne et la France ont l'intention d'employer des mesures coercitives contre la Hollande, pour faire exécuter les 24 articles adoptés par le traité de Londres du 15 Nov. de l'année dernière, tels que ceux qui ont été modifiés par des négociations postérieures. Quoique ces mesures coercitives soient limitées à la prise de la citadelle d'Anvers, il est impossible en cas de résistance de la part de la Hollande, de concevoir cet état de choses comme n'étant pas la guerre, et de considérer cette guerre entre la Hollande et ces deux puissances comme n'étant pas dans le cours des événements, et d'un extrême danger pour la paix de l'Europe.

"L'Autriche, la Prusse, et la Russie n'ont pas manqué de prendre des moyens pour s'opposer à ces mesures de coercition contre un Etat indépendant, et en même temps ces trois puissances ont refusé d'y prendre part ou de les approuver. Néanmoins comme la Grande Bretagne et la France d'après leur position et leurs relations avec la Belgique croient avoir des motifs de persister dans leur résolution, le soussigné représentant de la Prusse a été autorisé à faire inscrire dans le protocole de la Diète, que des ordres ont été donnés par le roi son maître afin que le septième corps d'armée, qui jusqu'ici a été stationné en Westphalie, passe le Rhin et prenne position entre Aix-la-Chapelle et Gueldres, dans le but de couvrir ses frontières sur la rive droite de la Meuse, vis-à-vis la Belgique et la Hollande, et en même temps que le huitième corps stationné sur le Rhin serve de corps de réserve à l'autre."—*Protocole de la 46^e Année de la Diète Germanique du 6 Dec. 1832; Ann. Hist., xv. 177; Doc. Hist.* To this protocol Austria, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, and all the other German powers, gave in their adhesion.—*Ibid.*

into the field, and aware that it was the object of general continental jealousy and distrust from its revolutionary origin, her new Government had made the most herculean efforts to increase its war establishment, and it had now attained a most formidable degree of magnitude and consistency. Never, not even in the memorable years 1793 and 1813, had so great a number of men been enrolled in so short a time under the national standards, and never was a more powerful army ready to commence operations. From an official statement published in the *Moniteur*, it appeared that in the beginning of December in this year, when the siege of the citadel of Antwerp was going on, France had 396,000 regular troops ready to commence operations, besides 1,231,000 national guards, armed, disciplined, and equipped, of whom more than half might be immediately rendered movable, and put in a condition to take the field. This immense force was armed with 908,000 muskets and bayonets, and 240,000 sabres, and it was provided with 185 companies of artillery, besides 630 pieces of cannon, placed on the ramparts of the principal fortresses of the kingdom.

88. Self-confident in their resources and strength, France, from the immensity of the military means at its disposal, and England, from its insular situation, naval power, and former fame, the western powers resolved, notwithstanding these alarming appearances, to prosecute the siege of the citadel of Antwerp. Great preparations were made by both for the approaching conflict. An army of 48,000 infantry, 9000 cavalry, and 6000 artillery and engineers, was assembled on the Belgian frontier, under Marshal Gérard, forming above 60,000 effective combatants, while 40,000 more were stationed on the Moselle, to watch the Prussian army, which was grouped on the right bank of the Meuse. At the same time, a British squadron of five ships of the line, accompanied by a French one of three, with five frigates, made sail from the Downs to blockade the Scheldt,

and join in any warlike operations where they could be rendered serviceable.

89. Ever since the rupture between Belgium and Holland, the town of Antwerp had been in the hands of the Belgian troops, but the citadel remained in the possession of the Dutch, who, to the number of 5000 men, under General Chassé, held its formidable ramparts. This celebrated stronghold, which is separated from the body of the fortress by an esplanade, is situated on the right bank of the Scheldt, above the town, but commanding the harbour, and has always been considered as one of the strongest places in Europe. It was built by the Duke of Alva during the war between Spain and the United Provinces in the sixteenth century, to command the navigation of the Scheldt, and be the chief frontier fortress towards Holland. Its strength was largely added to by Napoleon when he made Antwerp the great pivot on which his designs against Great Britain were to be rested. To the west it is protected by the river, which is very deep there, and by an advanced work, called the "Tête de Flandre," which effectually bars all progress up the stream. The ditches of the citadel are on the same level as the Scheldt, and kept constantly full from its waters, which are prevented from escaping with the receding tide by means of flood-gates, which are opened when it rises and shut when it falls. On the eastern and southern, or land sides, the fortress is covered by several strong outworks, of which the lunette of St Laurent, the fort of Montebello, and the fort of Keil, are the most considerable; and the rampart is strengthened by immense bastions, among which that of Toledo stands conspicuous. The garrison, which consisted of 5000 men, under the resolute veteran General Chassé, was composed of brave and experienced soldiers; 180 guns, most of them of very heavy calibre, armed the works; and ample casemates and covered barracks were constructed behind them, to protect the troops from the effect of a bombardment. In addi-

tion to this, the King of Holland had raised his army to 120,000 men, and called out the whole landwehr, so that everything presaged a desperate conflict.

90. The French troops, to the number of 60,000, with an immense siege equipage, crossed the frontier of Belgium at Charleroi on the 18th November, and directed their steps in the first instance to Brussels. In doing so, they of necessity passed over the very centre of the field of Waterloo. The streets of Genappe, the hamlet of La Belle Alliance, the farmhouse of La Haye Sainte, the Church of Waterloo, the Forest of Soignies, were successively passed by armed multitudes in the pride of apparently irresistible strength, and burning with the desire to efface by victory the defeat there inflicted on their arms. Such was the excitement produced by the scene, that several of the battalions could not be restrained by their officers from discharging volleys at the artificial hill surmounted by the lion, erected by the King of the Netherlands to commemorate that immortal triumph. In the end of November, the French troops, in great strength, arrived before the citadel of Antwerp, and the preliminary work of getting up gabions and fascines having been accomplished, a curious correspondence ensued between Marshal Gérard and the Dutch governor, as to the mode in which, and the limits within which, the siege operations were to be carried on. General Chassé insisted that the French should not make use of the works of the city against the citadel, expressing his determination, if this was attempted, to consider the town as taking part in the siege, and bombard it accordingly. Both the Belgian Government and those of their allies were anxious to avoid an alternative so obviously fraught with ruin to the interests of commerce, and those of the infant kingdom of Belgium. At first, however, the negotiations wore a very unpromising aspect; and every preparation was made in Antwerp for hostilities, by barricading and unpaving the streets, which diffused univer-

sal consternation among the inhabitants, and led to great numbers of the more affluent leaving the city. At length the voice of reason and humanity prevailed, and it was agreed that the town, with all its outworks, was to be regarded by both parties as neutral; that the approaches of the besiegers should be confined to the open country to the south-east of the citadel, and the fire of the besieged be turned only in that direction.

91. Ground was broken on the night of the 30th November, and the approaches were pushed forward with the greatest activity. It could not be called war, for peace reigned around the combatants in every direction; and even when hostilities were going forward, they were on a single front of the fortress only. It was rather a *besieging tournament* for the amusement of Europe. Although the weather was very unfavourable, and storms of wind and rain prevailed, the approaches, under the direction of the Duke of Orléans, made rapid progress, the great numbers of the besiegers enabling them to supply the trenches with perpetual fresh relays of labourers. The second parallel was commenced on the night of the 3d, under a heavy fire of canister and grape from the ramparts, and on the 4th the bombardment commenced from eighty-two pieces of heavy artillery and twenty-two mortars, against the lunette St Laurent. Despite an incessant and well-sustained fire from the citadel, the besiegers ere long made sensible progress; the third and fourth parallels were completed against fort St Laurent, and a mine having been run under the escarp, it was sprung on the night of the 14th December, which made a practicable breach in the walls. Three French companies of the 65th regiment immediately advanced to the assault, passed the ditch without firing a shot, and with fixed bayonets carried the breach. At the same time a corps of grenadiers, during the tumult consequent on springing the mine, got in by escalade on the opposite side; and the small garrison of two hundred and eighty men, finding themselves beset on all sides, with-

drew into the citadel, with the loss of sixty prisoners, after having made a gallant defence.

92. This was a very important success, for it gave the besiegers a solid foundation near the ramparts, and enabled them to bring their approaches to the very edge of the ditch, on the summit of the counterscarp. The Dutch, under their resolute general, made a gallant defence, but the superiority of the resources and fire of the besiegers became every day more conspicuous. Night and day the bombardment was continued with indefatigable activity, and with such vigour were the destructive projectiles poured into the fortress, that as many as fourteen shells at once were frequently seen traversing the air from the besiegers' lines. Nothing could afford a secure shelter against the flaming tempest; the casemates were broken through by the weight of the falling projectiles; and some even penetrated into the hospital—constructed in the strongest manner to guard against them, with six feet of earth placed above transverse beams of immense thickness, strongly supported—and exploded in the midst of the unfortunate inmates. The garrison, daily diminishing in number from the effects of the fire, were worn out by incessant toil: night and day they were obliged to stand to their guns, many of which were dismounted, and the embrasures injured; while forty heavy cannon, mounted on the edge of the counterscarp, battered across the ditch at the bastion of Toledo, against which their converging fire was directed with unerring precision. The brick walls, though of great height and thickness, speedily gave way before the ceaseless crash of the bullets, and soon the bastion was so shaken that it became little more than a heap of ruins, upon the summit of which the Dutch gunners, with heroic perseverance, still maintained an indomitable resistance. General Chassé, however, now wisely judged that the defence could no longer be maintained. Everything was prepared for an assault, which the wearied and weakened garrison were in no condition to resist; and on the morning

of the 23d, having prolonged the defence as long as military honour or state policy required, the white flag was hoisted. The fire immediately ceased, and the terms accorded to the garrison were without difficulty arranged. They were to surrender the citadel, with the forts of Lillo and Liefkenshoek, which, some miles farther down, commanded the navigation of the Scheldt, and to be permitted to retire into Holland with their colours and arms. When this capitulation came to be submitted to the King of Holland for his ratification, he refused to give up the forts, on the ground that they were not under Chassé's orders at the time of the capitulation. Marshal Gérard, upon this, offered to allow the garrison to retire into Holland upon the simple obligation not to serve against France or Belgium during the continuance of hostilities; but Chassé, not feeling himself able to implement the terms of the original capitulation, preferred retiring with his gallant army into France, where they were followed by the admiration of all Europe.*

93. The siege of the citadel of Antwerp, in a military point of view, is one of the most memorable of which the annals of Europe make mention. Such had been the intrepidity of the governor and the courage of the garrison, that five thousand men kept sixty thousand at bay during twenty-four days of open trenches, during which the fire, both of artillery and small-arms, was incessant, and besiegers and besieged were alike standing to their guns day and night during the severities of a rude season, in the depth of winter. It is not easy to say whether, in such circumstances, there is most to admire in the vigour and perseverance of the besiegers, or the devotion and constancy of the besieged. Both sides made the utmost efforts during the continuance of the operations. The besiegers opened up 14,000 fathoms of trenches, the artillery discharged 63,000 shots, and they took

5000 men by capitulation. The Dutch lost 90 killed, 349 wounded, and 67 prisoners, during the siege. But the losses of their assailants were much more considerable: they amounted to 608 killed and 1800 wounded.

94. The capture of the citadel of Antwerp made an immense sensation in France, and went far to reconcile the Republican party to the government of Louis Philippe. They took it as an earnest that a new system was to be pursued; that submission to despotic tyrants was to be exchanged for revolutionary propagandism, and that France was to seek its natural allies among all people disposed to throw off the yoke of legitimate monarchs. They said, with truth, that the cannonballs of Marshal Gérard were directed more against the Holy Alliance than the citadel of Antwerp; and that they had made a wider breach in the defences of the conservative system than in the bastion of Toledo. Visions of the restored frontier of the Rhine, and of the renewed glories of the Empire, flitted before their excited imaginations. In England, strange to say, this important event excited very little attention. Intoxicated with their Reform triumph, and dreaming only of the unbounded social and individual advantages which they expected to realise from its acquisition, the people of Great Britain could not be prevailed on to bestow even a passing thought on the events of the Continent, and turned a deaf ear to the thoughtful few, who in vain represented that they had lent the aid of their arms to undo the work of Marlborough and Wellington, and restore to the son-in-law of France, and the sway of the tricolor flag, the great outwork which Napoleon had created at so vast a cost for our subjugation, and which he deemed so vital to that object that he lost his crown rather than abandon it.

95. The Continental powers were by no means so blind as the people of England to the vital importance and probable ultimate effects of this entire change of policy; but circumstances obliged them to remain passive, and devour their mortification in silence.

* The author hurried over to Antwerp on occasion of this siege, and many of the foregoing details are given from his own observation.

The moment for successful action had passed away. "England and France," says Chateaubriand, "like two enormous battering-rams, shook all the adjoining states, and the monarchs of Europe were afraid to come within the reach of their strokes." The strength developed among the warlike inhabitants of France had been prodigious; and though England was in a military point of view still unarmed, yet the prestige of her name was great, and her navy could ere long be brought into a condition to blockade those of all the other powers in Europe. Austria, disquieted about her Italian possessions, and seriously alarmed at the disposition evinced in Hungary in favour of the Polish insurgents, was in no hurry to commence hostilities; Prussia, doubtful of the support of Russia, and in a great measure dependent on her foreign trade, was fearful of throwing down the gauntlet to two powers, the one of which might blockade her harbours, and the other endanger her Rhenish provinces; and Russia herself, exhausted by the Polish war, which had both deranged her finances and occasioned a prodigious loss of men, was not in a condition to undertake a distant crusade for the extinction of the revolutionary principle in western Europe. Thus the Dutch Government, how firm and resolute soever, felt that they could not rely on the active support of the northern powers; and as the French army, after the reduction of the citadel of Antwerp, made it over to the Belgian troops, and immediately returned into France without attempting any further hostilities, the main cause both of alarm and prolonged warfare was at an end. They were no longer threatened in their own country; to regain Antwerp or Flanders single-handed in the face of the combined forces of France and England, was obviously out of the question. On the other hand, Belgium was not less interested in coming to an accommodation; for as long as hostilities continued, its commerce was almost entirely interrupted by Holland, which had the command of the mouths and lower parts of the Scheldt and

the Meuse, the principal arteries of the state.

96. From these circumstances arose a greater facility in the negotiations relative to the Belgian question. It had in effect been resolved in all substantial points by the French invasion, which prevented the King of Holland from regaining the throne in 1831, and the capture of Antwerp in 1832. The negotiations, accordingly, were resumed, and came to turn chiefly on the lesser points of trade and commerce, in which the Dutch Government evinced great determination. At length, however, all the difficulties were overcome, and on the 19th May 1833 a convention was agreed to, and signed by all the parties, which brought this protracted and anxious dispute to a termination. Without going back on the separation of Belgium and Holland, and the limits of the two kingdoms, which it assumed as definitively settled by the treaty between the five powers signed at London on the 15th November 1831, this convention was directed to the adjustment of the differences still existing between the contending parties, and this it did in a manner extremely favourable to Belgium.* It was provided that all the Dutch vessels which had been seized by English or French cruisers should be forthwith released, and restored with their cargoes to their respective owners, and that all Dutch prisoners, either by land or sea, should be immediately set at liberty. On the other hand, Holland engaged not to recommence hostilities against Belgium, and to leave the navigation of the Scheldt open, as it had been prior to November 1, 1832. The commercial navigation of the Meuse, of which Holland commanded the lower part, was also opened to vessels bearing the Belgian flag, on condition of paying the duties fixed by the tariff of Mayence for the states of the German Confederation. The contracting parties engaged immediately to commence negotiations for the conclusion of a definitive treaty, which could not be a matter of any difficulty, as the whole

* See *Ante*, chap. xxv. sec. 75.

matters of importance in dispute between them were already adjusted.

97. When the new kingdom of Belgium was in this manner so completely brought under French influence, and made, in fact, to owe its existence to French protection, the importance of the barrier-fortresses against that power was no longer felt. Flanders having become, not the barrier of Europe against France, but the outwork of France against Europe, the gigantic fortresses in its territory, which had been erected to act as a curb upon the ambition of that power, were no longer felt as necessary on either side. They had ceased to be a protection to Europe; they were not required as a protection for France. Her own triple line of fortresses was sufficient for her defence; and such was the strength of the German Confederation, that the states belonging to it did not feel the want of any extraneous safeguard. Thus, by common consent, the famous barrier against France, which England and Holland had so earnestly contended for in former days, and which had been the object of such costly wars, was abandoned, and the treaty for its preservation was rescinded. By a convention concluded at London between France, England, and Belgium, on 6th March 1832, the latter power was relieved from the burden of upholding five of the principal barrier-fortresses on the frontier towards France, and the two former powers agreed to their demolition. Stronger evidence of the immensity of the change produced by the Revolution of 1830, and the Reform Bill, could not be conceived, for the barrier thus abandoned had been constructed by the Whig government of Queen Anne and the Tory government of George IV., and it had been won by the victories of Marlborough and Wellington.

98. This convention closed the convulsions in northern and central Europe which had arisen from the Revolution of July, and the overthrow of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon in France. Immense had

been the effect it had produced, both externally and internally, and it is only on a calm retrospect at this distance of time that its vast importance can be appreciated. The shocks of the earthquake still continued to be felt beyond the Pyrenees and in the Levant; but in central Europe, where alone a serious conflict was to be apprehended, the concussion was at an end. Great beyond all anticipation had been the addition which they made to the power of France. The revolution of Belgium and capture of Antwerp, followed by the marriage of Leopold to the daughter of Louis Philippe, restored Flanders to French influence nearly as completely as Poland was subjected to that of Russia. A revolutionary state, it could only look for support in a dynasty having a similar origin. The siege of Antwerp had restored that great outwork against England to its service; and the general excitement and real danger to the national independence, from a revolution which placed it in a state of antagonism with Europe, had enabled the Government to augment enormously the national armaments. Four hundred thousand regular soldiers were prepared to carry the tricolor flag into Germany or Italy, while a million of national guards protected the soil of the great nation from invasion. Single-handed she had braved Austria in Italy, and by the occupation of Ancona she held that power in check beyond the Alps; with the support of England she had thrown down the gauntlet at Antwerp to Prussia and Russia, and they had not ventured to take it up. The French, who expected an immediate restoration of the splendours of the Empire from a revolution which freed them from the sway of the Bourbons and the trammels of the Holy Alliance, were dissatisfied because greater external advantages had not been gained; but whoever considers the matter impartially, must see that they were great and lasting, and Europe is still experiencing their effects.

99. The addition made to the power of Russia, by the effects of the same

convulsion, was still more considerable. As on every previous and subsequent occasion, an outbreak of the revolutionary spirit in Western Europe added to the weight, and put additional arms into the hands, of the Colossus of the North. Hardly had the national acclamations at the defeat of Turkey and Treaty of Adrianople subsided, when the Russian arms achieved the entire subjugation of Poland, and annexed the last remnant of Sarmatian nationality to their mighty dominions. The addition thus made to the unity and physical resources of the empire, though by no means inconsiderable, was the least part of the advantage gained. The addition to the moral influence of, and terror inspired by, the Czar, was a much more material advantage. Russia had now, since England had gone over to the other side, openly taken her place at the head of the conservative powers of Europe, and the uniform success which had attended her arms spread a halo round her name, which added immensely to her political influence. Men despaired of resisting an Empire which had defeated Napoleon at the head of five hundred thousand men; and the German states in particular, who lay nearest to the Muscovite frontier, and would be the first to be reached by her arms, hastened, by secret alliances or proffered submission, to avert the hostility of a power which they felt themselves unable to resist.

100. Had England not been convulsed by a revolution in her own bosom—in consequence, in some degree of the fall of Charles X.—there was no reason why her political weight or influence should have been materially affected by that event. She might change sides, indeed, and be more exposed to danger; but she might have been as much dreaded and respected as the head of the movement, as she had been as the bulwark of the Conservative party in Europe. But the Reform Bill having invested a new party in Great Britain—the holders of shops or houses rented from £10 to £20—with the government of the state, the result was very different,

and such as soon exposed the very existence of the nation to hazard. The influence of that class of men was incessantly and perseveringly exerted in one direction, and that was, to *reduce the national expenditure and diminish taxation*, without any regard to the ultimate effect of their reduction. This was done to such an extent that the forces of the state by sea and land became wholly inadequate to the defence of the empire, or the assertion of its due weight in public affairs; while, at the same time, the recollection of its past and recent greatness would permit of no abatement in the tone its Ministers took in diplomatic intercourse. Thence several narrow escapes in the next quarter of a century, and disasters, when hostilities did break out, of mournful magnitude, redeemed only in a glorious way by the unflinching courage of her soldiers and the heroic leading of their officers.

101. Whatever difference of opinion might have existed at first as to the necessity of the *coup d'état* which proved fatal to Charles X., no doubt can remain on the subject when the annals of the next two years are taken into consideration. The Citizen King vindicated, without intending it, the memory of the legitimate monarch; the revolt of the Cloister of St Méri and state of siege of 1832, justified the ordonnances of 1830. It is not to be supposed from this that these ordonnances were not a violation of the constitution, as the people of this country would have understood it, or that the citizens who opposed them had not a good ground for their resistance. The conclusion to be drawn is, that the constitution, such as it was, was not adapted for the French people, at least after revolutionary confiscation had destroyed the mediating power of the nobles; and that the sovereign and popular power left alone in the country, and in a state of continual antagonism, could not coexist. One or other of them must be destroyed. It was like a legal submission, in which the two arbiters differed in opinion, and no power of choosing an oversman was given: the arbitration

must necessarily fall to pieces. "To attempt to construct a constitutional monarchy," said Napoleon, "without an aristocracy, is a problem as insoluble as the direction of balloons." Experience has since abundantly proved that the observation of this great man is well founded, and that the fourteenth clause of the charter, which gave the sovereign a sort of dictatorial power, in extreme cases, at variance with the ordinary working of the constitution, was indispensable for its occasional extrication from the dead-lock arising from the collision of opposite and irreconcilable powers. Louis Philippe and Louis Napoleon have successively found it so: their reigns, and the destruction of the national liberties which the last effected, it may be said with general consent, are the best vindication of the attempt of Charles X. The conclusion to be drawn from this is, not that the French people are by nature unfitted for freedom, but that the sins of the Revolution have been such that they have rendered them, as matters now stand, incapable of enjoying that blessing; and that, if we would avoid a similar penalty, we must eschew the like transgression.

CHAPTER XXX.

FRANCE, FROM THE SUPPRESSION OF THE INSURRECTION IN THE CLOISTER OF ST MÉRI IN JUNE 1832, TO THE FINAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF LOUIS PHILIPPE BY THE ELECTIONS OF JUNE 1834.

1. THE great strife of parties which had distracted France since 1814, and one of the convulsions of which had overthrown the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, was for the time closed by the double victory of Louis Philippe in 1832. The suppression of the Royalist movement in La Vendée, headed by the Duchess de Berri, had extinguished the hopes of the Legitimists, the victory over the revolt in the streets of Paris had proved the weakness of the Republicans. The liberal Revolution which had seated the Citizen King on the throne, had led to no other result but a vast augmentation of the power of the Crown, and a proportionate increase of the burdens of the people. Placed now in a state of sullen and ill-disguised hostility with the Continental powers, the necessity of a great increase to the standing army was so apparent that its duplication had been not only acquiesced in, but called for by all classes of the people. The Republicans loudly demanded it, in the hope of realising their dreams of universal revolution, regaining the frontier of the Rhine, and re-establishing their ascendancy in Germany: the Royalists acquiesced in it, in the hope that the vast armament would ere long pass out of the hands which had raised it, and restore the power of the Crown to the possession of its lawful owner. The burghers submitted to the burdens which it entailed upon the country, in the hope that it would secure them from the spoliation of the Jacobins, and in the mean time provide for their sons by commissions in its ranks. Thus these different classes, though from opposite motives, concurred in the great increase of the regular troops; and when the crisis which they all looked for in calling for it arose, all, save the adherents of the Citizen King, were disappointed. The Royalists in La Vendée, and the Republicans in Paris, alike found determined foes in the regular soldiers, and experienced to their cost that their strength was now wield-

ed by very different hands from the "feeble arms of confessors and kings." Strengthened by the vast addition to the military force of the nation, protected by its fidelity, and strong in the double victory which it had gained, the throne of Louis Philippe now seemed established on a solid foundation, and the hopes of the Royalists and Republicans alike melted away from the consequences of the very measures which they had recommended.

2. The Government of France, however, notwithstanding this seeming security, in reality rested on a very insecure foundation, and the causes of future ruin were beginning to operate even in the very moment of its triumph. The basis on which it of necessity rested was rotten. The generous feelings on all sides had burnt out or been exhausted. The noble chivalry of loyalty had perished, and was reduced to a few powerless cavaliers; the lofty spirit of freedom had been overthrown, or retired in despair from a hopeless contest. What then remained to form the moral basis of a Government wielding such vast material powers? Much remained—**SELFISHNESS REMAINED**; and this indelible principle, which invariably rises into supremacy when a crisis, political or military, has passed, was skilfully appealed to by the Government, and formed the basis on which it rested for the next sixteen years. It is so after all revolutions: the selfish and cautious invariably in the end obtain the command; and they do so for this plain reason, that the ardent and generous on all sides have disappeared from the effects of their own devotion, as the brave perish in the front rank of battle, and the dastardly camp-followers, and fiends in woman's form who swell their numbers, emerge from the dark to gather its ensanguined spoils. Guizot admits that selfishness was the principle appealed to by the Government of Louis Philippe, and that force and corruption were the means by which its authority was maintained, and he defends it on the ground of absolute and overbearing necessity. There was no other basis left on which the Government could be established.

3. The manner in which, in practice, this principle was worked out, was this: the middle class, by whose efforts the throne of the Citizen King had been established, were retained in their allegiance by a sedulous attention to their material interests, incessant praises of their patriotism and virtue, and constant appeals to their public spirit to avert the dangers with which society was threatened from the machinations of the anarchical faction. The army was held together, even without the excitement of war, by the substantial benefits of good quarters and rations, frequent and magnificent military pageants, and the opening the path of promotion to non-commissioned officers of every grade, and privates from the ranks. The utmost efforts were made to secure a majority in the Chambers by a lavish distribution of the immense patronage of Government, not only among the members of the Legislature, but among the constituents by whom they were returned. The democratic press, how violent soever, was to be worn out and subdued by incessant prosecutions, which, whether successful or not, would always be attended with expense and trouble to the parties concerned, and might come to exhaust the profits which constituted its main principle of action. The populace in Paris and the great towns were to be kept in employment by continuing all the public works set on foot by preceding governments, and commencing new ones, and in good-humour by splendid spectacles at the theatres, the more licentious the better, supported by large contributions from the public purse. The vast expense with which these internal measures were attended was to be provided for by preserving external peace, and the good-will of the Continental sovereigns to be secured by cautiously repressing the spirit of propagandism which had been so powerfully excited by the Revolution of July, and diffused such universal consternation in the neighbouring governments. And in the midst of all this policy, so adverse to the principles which had seated the Citizen King on the throne, those principles were to be constantly

announced and loudly proclaimed in public acts and by the members of Government—proceeding thus on the maxim of Augustus, that men will willingly submit to the reality of slavery, provided they are deluded by the language of freedom.

4. It was said by a minister well versed in the ways of the world, that “every office he gave away made one ungrateful and three discontented.” The maxim is true, and of general application; and it unfolds the real reason why, in popular governments, which must always in the long-run more or less rest on the influence of patronage, discontent generally succeeds popularity, and the sway even of the most powerful administration is short-lived. How great soever may be the number of offices at the disposal of Government, it cannot for a length of time keep pace with the demands of its supporters, far less disarm the hostility of its opponents. If it limits itself to the first, the basis of influence is never extended, and ere long it contracts; if it attempts the last, discontent is generally produced among its friends, and gratitude is seldom awakened among its enemies. Envy is sure to fasten upon those who bask in the sunshine of Government favour, discontent to spread among those who are excluded from its rays. The greater the intelligence and intellectual activity of the people, the greater is the difficulty with which Government has to contend from this cause, because the greater is the number of the aspirants who must be disappointed, of conscious ability which must be kept in the shade. Whoever considers the influence of these causes, will cease to wonder at the practical difficulty of establishing a stable authority in highly educated communities, or the frequent changes of administration which in them paralyse the action of Government, and imprint a character of vacillation and inconsistency on their measures.

5. A gracious and well-judged act first signalled the confidence felt by Government from the victory of June 6

in Paris. On the 9th June the *Moniteur* announced that the Duchess de Berri had, on the 8th, been liberated by order of the Government from the Chateau of Blaye, and embarked for Palermo. Upon being questioned in the Chamber whether this had been done in consequence of any foreign interposition, the Ministers answered that it had not, and that any such interference would only have prolonged the Princess's captivity. She arrived in safety at Palermo shortly after. Government acted wisely in this act. They did exactly what Napoleon said the Convention should have done when Louis made the attempt at evasion by the journey to Varennes. The heroic but frail Princess had been morally slaughtered by what had occurred in the Chateau of Blaye; it would have been the worst policy to have restored her fame, as that of Queen Mary had been by the scaffold of Fotheringay.

6. The Duke of Orléans returned soon after from an extensive tour through the south of France. His partialities and prepossessions were all for the Liberal side, and his words on all occasions bespoke the ardour of his patriotic feelings. In giving a standard to the artillery of the national guard of Marseilles he said, “On the 30th April* you have trampled under foot the *white flag*, the standard of *ignominy*; here is the standard of honour. I have come to Marseilles to make a paction with the patriots. I should be glad to shed the last drop of my blood for freedom.” Strange words in the mouth of a descendant of Henry IV., and the inheritor of his throne! In addressing many of the municipalities, however, he received rude and even insolent answers; and he returned to Paris deeply impressed with the republican spirit which even in the south had infected the middle class, which in the towns had got possession of the municipalities. “Two years,” said the magistrates of Aix, “have destroyed all our illusions: the patriots imprisoned, the Carlists flattered, caressed, filling the offices of administration.

* The day when the Duchess de Berri landed.

The conduct of all local authorities has produced its wonted fruits: our souls are divided, our enemies are united."

"We owe the truth to princes," said the council of Draguignan, "and you are worthy to hear it. We say with all the fervour of our hearts, that there is *not one man faithful to the Revolution of July*, or who has courage enough to repudiate that false system under which we live, and of which the happiness of France, so dear to your heart, absolutely requires the change." So violent were the addresses he received that the young Prince had no small difficulty in answering them without compromising the Government; and in truth he could not have done so were it not that he bore no ostensible part in the Administration, and that, in Bossuet's words, "the heir-apparent is separated from the crown by the whole breadth of the kingdom."

7. The theatres and romances of Paris, during the lull of political excitement which followed the victory of June, gave melancholy proof of the extent to which the public mind had become depraved, and the strength of that craving for excitement which, deprived of its former vent, now sought one in private licentiousness. The Opera was crowded nightly to see the splendid exhibitions of *La Tentation* and *Robert le Diable*, in the first of which a beautiful female was exhibited on the stage, at first in a state of almost absolute nudity, and latterly with a thin gauze only, to enhance the charms of nature; while, in the last, a choir of nuns was represented in a ruined church rising from their tombs, who immediately began waltzing in their transparent *soi-disant* grave-clothes. The dramatised romance of Victor Hugo, *La Tour du Nesle*, founded on the most frightful tales of systematic profligacy and subsequent murder which the middle ages had transmitted to our times, attracted prodigious crowds to one of the minor theatres. Such was the temper of the times that ladies of the highest rank went to see these extraordinary exhibitions, affording thus the clearest proof of general licentiousness in the obli-

vion of the safeguards of virtue even by those who had never transgressed its bounds.

8. These feelings produced in one extreme sect such extraordinary results as led to a prosecution by Government, however little inclined to interfere with excesses which did not threaten itself. The leaders of the St Simonians, M.M. Enfantin, Rodrigues, and Michel Chevalier, were indicted for having formed a society of more than twenty persons, professedly for literary purposes, but which had propagated doctrines subversive of morality. The accused, accompanied by their friends of the same persuasion, marched to the place of trial in the Palais de Justice, clothed in the theatrical costume of the order. Among their attendants were a number of women elegantly dressed in blue, the distinctive mark of the association, and whom the accused requested might be permitted to sit near them at the trial, to aid them by their counsels "in a matter peculiarly affecting the rights of women." The principal matter of accusation against them was, that they inculcated the abolition of marriage, and general establishment of a promiscuous intercourse of the sexes. The prisoners did not deny the charge, but they justified it. Casting his eyes on the galaxy of young and handsome females who surrounded him, M. Enfantin exclaimed, "I tell you, gentlemen, what importance we attach to the forms, to the looks of beauty. It is in their eyes that we seek the inspiration which is to defend us. It is not in solitary meditation, but in the enthusiasm which they awaken that we seek for wisdom. If an army is to be formed, every one exclaims, 'The carabineers must be fine men!' It is to love, and be loved, and introduce order into things now abandoned to disorder, that we are associated. It is the fair whom I would free from their fetters—beauty from its stains. The emancipation of women is our main object. *Marriage is the prison in which the jealousy of man has confined her.* Can you deny this, you who boast of your '*bonnes fortunes*,'

which is just an effort to excuse it, and a secret admission of the necessity of adultery? Like you, we wish a period to be put to these scandals: but a different method must be adopted from that which has hitherto been practised." In the close of these strange discussions, which, as an index to general feeling so strangely perverted, are more deserving of serious thought than ridicule, the accused were sentenced to a year's imprisonment; a result which, with the revelations made at the trial, had a material effect in checking these disorders. It is a curious proof of the tendency of extravagance in political thought to produce corresponding wildness in public morals, that doctrines of precisely the same kind emanated from the enthusiasm of the first Revolution, and induced the frightful laxity of manners which characterised the periods of the Convention and the Directory.

9. No sooner had the Government recovered from the shocks by which it had been assailed in the beginning of summer, than, as already mentioned, Louis Philippe began to look around him for a new combination, to give greater strength and consideration to the Administration, which had been constructed in haste to meet the exigencies of the past crisis. To effect this object he endeavoured to form a Ministry embracing persons of all shades of political thought, but vesting the majority in the Doctrinaires, whose opinions were more especially in accordance with those which had placed and could alone retain him upon the throne. Soult was made (October 12) President of the Council, Minister at War, and Prime Minister; the Duke de Broglie received the portfolio of Foreign Affairs; M. Hermann, that of the Finances; M. Thiers, of the Interior; and M. Guizot, that of Public Instruction. M. de Montalivet, the former Minister of the Interior, was degraded to the position of Administrator-General of the Civil List, a very subordinate situation. Finally, an ordonnance appeared next day *creating sixty new peers*, besides seven nominated since the close of

the last session—a fresh inundation, which completed the degradation of the dignified portion of the legislature.* These repeated creations, which so effectually destroyed the consideration and weight of the peerage in the sister kingdom, leave no room for doubt that if the same measure, which was so anxiously pressed upon the King of Great Britain by the Liberal party, had been carried into effect, it would have effectually destroyed our mixed constitution, and forced us either into a despotic monarchy or an elective republic.

10. The accession of the new Ministry was followed by a remarkable circular, drawn up by M. Thiers, but addressed by Marshal Soult to the prefects, explanatory of the principles on which his Government was formed. "The political system of my predecessor," said he, "shall be mine; it is the national system; the Chambers have declared it. The maintenance of the monarchy and of the charter is the first condition of public liberty; but that liberty cannot be secured till it is regular. It honours and secures itself by respect for the laws. Order within and peace without will be the best guarantees for its duration. France, therefore, may rely on my efforts to maintain order and peace. Within, the Government has need of all your courage and wisdom. Every attempt at disorder should be energetically repressed. Measures are in progress which will effectually efface every trace of convulsion in the western departments. Anarchy has been conquered in Paris, on the 5th and 6th of June, by the courage and devotion of the troops of the line, and of the National Guard. The factions in those deplorable days have unveiled at once their audacity and their weakness. None of their projects are either unknown to the Government or feared by it. Sedition will find the country unanimous in the desire to give to Government all the support of which it stands in need. In concert with the powers in alliance with us, we will press forward the solution of the great

* See *ante*, chap. xxix. sec. 83.

European questions. Our armies, ardent but docile, lend to moderation the support of force. Europe knows it; but it knows, at the same time, our fidelity to our engagements, and our firm determination to preserve the peace of the world. Government will not be wanting to its duty; but it is in the country above all that it has confidence. If success crown our efforts, it will be owing to its patriotism. It is my old custom to refer everything to the honour of France."

11. The Republicans meanwhile, though defeated, were not subdued, but the disaster they had met with induced, as usual in such circumstances, a change in their system of attack. Conquered in the public streets, they took refuge in secret societies and the affiliation of clubs. Republicanism had then its catacombs, as Christianity, from the same cause, had had during the persecutions of the Roman emperors. These secret societies had existed both in France and the neighbouring states during the Restoration; but they had fallen into comparative disuse during the licence of open hostility which followed the Revolution of July. Now, however, that the strength of the Government had been felt, and its existence seemed likely to be prolonged, the democrats resumed their efforts by the aid of these affiliated societies; and it was by means of them that the contest was chiefly conducted during the remainder of the reign of Louis Philippe. Their efforts, however, were now less shrouded in secrecy than formerly; they included a greater number of persons, and were directed chiefly to extend in the manufactories and workshops their principles, and gain there the supporters who might overturn the Government. The great organ of these secret societies was the Liberal press; and every Sunday it spoke in language sufficiently intelligible, but still not cognisable by the law—the language of measured agitation and legal treason.

12. Everything at this period seemed to favour Louis Philippe, and promised stability to his reign. Hardly had the catastrophe of the Chateau of Blaye

confounded the Legitimists, and the suppression of the insurrection in Paris dashed the hopes of the Republicans, when a new event occurred, which deprived the third great party in the state of its natural head and most formidable prestige. On the 30th July the telegraph announced that the Duke of Reichstadt, only legitimate son of Napoleon, had expired at Schoenbrunn, near Vienna, on the 22d of that month. This amiable and interesting young man, born to such destinies, involved in such a fall, had, since his transference on the removal of the French Emperor to Elba, been under the care of his grandfather, the Emperor of Austria, by whom his youthful years had been kindly and sedulously tended. He retained, however, a faint recollection of the scenes of his infancy, and the catastrophe which had precipitated his father from the throne; and when he reached the years of adolescence, and read the story of the immortal hero whose blood ran in his veins, much of Napoleon's spirit reappeared in his character, despite all the prudence and precautions of his Austrian educator. He had already received a regiment from his grandfather, and had worn the *Austrian* uniform: but his heart was with the French; and his youthful cheek fired with enthusiasm when he read the accounts of their glorious achievements, when led by his father's genius. He early evinced a strong predilection for military operations, and no small amount of military talent and enthusiasm; but these very qualities, coinciding with a feeble and consumptive constitution, shortened his life. In the end of 1831, the symptoms became so alarming that he was removed from Vienna to Schoenbrunn; and during the spring of the following year, he was so weak that he could only enjoy the fresh air by being drawn in a garden-chair through its charming pleasure-grounds. When the last hour approached, he received the sacrament, according to the custom of the imperial family, with his mother and all his relations, dressed in white as for a bridal day; and on the 22d July he

calmly breathed his last, amidst his weeping relatives, with a smile, even in death, still on his features. He carried with him to the tomb the greatest inheritance of modern times, and was interred in the family vault of the house of Hapsburg, in the convent of the Capuchins at Vienna. A simple Latin inscription on his tomb records his glorious destiny, striking qualities, and premature end; but they would perhaps be better expressed in the brief and plaintive inscription of the Courtenay family,—

"Quomodo lapsus ! quid feci ?" *

13. The session of the Chambers opened on the 19th November, and the King, who presided in person, was loudly applauded in going and returning from the hall. An attempt at assassination was, however, made by a desperado at the extremity of the Pont Royal, who fired at him. Happily the shot did not take effect; and Louis Philippe said calmly, "It is nothing; there is no mischief done," and continued his progress as if nothing had occurred. In the speech from the throne, after alluding to the Legitimist insurrection in the west, and the Republican in Paris, he observed, "A recent event, decisive for the public peace, has destroyed the hopes of the former party." He dwelt with just pride on the brilliant display at Antwerp, where the flags of England and France floated together at the mouth of the Scheldt, and in which his two sons bore a part; and concluded with these words, entirely in harmony with the circular of the Prime Minister: "Yet a few efforts, and the last traces of disquietude, inseparable from a great revolution, will be effaced. The feeling of *stability* will re-enter all minds; France will regain confidence in its future, and then will be realised the dearest wish of my heart—that of seeing my country raised to the pitch of prosperity to which it is entitled to aspire, and of being enabled to say with truth, that my efforts have not been wholly without effect in working out its destinies."

* How fallen ! what have I done?

14. The first trial of strength, as usual, took place on the choice of a president for the Chamber; and the vote then showed how much strength the Government had gained by recent events. M. Lafitte, the Opposition candidate, had only 136 votes, while M. Dupin, who was the Ministerial, had 234. The election for the vice-presidents was equally decisive: MM. Berenger and Delessert, who were supported by Government, had 270 and 255 respectively; while MM. de Schonen and Dupont de l'Eure, the Opposition candidates, had only 179 and 136. The orator of Government, M. de Sade, expressed, in the debate on the address, the general feeling, and the causes which had led to this large majority, in these words: "As to the exterior, it is with Belgium alone that we have any concern. What did the Opposition say last autumn? They said that in spring a general war was inevitable. Has it yet broken out? They said that in nourishing the hope of a treaty with England, they were indulging in chimerical ideas. That treaty has been concluded. They said that we would never succeed in effecting the evacuation of Antwerp; at the moment when I now speak, the French army is before Antwerp, and the cannon have probably already begun to sound. (Great sensation.) In the interior, the Republic and anarchy vanquished on the 6th June; the counter-revolution beat down and conquered in the west; peace, in fine, secured, and the honour of France intact: these are results accomplished or impending, which may be regarded as certain, and of which no one can deny the importance. Of these results, prepared by M. Casimir P rier and his colleagues, some may be claimed by the last Administration, some by the present. Thus, gentlemen, if we have the candour to admit it, everything announces that France approaches the last period of its agitations and its disquietudes. Already the fever of men's minds is calming down, interests are reassured, prosperity revives. Exhausted by so many agitations, worn out with such disorders, the nation asks only for re-

pose under a Government which may restrain and punish the factions instead of caressing them; which may struggle with courage against the bad passions, instead of flattering them; which, in a word, may govern instead of being governed."

15. The most interesting matter which came before the Chamber of Deputies this session, was the very important one of the *fortification of Paris*. This project had first been conceived by Vauban after the reverses of Louis XIV., when the Hulans and Pandours threatened the Palace of the Grande Monarque. It was subsequently taken up by Napoleon *after* the victory of Austerlitz, and when the easy capture of the Austrian capital had forcibly brought before his far-seeing mind the corresponding perils to which, on a similar reverse of fortune, his own capital might be exposed. He did not venture, however, to carry into execution his designs, for fear of spreading alarm among the Parisians, and lessening their confidence in his star; and bitterly did he regret the want of such bulwarks when the evil day arrived, when the cross march to St Dizier in 1814 left the capital for a few days to its own resources, and he was precipitated from the throne in consequence. In 1826, M. Clermont Tonnerre, then Minister at War, formed a plan for the fortification of Paris, specially designed to meet the case of a serious domestic insurrection, but not of a foreign attack, then deemed little probable.* But

* This was a very remarkable memoir by M. Clermont Tonnerre. It bore, "Quand Napoleon s'établit dans le palais de nos rois, il sentait la nécessité d'isoler la demeure du souverain, et de le mettre à l'abri des attaques d'une immense population qui se souleverait contre le gouvernement; ce fut dans ce dessein qu'il entreprit de construire la nouvelle galerie qui doit enceindre, dans le palais même, une immense place d'armes ayant des débouchés sur toutes les faces, qu'il isola le Jardin des Tuileries, et fit percer la Rue de Rivoli dont le prolongement doit aller jusqu'à la colonnade du Louvre, afin de dégager entièrement l'enceinte du palais. Mais il ne se contenta pas d'isoler le palais et de le placer dans de longs espaces que le canon ou des charges de cavalerie peuvent balayer avec la plus grande facilité; il ajouta à ces premières dispositions une précaution de détail, qui

now that Europe was again in a state of antagonism with France, and experience had proved that internal revolt was not less to be apprehended, it became necessary to devise a system which should provide against this double set of dangers. To accomplish this object, the plan adopted, after mature deliberation by the Cabinet of the Tuileries, was to form a circle of vast citadels around Paris, so close to each other as by their cross fire to command every approach to the capital, and so near its interior that vertical fire from them might command every part of its extent. By means of these detached forts, perfect military command might be obtained of the metropolis without quartering a soldier within its bounds; a secure place of

merite d'être remarqué, en réservant en face du Pavillon Marsan une petite place de retraite, dont le but est évidemment de pouvoir au besoin réunir et mettre à couvert une réserve de troupes et d'artillerie, et par l'acquisition du terrain qu'il fit jusqu'à la Rue St Honoré, il s'assura des moyens d'établir cette importante communication; on sait enfin qu'il refusa constamment de dégager la façade de St Roch, où il avait acquis, le 13 Vendémiaire, la preuve que le peuple pouvait trouver un point d'appui redoutable, afin que du haut de cette citadelle on ne puisse pas prendre de vues sur les Tuileries, ou déboucher facilement de cette butte St Roch près du château sur la Rue de Rivoli. Voyons jusqu'à quel point il avait porté la prévoyance du danger, que peut faire au chef d'un état une population d'un million d'âmes. Il annonça le projet de former ce qu'il appela le palais du Roi de Rome, et voici en quoi consistait le projet. Le palais placé sur la hauteur en face de l'Ecole Militaire, dominant le Pont de Jéna, enfilant le cours entier de la rivière d'une part, et toute le développement de la Rue de Rivoli de l'autre, devait être construit de manière à remplir toutes les conditions d'une véritable forteresse; mais pour lui donner toute la valeur dont elle était susceptible, il embrassait dans ses dépendances tout ce grand plateau qui s'étend de la Barrière de l'Etoile, et de la hauteur des Bons Hommes jusqu'au Bois de Boulogne et la route de Neuilly. Sur ce plateau il devait établir un immense jardin entouré de fortes murailles ou de fosses profondes, qui en faisaient au besoin un vaste camp retranché, auquel arrivaient par toutes les routes, et sans être obligées d'entrer dans Paris, les troupes de Versailles, de Courbevoie, et de St Denis, et en un mot la garde entière." A curious development of the "pensées intimes" of the great conqueror regarding his faithful citizens of Paris in the moment of his highest popularity!—CAFFRIGUE, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, vii. 169, 171.

refuge provided for the sovereign, without giving him the appearance of distrusting his subjects; and the most effective means of coercing a rebellious population provided, without awakening its suspicions, and under pretext of sheltering it from the assaults of foreign despotism.

16. How skilfully soever this project may have been devised, and with whatever art its real object was concealed, its tendency did not escape the penetration of the leaders of the Opposition. They saw at once, that if a circle of these forts were established round Paris, each entire, and capable of standing a siege by itself, and yet all combining by their cross fire to command the most central parts of the city, the power of the metropolitan democracy was at an end, and it would be no longer possible, by raising mobs in the streets, to effect revolutions in the state. Paris would be as completely ruled by its surrounding girdle of forts as Genoa, Turin, or Naples had been; or as Warsaw was becoming, under the auspices of the Emperor Nicholas. They organised, accordingly, the most formidable opposition against the proposed measure, resting their resistance on the expense with which it would be attended, and the tremendous weapon which it would place in the hands of despotism. Cries of "*A bas les forts détachés!*" "*A bas les bastilles!*" were heard on all sides, and ominous groups began to be formed in the streets. So violent did the opposition become, that Government were obliged for the time to postpone the project, how obvious soever it may have been that it afforded the best security against foreign or domestic danger. The design, however, was adjourned, not abandoned; the determination of the Cabinet to carry it into execution was fully formed; for experience had now abundantly proved, and never so much as in the last two years, that there could be no security for any government, even the most popular, which was not in possession of some arm adequate to restrain the capricious violence of the people.

17. Another grant of public money

for internal purposes excited much less opposition, and was equally wise and beneficial. M. Thiers demanded from the Chambers, and obtained a credit of 100,000,000 francs (£1,000,000) for the completion of the public works already in progress, or the commencement of new ones. This ample grant, which sounds so large to English ears, being a *full twelfth* of the whole expenditure of the year, was not suggested merely by a spirit of munificence or splendour on the part of the Government. It arose from necessity: it was a means of appeasing the public discontent. The industry of the metropolis, though much improved, had not entirely recovered the shock received by the successful Revolution of 1830; and although the suppression of that of 1832 had done much to re-establish its credit, yet confidence was still very far from being confirmed, and numerous classes of workmen, especially those who ministered to luxuries and elegancies, were languishing from want of employment. This ample grant from the Chambers was a well-timed and graceful provision for their relief. "Every government," said M. Thiers, in proposing the grant, "during the last forty years, impatient to imprint a trace of its existence on the soil of the country, has hastened to erect edifices, to excavate canals, to open out roads. But, more solicitous to commence works of their own than to complete those of their predecessors, they have left eternal scaffolding around our edifices in the public squares, and beds of canals still dry in our fields. The present Cabinet has conceived the idea that its mission is to finish rather than commence. It has at least the merit of novelty, and is most conformable to the spirit of the Government of July. That Government, coming after forty years of experiments of every kind, has for its object to resume, complete, and strengthen all that has been done before it. It will only, therefore, be in harmony with itself, when it prefers completing old undertakings to commencing new ones."

18. The proportion of this liberal grant which was allocated to the

monuments of the capital, was no less than 24,000,000 francs (£960,000). It had become, however, a matter of absolute necessity to do something for their prosecution, for the greater part of them were in a state of ruinous dilapidation, going rapidly to decay from the action of the weather on their unfinished materials; and several millions of francs were required annually, not to go on with the works, but to prevent them falling into total ruin. The world has no reason to regret these liberal grants, for they led to the completion of the Arc de l'Etoile, whose gigantic mass closes the superb avenue of the Champs Elysées, of the beautiful peristyle of the Madeleine, and of the noble pile of the Pantheon, which still remained, solitary, untenanted in the midst of the busy concourse of the capital. But it was not merely the monuments of the metropolis which shared in this splendid national munificence: works of utility, and beneficial to industry, were equally attended to. No less than 44,000,000 francs (£1,800,000) were voted for canals; 12,000,000 francs (£480,000) for roads in La Vendée, and 17,000,000 francs (£680,000) for other roads in France, and 2,500,000 francs (£100,000) for lighthouses on the coasts. Nothing was ever more wise or expedient, even for the Government's own interests, than these splendid grants. It was by a similar

policy, in a great measure, that the Romans so long retained the empire which the legions had conquered; the sway of the emperors was felt chiefly by the munificent grants in aid of public works in the provinces, which flowed from the Imperial treasury. It is painful to think how blind the selfishness of ruling power so often renders it to the expedience, for its own sake, of this wise and magnanimous policy; and how strong is the tendency of those in authority in the metropolis to concentrate the benefits of taxation upon themselves, and leave only its burdens to the distant parts of the empire.*

19. The finances of France experienced a sensible amelioration in the course of this year; but the great military armaments which were still kept on foot, and the immense grants to public works, brought the public expenditure to a very high level. The budget, as finally arranged, presented an income of 1,133,870,547 francs (£45,900,000), and an expenditure, ordinary and extraordinary, of 1,120,394,804 francs (£45,800,000); exhibiting a trifling balance in favour of the exchequer, which, as usual in such cases, was brought out only to keep up appearances, and was more apparent than real. A more solid ground of confidence was afforded by the details of the receipts, which exhibited a marked and gratifying in-

* The credits adopted by the Chamber for the Public Works were as follows:—

	Francs.	or	£
Arc de l'Etoile,	2,070,000		84,000
Eglise de la Madeleine,	2,600,000		104,000
Panthéon,	1,400,000		56,000
Museum d'Histoire Naturelle,	2,400,000		96,000
Eglise de St Denis,	1,350,000		52,000
Ecoles des Beaux Arts,	1,900,000		76,000
Hôtel du Quay d'Orsay,	3,450,000		137,000
Monument de la Bastille,	700,000		28,000
Chambres des Députés,	270,000		11,000
Institution des Sourds et Muets,	150,000		6,000
Collège de France,	650,000		26,000
Pont de la Concorde,	300,000		12,000
Travaux de Canalisation,	44,000,000		1,800,000
Routes Royales,	15,000,000		600,000
Entretiens des Routes,	2,000,000		800,000
Routes dans l'Ouest,	12,000,000		480,000
Phares et Fanaux des Côtes,	2,500,000		100,000
Etudes relatives aux Chemins-de-Fer,	500,000		20,000
	93,940,000		3,768,000

crease in all the principal branches of revenue, indicating the immense benefit which had been conferred upon the nation by the defeat of the Republicans, and the establishment of the Government upon a more solid foundation. But the shock of recent events was still painfully felt; and the income required to be brought up to the expenditure by loans to the amount of 167,000,000 francs (£6,700,000), contracted during a period of general peace.*

20. The King made two journeys this year—one to Normandy, and one towards Calais; and in the course of these progresses, several answers he made to addresses presented to him were singularly indicative of the soundness of his judgment. The mayor of Rouen having contended, in his speech,

for the absolute freedom of commerce, Louis Philippe replied: "I am disposed on principle to wish that commerce should enjoy the greatest possible freedom: I wish it was possible to emancipate it from every restraint; because I believe that its liberty is one of the chief means of *augmenting capital, of founding great fortunes*, and of increasing the general prosperity by means of their circulation. Nevertheless, we cannot advance in that path but with great circumspection; we must hear and consult all interests; and all I can say at present is, that the subject occupies my most anxious consideration." The president of the civil tribunal of Bernay having addressed him on the attachment of the people to Liberal institutions, and the necessity of truth reaching the ear of

* INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF FRANCE FOR 1833, 1834, AND 1835.

INCOME.			
	1833.	1834.	1835.
	Francs.	Francs.	Francs.
Direct taxes,	353,526,673	363,417,990	365,680,614
Stamps,	196,011,000	196,944,745	199,978,527
Woods,	16,000,000	22,853,755	24,231,124
Customs,	161,000,000	159,619,524	162,191,715
Indirect taxes,	169,200,000	188,183,480	192,218,084
Post-Office,	35,790,000	36,157,954	37,106,155
Lottery,	10,000,000	5,583,790	7,764,925
Miscellaneous,	25,843,474	31,021,893	22,724,316
Loans and extraordinary resources,	167,000,000	28,280,010	9,046,333
	1,133,870,547	1,042,193,157	1,051,880,927
EXPENDITURE.			
	1833.	1834.	1835.
	Francs.	Francs.	Francs.
National Debt,	218,195,549	195,964,033	195,913,630
Sinking Fund and Floating Debt,	130,793,430	{ 54,552,463	55,272,463
		{ 76,050,000	80,175,750
Pensions,	17,370,600	17,257,100	17,032,900
Justice,†	18,351,365	54,660,284	55,355,849
Foreign Affairs,	7,197,700	7,355,700	7,960,700
Public Instruction,	4,985,000	13,275,673	13,734,990
Interior and Public Worship, . .	41,499,005	74,941,276	74,818,882
Commerce and Public Works, . .	129,580,200	54,497,878	57,480,277
War,	305,547,288	226,299,942	238,914,486
Navy,	66,206,518	65,000,000	66,215,917
Finances,	23,378,401	21,509,460	20,365,629
Charges of Collection,	115,075,668	120,250,985	121,832,341
Drawback, &c.,	41,910,831	57,704,134	58,596,085
	1,120,394,804	1,039,318,931	1,063,669,927
† After this year, Public Worship was united to Justice.			

princes, the King replied, with dignity: "Yes! without doubt it is fitting that truth should reach the ears of kings, but it is fitting it should reach those of nations also. Now, nations have their flatterers as kings formerly had; and these new flatterers know well how to pervert the truth by flattery, to intimidate it by insult, or to obscure it by calumny. It is for time and public reason to do it justice; and it is only by rejecting the eyes of passion and of partiality that the public mind can succeed in arriving at a sound judgment, and discerning its true interests. It is then, also, that it can appreciate justly the real advantages which it enjoys, and learns not to put them in hazard by pursuing chimeras, and recalling the misfortunes which they have caused to weigh upon France."

21. What pains soever the French Government may have taken to repress the spirit of insubordination, to the triumph of which it owed its origin, it could not extinguish it; and the more it was kept down in France itself, the more it sought vent in foreign states. The passion for propagandism, however, now took a new direction. It sought out different channels for its operations. It no longer organised open revolt; insurrections in the streets were laid aside. It was by secret committees, public meetings called ostensibly for other purposes, and extensive correspondence, that the new system was to be carried out, and sedition nurtured without incurring its pains. The Polish emigrants, ardent, intrepid, and enterprising, inspired with the most violent hatred at the monarchical party of which Russia was the head, were the chief agents in every part of Europe of this new species of propagandism. Infatuated, as exiles in general are, with the prospects and power of their adherents, they did not see that, in throwing themselves in this manner without reserve into the arms of the Republicans, they were inflicting a wound on their country worse than any it had received from the arms of the Russians, because they detached from its side all the monarchies of Europe, even the most liberal, who with reason apprehended

more danger from such allies than from the strides of the Colossus of the north.

22. In common with other great cities, a Polish Committee was appointed in Paris, which was soon in close correspondence with those in London, Brussels, and elsewhere, and initiated into all the designs of the Republicans in every part of the world. Naturally it excited the disquietude of the Russian Government, which represented that the existence and tolerance of such a committee in Paris was a standing menace to the northern powers, and open to all the objections so strongly urged by Lafayette and the National Assembly against the assemblage of Royalist nobles at Coblenz in 1792. To these remonstrances of the Russian ambassador, Count Pozzo di Borgo, the Prussian minister added others which belonged exclusively to the Germanic Confederacy. He represented that the Diet had been under the necessity in the preceding year of taking some steps to repress the spirit of propagandism which had appeared so strongly, especially in the lesser states, and that this danger was immensely increased by the Polish and Republican committees so generally established. A secret memoir was at the same time presented by a diplomatic agent of the Court of Berlin to its Cabinet, which portrayed with truth the political state of Germany, and foreshadowed the part it was destined to take on the political theatre of Europe. "For centuries," it observed, "Germany has been regarded as the heart of Europe. So long as the ideas of preserving the balance of power were in vogue, it was generally felt that it was the central weight which made the balance incline to whichever side it adopted. Napoleon in the outset of his career hastened to base his power on the Confederation of the Rhine: it was when it turned against him that he was overthrown. In the beginning of 1832, Germany was in a very unsettled state. French emissaries never ceased to traverse the country from state to state, and their influence was in an especial manner felt in the capitals of the smaller powers—at Munich, Dresden, Würtemberg, and Baden, and in

general from the Rhine to the frontiers of Prussia. These facts are sufficiently notorious: several of these agents have been seized in Berlin itself, and sent out of the kingdom. The new theories have in an especial manner penetrated the lesser states, and nothing has contributed so much to their diffusion as the weakness of government in the Ecclesiastical States, where the innovating doctrines of the French Revolutions have brought forth numerous complaints against not only real but imaginary abuses."

23. It was not without reason that this sagacious observer expressed himself thus on the political condition of the lesser states of Germany. A committee had been in existence in Paris ever since 1830, at the head of which was General Lafayette, the object of which was to spread affiliated societies and committees through the whole states of Western Germany. In the first months of 1832, it assumed a more definite form and organisation, under the name of the "Union for the Liberty of the Press." Societies under this name, corresponding with each other, and taking their directions from the central committee in Paris, were formed at Deux-Ponts, and all through Rhenish Bavaria, at Mayence, Frankfurt, Cassel, Leipsic, Nuremberg, Munich, Würzburg, Stuttgart, Mannheim, and Fribourg. Fêtes were periodically given in all these towns, the object of which was to excite and perpetuate this revolutionary spirit; and such was the effect they produced upon the ardent and universally educated youth of Germany, that had this proceeding been conducted with a little more moderation, the effects might have been incalculable. But the French agents pushed matters so far that they roused the old Teutonic jealousy of Gallic influence; and several of them, in particular Boerne and Theodore Heine, produced a great reaction against the unmeasured strides of French usurpation over the country which had emancipated itself from its military power. The attention of the Diet also was at length aroused to the dan-

ger of the existing conspiracy. A violent explosion took place at Frankfurt on the 3d April 1833, headed by the students; in consequence of which the Germanic Diet adopted, on 13th April, a series of resolutions, the object of which was to establish additional restrictions on the licence of the press; to bind each other to reciprocal aid in the event of tumult in their respective states; to prohibit meetings having a political tendency; to prevent the inhabitants of any state from resisting the payment of taxes agreed to by its Diet; and to lend the whole strength of the Confederacy against any refractory state.*

24. The efforts of the French propagandists and Polish refugees were not less serious in Switzerland and the north of Italy. Great numbers of the latter had taken refuge in the land of freedom after the fall of Warsaw in 1831. They had received a notification that they must leave France. They had even gone so far as to address a formal demand for hospitality and protection to the "rulers of the land of Tell and Winkelreid."† They received permission accordingly, and six hundred of them immediately emigrated from France, and sought an asylum in the Helvetic territory. Their appearance there excited the jealousy of Austria and Prussia, and the ministers of these Cabinets at Berne soon addressed energetic notes demanding their immediate expulsion from the Swiss territory. This requisition occasioned no small embar-

* See *ante*, chap. xxvii. sec. 51.

† "Représentants de la libre Helvétie, ennemis de l'arbitraire, prêts à braver toutes les vicissitudes du sort en servant la cause des peuples, nous nous sommes vus forcés de quitter la France et de réclamer votre protection généreuse. Les services que notre nation a rendus à l'Europe, nos malheurs, parlent en notre faveur, et le caractère Polonais, l'honneur du soldat de la liberté, est la plus sûre garantie de notre conduite dans votre patrie. Nous attendons votre réponse, et nous sommes convaincus qu'elle sera celle des dignes descendans de Tell et de Winkelreid, nous l'attendons persuadés que les victimes du despotisme ne peuvent être repoussées de ce pays qui a été de tout temps le foyer de la liberté. 10 Août 1832."—*CAR.* vii. 219, 220.

rassment to the Swiss Government; for, on the one hand, they were in no condition to resist the demand of the German powers, and on the other, if they complied with it, they lost even the semblance of independence. In this dilemma they had recourse to the usual resource of the weak—procrastination—and referred the matter to the general diet of Helvetia. Before any determination, however, could be come to by that body on the subject, a vast conspiracy of Liberals was discovered in Piedmont, the object of which was to overturn the Government; and as a great number of French as well as Poles were implicated in it, the Cabinet of Louis Philippe interposed in favour of the accused persons. The Government of Turin was now placed in the same embarrassment as that of Switzerland had been. Lying midway between the aristocratic and democratic powers, it knew not to which to incline, and could not yield to the one without incurring the enmity of the other. The Piedmontese Government, however, succeeded in asserting its independence, and taking cognisance of its own criminals, who were tried, convicted, and executed.

25. Although the affairs of Belgium had been all but settled by the convention concluded in London between France and England on May 21st, and accepted by the Dutch and Belgian Governments, yet a definitive treaty had not yet been concluded. A considerable degree of jealousy had sprung up in the northern powers in consequence of the open assumption by France and England of a right to dispose, at their own pleasure, of the conflicting interests of the independent states. Out of this jealousy sprang the Congress of MUNTZ-GRAETZ, in Bohemia, which for the first time gave open token of the schism between the eastern and western powers. The Emperor Nicholas was attended by Count Nesselrode, the Emperor of Austria by Prince Metternich, and the King of Prussia by M. d'Ancillon. It may readily be supposed that such great personages did not assemble from such distant quar-

ters for light purposes, and that Nicholas had not come from St Petersburg into the heart of Germany merely for the sake of amusement or festivity. Great interests were at stake; and it was there for the first time that the old alliance which had overthrown Napoleon was dissolved, and the severance rendered irreparable which had arisen from the Revolution of 1830 in France, and that of 1832 in Great Britain. Although this separation was inevitable, and might naturally have been expected from these decisive events, yet it was so open a departure from former usages that it excited no small disquietude in the Courts of London and Paris; and the sovereigns of these realms could not avoid feeling a certain chagrin at seeing a congress sitting avowedly for the settlement of the affairs of Europe, from which their representatives were excluded.

26. In truth, however, the jealousy felt at the Congress of Muntz-Graetz, though natural on the part of the western Cabinets, had no solid foundation so far as their immediate interests were concerned. There was no thought there of restoring the ancient dynasty in France; it had proved too weak and incompetent when the crisis arrived to excite any sympathy in the Continental powers. Grave questions were at stake; material interests of the highest importance were to be secured. On the Eastern Question the apprehensions of Austria were allayed by the assurance of the Emperor Nicholas, that the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi was merely a defensive act, that it was only intended to protect the weakness of Turkey, and that nothing would give him greater pleasure than to see that country, by the aid of the good offices of Austria, apply for its termination, when everything would return to the *status quo*. With regard to Holland and Belgium, it was agreed to accept the separation of the two kingdoms, to recognise the crown of Leopold, and to use their best endeavours to arrange the conflicting claims of the two states in matters relating to the frontiers or finance, and to give instructions to their respective ambassadors at Lon-

don and Paris to do their utmost to bring about this object. It was stipulated that the *casus belli* should only be held to have arisen if the interests of the Germanic Confederation were seriously compromised; in particular, if the grand-duchy of Luxembourg were refused to be included within its limits. To meet the possible contingency of a war, a very curious and valuable table was prepared by the sovereigns at the congress, of the military forces at their disposal; and in the event of a war, Russia agreed to support Germany with 120,000 men.*

27. A more serious matter for discussion at this congress, and which in reality brought the sovereigns together, was that connected with the system of propagandism, which was still, though underhand, making alarming progress in Europe. The first question considered, and upon which in truth all the rest depended, was whether France was *sincere* in her endeavours and professed wish to repress the spirit of rebellion and disorder in France and Italy? Contrary to expectation, Prince Metternich decidedly supported the affirmative of both propositions. "We have proof of the disposition of the French

Government to repress anarchy in its daily communications, in its efforts to exercise a surveillance over the refugees. We must have patience with it, for it has a rude task to perform. Born of revolution, it is called on to repress its excesses; the creature of rebellion, it can with difficulty detach itself from its side. Surrounded by a net of secret societies, it has, however, resolved to break loose from them, and this year it has not only obtained the victory over them in a pitched battle, but it has succeeded in getting laws passed against the press and the associations." In these views the Prussian minister concurred; and at the same time secret information was communicated from the French Government as to the wish of the Citizen King to detach himself from the revolutionary party, and enter, in good faith, into the European alliance. In consequence of these assurances, the congress separated without coming to any resolution of a military nature, and contented itself with a convention, that persons convicted of high treason or sedition in any of the three monarchies should find no asylum in the territories of the others.

28. The colony of ALGERIA con-

* The military statistics of the Allied Powers furnished to the Congress of Muntz-Graetz were as follows:—

	Men.
I. RUSSIA.—Infantry, including Guards,	285,000
Cavalry,	68,000
Artillery, 960 guns,	30,000
Total,	383,000
Besides Cossacks and irregulars, 100,000 more.	
II. AUSTRIA.—Infantry, including Guards,	250,000
Cavalry,	49,000
Artillery,	22,000
Total,	321,000
Besides 140,000 Landwehr and frontier corps.	
III. PRUSSIA.—Infantry and Guards,	132,000
Cavalry,	32,000
Artillery,	16,000
Total,	180,000
Besides 168,000 Landwehr of the first bail.	
IV. GERMAN CONFEDERACY.—	
Bavaria,	50,000
Saxony,	18,000
Württemberg,	18,000
Baden,	14,000
Hesse,	8,000
Lesser States,	43,000
Total,	151,000

tinued to maintain its ground during this period of distraction in France, though it had a severe conflict to maintain with the warlike and formidable tribes of Africa. The Bedouin horsemen proved as formidable enemies to the Gallic as their ancestors, under Jugurtha, had done to the Roman invaders. The French force, which at first consisted of twenty-nine thousand men, of whom five thousand only were horse, under Marshal Clausel, during the two first years of the occupation, with difficulty maintained its ground against the clouds of Arabs by whom it was surrounded, and, in fact, could hardly be said to possess anything beyond the military posts of Algiers, Oran, and Bona, on the sea-coast. Like the Turks in Europe, they were encamped in Africa, and were masters only of the ground on which their tents stood. To Marshal Clausel succeeded, in May 1831, the Duke of Rovigo (Savary) who endeavoured to extend the basis of the colony by occupying, as the Romans had done before him, the fertile plain of the Metidjah, and establishing strong camps there to protect those who might choose to settle from the incursions of the Numidian horse. The necessities of Government at home, however, having rendered it necessary to reduce the army of occupation to twenty thousand, it became extremely difficult to do this, the more especially as the burning heat of the climate exposed the troops to various maladies which daily diminished their strength.

29. Such was the state of the colony when Marshal Soult became War Minister. He at once perceived that this diminished force was totally inadequate to its protection, and yet that the precarious position of France in reference to the European powers rendered it impossible in any material degree at the present moment to augment it. Thoughts were at first entertained of abandoning the colony as a useless and burdensome offshoot of the monarchy, bequeathed to it by the ambition of the Restoration; but this idea was, on reflection, abandoned, as implying a sense of military weakness, and depriving the State of a

valuable school for its soldiers, as well as vent for its turbulent activity. It was resolved, therefore, to retain it, but to augment its military strength, by the establishment of a large auxiliary force, in imitation of the Romans in Europe in ancient, and the English in India in modern, times. For this purpose it was determined to establish two auxiliary corps—one of six thousand men, composed of military refugees of all nations, who now swarmed in France, whose absence would be as great a relief to that country as their presence would prove a service in its beleaguered colony; these formed the Foreign Legion. The other was to consist, so far as the privates were concerned, of natives of the colony itself, strangers, French settlers, Arabs, and Turks, mingled in such proportions as should render treachery impossible. The officers of all grades were to be entirely composed of young Frenchmen, the most distinguished for their courage, zeal, and activity. A smaller body were to be mounted, armed, and equipped in the light fashion, suited for contending with the desultory bands of horsemen who in every age have constituted the strength of Africa. Both these projects were immediately carried into execution with the happiest effect, and in a short time ten thousand of these admirable light troops were added to the military force of France in Africa. Such was the origin of the ZOUAVES and the CHASSEURS D'AFRIQUE, so justly celebrated in a subsequent war, whom Marshal St Arnaud, not without reason, styled "the best soldiers in the world," and who shared with the English the glories of the Alma, Balaklava, and Inkermann!—One of the most interesting results of history is the tracing out the chain of causes and effects, unceasingly going forward, but eluding contemporary observation, which connect the events of one age with another, and which are, on the retrospect, found to have been the agency of Providence for rendering the acts of free agents the means of carrying out, without their intending it, the objects of Divine administration.

30. By the aid of those powerful auxiliaries, and of large reinforcements which the increased military strength of France put at their disposal, the limits of the colony were rapidly extended. The fertile fields of the Medjidjah, long the granary of Rome, were again, after a long interval, brought under the plough; cultivation spread towards the foot of Mount Atlas; and the Arab tribes, taught in several encounters the superiority of European arms and discipline, began to relax in their incursions, and abstained from ravaging a district where they met with wounds and death rather than plunder. Such was the confidence which before the expiry of two years was established between them and their powerful invaders, that several of the blockhouses were intrusted to their arms, which still, as in a country imperfectly subdued, protected the stations of the troops. Some of the nations, however, were not so tractable; and when they extended into the interior, the French were brought in contact with various warlike tribes, particularly the Hadjoutes, Garabats, and Kabyles, who were not subdued but by repeated and severe actions. The last of these inroads (December 2d, 1833) was made by nine thousand horsemen and one thousand foot-soldiers, headed by ABD-EL-KADER, a chief of vast resources, unwearied activity, and indomitable courage, who long maintained the standard of independence against all the forces of France, and was subdued at last, not in open warfare, but by fraud and a breach of faith unworthy of the nation by which it was perpetrated, and which would never have been committed in the days of its chivalrous honour.

31. The decisive victory which had attended the Crown in the conflict with the Republicans in 1832, and the entire failure of their efforts to obtain a parliamentary majority in the session which followed, induced a marked change in the system of the Opposition and the language of the press in the course of the succeeding year. It is impossible to describe in sufficiently forcible language the viru-

lence of the Republican press during the whole of 1833 and 1834. It was not the impassioned eloquence of a party conscious of right, and contending for victory; it was rather the fierce denunciations of a band of brigands arrested in the midst of their depredations, or the envenomed diatribes of a woman thwarted in her schemes of conquest. Future ages would not give credit to the virulence, at that period, of a large part of the Parisian press, did not the journals to this day remain, attesting its extraordinary acrimony. Some home-truths highly distasteful to the ruling power were there told, amidst great exaggeration of language, and many false principles. An open division of property was constantly inculcated as the only remedy for the evils of society. But how violent soever the press may have been, the Government was not less determined in its prosecutions. Scarcely a morning elapsed without its being announced that twenty or thirty Republicans had been seized in their beds on the preceding night; and ere long the accumulation of prisoners became such that the prisons were unable to contain them, and a huge hospital near the Cemetery of Père-la-Chaise was converted into an additional place of detention.* Faith-

* "Yesterday evening twenty-eight persons, accused of seditious practices, were arrested and sent to prison by the agents of the police. Never did tyranny advance with such rapid strides as it is doing at the present moment in France."—*Tribune*, Aug. 20, 1833.

"Yesterday night eighteen more persons, accused of seditious practices, were sent to prison. How long will the citizens of Paris permit a despotism to exist among them, to which there has been nothing comparable since the days of Napoleon?"—*Tribune*, Aug. 21, 1833.

"More barracks are in the course of being erected in the neighbourhood of Grenelle. If things go on at this rate, Paris will soon contain more soldiers than citizens—more barracks than houses."—*Tribune*, Aug. 23, 1833.

"It is in vain to say that it was Napoleon, or the Restoration, or Louis Philippe, who extinguished freedom in France: it was the overthrow of Robespierre which was the fatal stroke. We have never since known what liberty was: we have lived only under a succession of tyrants. Impressed with

ful to its system, the Government was noways discouraged by failure of its prosecutions, which very often occurred, but went on indicting fresh parties, without regarding the shouts of triumph raised by the Liberals at every acquittal. Meanwhile Paris virtually remained in a state of siege, although it had terminated nominally within two months after the insurrection of June 1832. Sixty thousand regular troops in the capital or its immediate vicinity precluded all possibility of successful insurrection; and patrols of military at every hundred yards in the streets prevented any attempt even at the most pacific assemblage.

32. The debates in the Chambers shared in this personal and envenomed character. They degenerated into violent personal altercations between individuals, in the course of which thrusts with poisoned intellectual rapiers were exchanged, and in one instance an actual duel took place between General Bugeaud and M. Dulong, in which the latter was unhappily slain. M. de Lafayette continued at the head of the real, though concealed, leaders of the conspiracy, which sat in permanence,—though shrouded

these ideas, a band of patriots have commenced the republication of the speeches of Robespierre, St Just, and Marat, which will be rendered accessible to the very humblest of the people, by the moderate price of a sous a number, at which it is sold. We earnestly recommend the works of these immortal patriots to our readers. They will find everything that philosophy could discern, or learning reveal, or humanity desire, or learning enforce, in their incomparable productions."—*Tribune*, Aug. 20, 1833.

"The tyranny of the rich over the poor is the real plague which infests society—the eternal source of oppression, in comparison of which all others are as dust in the balance. What have we gained by the Revolution? The substitution of the Chaussée d'Antin for the Faubourg St Germain: an aristocracy of bankers for one of nobles. What have the people gained by the change? Are they better fed, or clothed, or lodged, than before? What is it to them that their oppressors are no longer dukes or counts? Tyranny can come from the bureau as well as the palace. There will be no real regeneration to France till a more equal distribution of property strikes at the root of all the calamities of mankind."—*Tribune*, Aug. 21, 1833.

in mystery and cautiously avoiding committing themselves, watching an opportunity to overthrow the Government. Ostensibly, the war in the Chambers was directed against the Ministers alone; really, against the King. The speech from the throne, at the meeting of the Deputies on the 23d December 1833, was moderate and conciliatory, both in so far as regarded external and internal affairs; but the language of Opposition was in the highest degree recriminatory, and breathed the bitterness of a party which in a great public movement had found the whole fruits of victory wrested from them by a third power, which had appeared in the field at the close of the fight. "Gentlemen," said M. Garnier Pagès, "I declare—for I have a right to express what I feel—that society is not established on a basis that can be durable. Justice, humanity, no longer exist: Government is nothing but a deception: the whole of society is out of the pale of the law. Woe to the nation which is placed without the only foundation of pure morality—that is, universal equality—and which is crushed under the yoke of an exceptional legislature." On this occasion M. Thiers with candour admitted the erroneous view of the Revolution of 1789 presented in his History; "a work," he added, "begun at the age of twenty-three, with the effervescence of youth, and which does not contain what should have been said on the subject."

33. At this period the ruling desire, both on the part of the French Government and the European powers, was to effect a reduction of the immense military armaments which for two years had been kept on foot on both sides, and which produced a strain on all their finances which they were little able to bear. M. de Broglie, on the part of the Cabinet of Louis Philippe, made repeated representations on the subject to the ambassadors of the allied powers; but M. de Metternich replied, "We desire nothing more ardently than a general disarmament; like France, we have need of it; but the

first step must come from yourselves. Re-establish order in your own country: you have a propagandism which devours us; secret societies fully organised; a press which respects nothing. At the tribune, even, declamations are incessantly launched against our policy and our acts. Begin with repressing that, and the disarmament will follow as a matter of course." To this M. de Broglie replied, "Give us time, and with prudence you will obtain all that Europe desires. It is impossible to control an independent Chamber, ridiculously enamoured of revolutionary ideas, after the manner of a government master of itself, and in possession of all its powers." These remonstrances, however, produced a great effect on the French Government. Sensible of their justice, and that no general disarmament could be expected in Europe till the spirit of propagandism was checked in their own country, two important measures of repression were prepared in the Cabinet, which were ere long submitted to the Chamber, and constituted the great *cheval de bataille* between the parties for the remainder of the session.

34. The first project consisted of two laws, one against public criers of seditious and immoral publications in the streets of the capital—an evil which had risen to such a height, as to have scandalised even the most violent supporters of revolutionary ideas; the other imposing a restraint upon pamphlets and short publications. By the first, no crier was to be allowed to hawk or distribute pamphlets in the streets without a licence from the police; by the second, a stamp duty was imposed on pamphlets under twenty pages. Both these measures were a mere recurrence, like the proclamation of the state of siege by Marshal Soult after the revolt in the Cloister of St Méri, to the laws of the Restoration; a homage unintentionally offered by the Citizen King to the wisdom of his royal predecessors, and another proof among the many which history affords, that conservative measures do not belong in a peculiar manner to any one dynasty

or form of government, but are forced upon all, even if revolutionary in their origin, after a certain period of existence, by the necessities of their situation.

35. The evils which these laws were intended to abate were so flagrant and well known, that they excited very little resistance in the Legislature, although they were not carried into execution without some violent and disgraceful contests between the police and those numerous classes in Paris which made their livelihood by hawking obscenity, scandal, and sedition through the streets of the capital.* But it was far otherwise with the law proposed against associations, the second measure of repression, which encountered the most vehement and impassioned opposition both in the Chamber and over the country. In truth, it wellnigh brought on a third revolution. To understand this subject, it must be premised that by article 291 of the Penal Code of Napoleon, every association consisting of more than twenty persons was prohibited, if not authorised by the Government. M. Guizot and the Doctrinaires had violently opposed this law during the Restoration, and to elude its operation the secret societies were divided into sections, each of which consisted only of nineteen persons. The new law brought forward by the Government extended the prohibition to associations consisting of more than twenty persons, *whether divided into sections or not*. It was made to include associations not having periodical meetings, which the former did not; it widened the application of the penalties to all the members, while the former applied only to the office-

* "Les crieurs lancés sur les places et dans les rues par les ennemis du pouvoir ne furent souvent que les colporteurs du scandale, que les hérauts d'armes de l'émeute. Dans les libelles qu'ils distribuaient, la mauvaise foi des attaques le disputa plus d'une fois à la grossièreté du langage, et à je ne sais quelle flagornerie démagogique. Flatter le peuple est une lâcheté, le tromper est un crime. Que le Gouvernement fût intervenu pour mettre fin à un tel désordre il le devait." —LOUIS BLANC, *Histoire de Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, iv. 211, 212.

bearers; and it devolved the cognisance of offences against the law, if they amounted to high treason, to the Chamber of Peers—if to sedition only, to the courts trying by jury; but if the offence amounted merely to an infraction of police regulations, to the police courts.

36. How moderate soever it might be in its provisions, this law excited the most violent opposition on the part of all shades of the Liberal party, and led to the most violent recriminations in the Chamber of Deputies. "It is absurd," said M. Barthé, the orator of Government, "to act on the principle *laissez faire, laissez passer*, for that which you despise soon becomes strong: contempt is very proper for individuals for certain classes of injuries, but Government has other duties; it owes to society that of protection." "You must," answered M. Garnier Pagès, "accustom the people to read and hear everything." "Would you, then," replied M. Chapuis Montlaville, "bring back the guillotine and the massacres *en masse*?" "The cause of our disorders," rejoined an oppositionist, "is to be found in the disastrous system which the Ministers have hitherto pursued. Why were such dangerous and indecent publications so long allowed to be cried through the streets?" "The right of association," said M. Ludre, "has its foundation in Christianity not less than in the rights of man. What is the Government's object in suppressing them? It is because it can submit to no popular control; it would proscribe the rights of man, because they constitute a democratic power: disturbances spring not from associations, but from discontent." "The proposed law," replied M. Barthé, "in no way infringes on the charter; clubs are never once mentioned in it. Here is the history of political clubs: they sow disorder; they reap carnage. M. de Ludre offers us battle: the Government must accept it; there is no other part to take, after so many bravadoes." "You would proscribe political associations," replied M. Garnier Pagès, "but in doing so you proscribe the whole past

life of your own statesmen. It is from these societies that the King has chosen his councillors. The society of 'The Rights of Man' does not conspire; it is the Government that conspires for it." *

37. When these violent recriminations had in some degree given place to real argument, it was powerfully pleaded by M. Odillon Barrot and M. Garnier Pagès: "What! shall we make that outrage to civilisation, to human reason, as to declare annihilated by a law a right without which society could not exist—a right which is, of all necessities, the most imperious, the most indispensable! What! are we to go back to that 291st article, born of the despotism of the Empire, and which, under the Restoration, was felt as so

* M. Dupont de l'Eure at this juncture resigned his seat in the Chamber of Deputies, and his letter to his constituents on the occasion is valuable as a manifesto, from an able leader, of the sentiments at that period entertained by the Republican party. "Depuis longtemps j'ai pris la résolution de quitter la Chambre des Députés, en voyant le Gouvernement et les Chambres oubliant leur commune origine, s'éloigner de la Révolution de Juillet, en méconnaître les principes, en répudier les auteurs et les soutiens naturels, revenir au contraire avec une inconcevable prédilection aux traditions et aux hommes de la Restauration; et faire pour l'administration du pays ce que ne ferait aucun père de famille pour l'administration de sa fortune particulière. Cependant cette fausse direction donnée à nos affaires était tellement contre nature qu'il était permis d'espérer encore qu'elle ne pourrait se soutenir longtemps, et que le Gouvernement ramené par la force des choses et par son propre intérêt se replacerait sur la large base de notre Révolution, c'est à dire, sur la base de la souveraineté du peuple en renonçant à la légitimité elle même. Mais, en conscience est cela ce que nous avons obtenu? Ce que nous avons vu s'établir c'est l'état de siège pour la capitale, la juridiction militaire pour de simples citoyens et députés, la police la plus inquisitoriale et la plus oppressive, substituant parfois son action à celle de la justice, et créant même au besoin des prisons d'état telles que celle du château de Blaye, pour des personnages privilégiés. Joignons à tout cela un budget d'un milliard, renforcé d'éternels crédits supplémentaires, une armée de quatre cent mille hommes, qui nous ne donne ni la guerre, ni la paix; une diplomatie trop largement dotée, qui nous donne, Dieu sait, quelle attitude à l'étranger; et demandons nous, la main sur la conscience, si c'est bien là ce que nous avait promis la Révolution de Juillet? DUPONT DE L'EURE. 2 Février 1834." — *Moniteur*; CAPEFIGUE, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, vii. 354, 355.

oppressive! Is this what we have gained by a revolution, conducted in the name of liberty? Does the Government ask this to secure its existence? Can it not live without destroying the principle which generates society itself? Does the necessity of subjecting the right to some restraint, imply the right to extirpate it; and are we, like certain savages, to cut down the tree to reap its fruit? Are we to submit to previous authority the right to license associations? That is to vest an immense, an arbitrary power in the Executive—a power before which all our liberties may be swept away—the charter, the guarantees which it stipulates, the electoral right, the liberty of the press. The moment the citizens meet together to come to an understanding on the candidate to whom they are to give their suffrages, they fall under the law against associations. When a few citizens, to set up a journal, subscribe the requisite funds, and mutually communicate their thoughts, there is an association. Are the Opposition electors to be compelled to elect a Ministerial candidate? If so, farewell to the rights of electors. Is the yoke of a previous licence to be imposed on the writers who combine to set up a journal? There is an end of the liberty of the press. The project of Government then, in its full extent, is of unheard-of insolence. It is, further, of impossible execution. This much at least was to be said for the 291st article, as it originally stood, that the material fact of an assemblage of more than twenty persons, the element of periodical meetings, and the limitation of the right of prosecution to the office-bearers of societies, were some limitation on despotism. But what limit is here imposed to the right of prosecutions? An indefinite number of persons may be indicted. The project of Government, brutal in theory, will be found, when applied to practice, to be puerile and insensate."

38. "Every right in civilised society," said M. Guizot and M. Thiers in reply, "requires to be regulated by law. A previous licence is required in anonymous societies or associations for the purposes of beneficence. On what

principle, then, is it not reasonable to require it in political associations, the cradles of sedition, the schools of discord? The power of Government, in a country embracing 32,000,000 of inhabitants, does not consist in its authority over a few thousand functionaries, or two or three hundred thousand soldiers, but in the right which it possesses to make its will penetrate throughout, to act in concert by means of a hierarchy wisely constituted; to be, in a word, present everywhere. To vest individuals with so precious a prerogative, is to displace power to their advantage—to give to them the power of government. The danger of this is incalculable. The State is lost if regularity is allowed to enter into revolt, discipline into anarchy. The law against association is therefore a law essential to the public safety. It cannot be less stringent than the one proposed; the mere power to close existing associations which are deemed dangerous, would lead to their being immediately dissolved, and reconstituted under a different appellation. The apprehensions expressed as to the possible abuse of the law, are entirely chimerical. Government has no interest to interdict associations for the purposes of religion, beneficence, science, or literature; it is concerned only in the putting down of political associations, the strongholds of the factious, the intrenched camps of treason."

39. "How," replied M. Garnier Pagès, "are you to distinguish innocent from dangerous societies? Who is to be the umpire between them? If a Frenchman, a worthy man, wishes to unite with others to strengthen and propagate Christianity, I am his man, despite your ministers and your law. If a Frenchman, a worthy man, wishes to unite with others to extend works of beneficence to the working and humbler classes—to workmen without employment, without bread—I am his man, despite your ministers and your law. If a Frenchman, a worthy man, desires a wide diffusion of acknowledged truths, of sound doctrines, of those lights which sustain morality

and prepare the future happiness of mankind, I am his man, despite your ministers and your law. If a Frenchman, a worthy man, wishes to secure for his country the independence of elections, and to oppose the shameless venality and corruptions of electors, I am his man, despite your ministers and your law. The willing servant of all just laws, the determined enemy of all unjust ones, we will never hesitate. We shall never yield an obedience to man which would render us apostates to God, to humanity, to France. We shall disobey your law to obey that of our own consciences."

40. These violent recriminations decided nothing, and are only valuable as indicating the extreme asperity of party feelings which now distracted France, and the irreconcilable divergence of opinion between the Government and the democratic faction alike in the Chambers and the country, to whose efforts it had owed its elevation. The false position in which the Citizen King was placed was now apparent to all, and to none so much as to his own Ministers; and it required all the versatile talents of M. Thiers, and all the learning and weight of M. Guizot, to maintain them in it. The repressive measures demanded by the Cabinet were, however, carried by large majorities in both Chambers;*—so strongly had the necessity of the case presented itself to the ruling majorities in them, and so imperative was the law of self-preservation which had compelled the Government to repudiate its bastard origin, and revert to the principles of legitimate monarchy. The strife of parties, however, was so violent, and the difficulty of the position of its adherents in debate so great, that some modification of the Cabinet, and considerable changes in the administrative department of the Government, were felt to be indispensable. They were made accordingly, and by the sole authority and decision of the King, who on this as on other occasions acted as his own Prime Minister. The Duke

de Broglie and General Sébastiani resigned their situations; and their retreat was soon followed by those of M. d'Argout and M. Barthé. The ostensible cause of these resignations was a hostile vote of the Chamber on a credit of 25,000,000 francs, asked by the Government for a debt due by Government for the losses sustained by the American subjects in consequence of the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon, which was rejected by 176 to 169. These resignations, however, were in reality voluntary: they arose from dissensions in the Administration; and in particular, from the general animosity of the other members at M. Thiers, whose ambition, as had been the case with that of Mr Canning in the English Ministry, was generally dreaded, but whose influence, nevertheless, was such that he could not be dispensed with. To such a length did these dissensions go, that it was only at the personal request of the King that M. Guizot was prevailed on to retain his situation; and when he did so, he remained the sole representative of the Doctrinaire party in the Cabinet. It was evident that any arrangement concluded under these circumstances could be temporary only; and in these new appointments the King had in view merely to get over an immediate difficulty. M. de Rigny, who was transferred from the Ministry of Marine to that of Foreign Affairs, belonged to the school of M. de Talleyrand; M. Thiers was raised to the office of Minister of the Interior; Baron Roussin made Minister of Marine; M. Persil, Keeper of the Seals; and M. Barthé, who formerly held that office, transferred to the Presidency of the Court of Accounts, vacated, from extreme old age, by the veteran and able financier M. de Marbois.

41. The changes in the Cabinet consequent on the shock of parties in the metropolis, were but a faint type of the dissensions which tore the country. The law against secret associations, brought forward by the Government, in an especial manner excited the indignation of the Republicans: they felt that this stroke was levelled

* Viz., by 246 to 154 in the Deputies, and by 127 to 64 in the Peers.—*Ann. Hist.*, xvii. p. 133.

at the centre of their power, and they resolved to resist it to the last extremity. Everywhere they announced this intention in the most unmeasured language: the societies, so far, from yielding obedience to the law, openly threatened to withstand it to the utmost of their power.* In order to give greater consistency and strength to this resistance, three committees were formed in Paris, at the head of which were MM. de Lafayette, de Ludre, de Cermenin, and André de Puyraveau, the *ostensible* objects of which were, the establishment of the liberty of the press, of individual freedom, and public instruction. To these objects no reasonable man could take any exception; but their secret and real ends were very different, and pointed, not obscurely, to a future resistance to and subversion of the monarchical form of government. Their concealed aim was to cause democratic principles, in a manner, to filtrate

* "Citoyens! On s'accorde à penser généralement que la loi sur les associations aura pour résultat de détruire la *Société des Droits de l'Homme*, ou de la rendre secrète. Néanmoins cette société ne renoncera ni à son nom, ni à son organisation, et avisera aux moyens de se poser d'une manière plus imposante. Nous vous ferons connaître ces moyens. Pour le moment, ralliez autour de vous vos sectionnaires, prenez ou faites-vous accorder un pouvoir discrétionnaire afin d'agir avec plus de promptitude et d'ensemble, à l'instant de la lutte qui paraît très rapprochée. Salut et fraternité signé 'Cavaignac.' Le comité central, et les chefs de section de la Société des Droits de l'Homme de Marseille, considérant que la loi sur les associations outrage à la fois la justice, et la liberté, en plaçant au dessus des droits sacrés de l'humanité la tyrannie la plus odieuse et la plus détestable, considérant qu'elle condamne l'homme de la misère et du travail, à vivre craintif et solitaire auprès de sa famille sans pain; considérant enfin qu'elle a pour but de satisfaire aux exigences oppressives de la sainte alliance, en nous dépouillant de la souveraineté au profit de quelques privilèges corrompus dont la devise a toujours été 'diviser pour régner,' 'isoler pour détruire,' arrête ce qui suit. 'La Société des Droits de l'Homme et des citoyens de Marseille, s'engage sur l'honneur à désobéir et à résister à la loi, pour n'obéir qu'à la conscience.' Suivent 150 signatures. Tous les comités de la Société des Droits de l'Homme firent des protestations semblables contre la loi sur les associations."—*Lettre du Comité Central de Paris au Comité de Lyon*; CAPEFIGUE, vii. 372, 374.

through and penetrate all classes of society, especially the lowest and most numerous; to increase to the utmost of their power the circulation of the democratic press through the country; to defend and succour all persons prosecuted by the Government; and to establish festivals for the annual celebration of the most remarkable epochs in the Revolution, from the storming of the Bastille to the ascendant of Robespierre.

42. To carry out these objects more completely, secret societies were everywhere established, and their organisation and blind obedience to their chiefs rendered more complete than they had hitherto been. The great parent society was divided into sections, the names affixed to which, taken from the great strife or chief assassins of the two Revolutions, sufficiently indicated what their principles and objects were.* Every member of these secret societies was bound to yield an obedience to his superior more blind than any Eastern sultan ever exacted; for he was obliged, at the mandate of an unseen and unknown authority, to commit murder, fire-raising, or any other crime, provided it was ordered by the office-bearers of the society, on any person whatever, from the highest to the lowest, in France. The "Declaration of the Rights of Man," presented by Robespierre to the National Assembly, was the text on which all their declarations and manifestoes turned. "The subsistence of the people," said they, "is devoured by a class of rich spoliators. France, out of 33,000,000 inhabitants, possesses at present scarce 300,000 aristocrats: a million, perhaps, enjoy the means of sustenance; and the remaining 32,000,000 dispute with filthy animals their daily bread and that of their

* The following are some of these names, taken by hazard out of many others of the same description: "Barricade de St. Méri;" "Mort aux tyrans;" "Des Piques;" "Liberté;" "Montagnes;" "Ganelle;" "République Universelle, Egalité, Fraternité;" "Bonnet Phrygien;" "Propagande;" "Louvel;" "Purs Républicains;" "Abolition de la Propriété;" "Proletaires;" "Guerre aux Châteaux;" "Cà Ira," &c.—*La Histoire des Sociétés Secrètes depuis 1832*, vol. i. pp. 124, 127.

children. It is against this monstrous system that the Society of the Rights of Man has raised itself : it invokes the aid of the entire world to establish the reign of primitive and Christian equality and fraternity." Such is the picture of France given by the Republicans themselves, after two successful Revolutions !

43. The defeat of the revolt of June 5th had extinguished all hopes of successful insurrection in Paris ; but the temporary success of the revolt at Lyons inspired the leaders of the movement there with the hope that a similar attempt might be made with greater chances of success in that great hive of manufacturing industry. " Lyons," to use his own words, " appeared to M. Armand Carrel a city peculiarly adapted to resolve a thousand provincial questions unknown in Paris." To preface this consummation, the utmost pains were taken in various journals of the manufacturing towns, especially *La Glaniere* and the *l'Echo de la Fabrique*, to mix up the disputes about the remuneration of labour, in which they were so deeply interested, with political questions, and to represent the one as entirely dependent on the other. This was no difficult matter, for the distress which had long prevailed among the silk-weavers of Lyons and the neighbouring towns had been such that they were prepared for any change ; and they were all embraced in one or other of two great societies, which presented the whole machinery required for general revolt. The first of these, entitled " Des Mutuellistes," was intended for mutual succour in sickness or old age ; the second, called " Les Ferrandins," was a sort of freemasonry, also devoted to purposes of mutual relief, but, like it, with secret signs and tokens. Since the suppression of the great insurrection at Lyons, in November 1831, by the vigour of Marshal Soult, the operatives had remained passive and tranquil ; but their ideas were unchanged. They submitted, not because they were inclined to do so, but because they lacked the means of resistance. They watched,

however, with intense anxiety the political troubles of the states around them ; those in particular in Switzerland, Savoy, and Piedmont in the preceding years, had awakened their warmest interest and sympathy, and they awaited only the signal from Paris to begin again the strife with the government of the Citizen King.

44. Such an opportunity was not long of presenting itself. The working classes were still labouring under severe distress, the inevitable result, in a manufacturing district, of a successful revolution ; and the demand was incessant on their part for an increase of wages to enable them and their families to subsist. A combination had been formed for this purpose, and, like all other combinations for a similar end, their whole reliance was on intimidation and violence. In February 1834, it had been determined by a small majority of the combined workmen (1297 to 1044) to strike work till a reduction of wages which had been proposed by the masters should be given up. The minority refused to obey the order, and they were immediately subjected to an amount of violence and intimidation which conquered their resistance. On the 14th February submission was universal ; the twenty thousand looms of Lyons ceased to beat, and fifty thousand persons were thrown into a state of compulsory idleness and real destitution. The strike was not of long duration. Before many weeks had elapsed, it terminated, and the looms were all in motion again ; but it led to proceedings which brought on the insurrection which the leaders of the secret societies in Paris had determined on.

45. The instigators of this violence and the chiefs of the combination were brought to trial. Such an occurrence always excites, in the very highest degree, the sympathies of the workmen for whose interests the chiefs have stood forward ; and it did so in an especial manner on this occasion at Lyons, as the secret societies in Paris, with Lafayette at their head, had resolved to make this the battle-field which was to commence a general in-

surrection over the country. So violent was the excitement from the very first, that the judges, who had commenced the trial without any military escort, were compelled ere long to call in the assistance of the soldiers to protect them from insult; and as even this proved insufficient, the proceedings were adjourned for four days. When they were resumed on the 8th April, a workman, who had, it was said, betrayed his faith as a *mutuelliste*, was knocked down and maltreated in open court. The military were called in to repress the outrage, and immediately the cry got up, "They won't fire; they are our brothers! *Vive la ligne!*" which was followed by a defection of part of the troops. This was the signal for a general insurrection, which had been decided on the evening before at all the clubs. In the twinkling of an eye, barricades were run up in all directions; immense assemblages of people crowded the streets, and frequent cries of "*Vive la ligne!*" told but too plainly that the military, in many quarters, instead of discharging their duty, were fraternising with the insurgents. The contest continued with various success through the whole of the 8th, and at night a large part of the city was in the hands of the insurgents. Such was the zeal of the people, stimulated by the long-continued suffering they had undergone, that the very women joined in the conflict, and the tiles from their hands fell by thousands from the roofs on the helmets of the cuirassiers and the shakos of the troops.

46. Such was the vigour of the insurgents, and the vacillation of a considerable part of the soldiers, that during the next two days victory seemed to have decisively declared on the side of the former. They had made themselves masters of the Faubourg la Guillotière, had intrenched themselves on the terrace of the Fourvières, and taken several pieces of cannon, with which they kept up a vigorous and well-directed fire on the Place de Bellecour, where the headquarters of the military was established. The latter force was very strong; it consisted of

fifteen battalions of infantry and thirty-five pieces of cannon, mustering nearly ten thousand combatants; but, aided by the intricacies of the city, and supported by the general sympathy of the inhabitants, the insurgents were extremely formidable. The red flag was seen from not a few steeples; cries of "*Vive la République!*" were heard in every street; heavy discharges of musketry, intermingled with the deep booming of the cannon, resounded on all sides; and when night came, the combat was continued by the lugubrious light of the burning houses which had been set on fire by the mortars. Alarmed at the peril of the contest, which became hourly greater the longer it was continued, General Aymar, who commanded the military, made a concentric attack with three columns on the morning of the 12th, on the position of the insurgents in La Guillotière, which was carried after an obstinate resistance and great slaughter on both sides. By this means the communication with Paris and the north, which had been closed for three days, was reopened; and from the vantage-ground thus gained, the troops, by slow degrees, and fighting at every step, gradually forced back the insurgents on the centre of the city, and wrested from them one by one the formidable defensive works which they had erected. Strong barriers had been erected around a church in the Place des Cordeliers, which the insurgents had made their headquarters. Its interior presented the most extraordinary spectacle, and gave melancholy token of the horrors of civil war. In one of the naves the casting of balls was going on; in another, the manufacture of powder; while the chapels around were converted into temporary hospitals for the wounded, where they were tended by those whom they loved the most. At length, after six days' hard fighting, the troops regained entire possession of the city, which wore the mournful and desolate aspect of a town taken by assault; but this advantage was not secured but with the loss of 150 killed and 400 wounded. Great exasperation prevailed in the latter stages

of the conflict on both sides, and many innocent persons of all ages and both sexes were massacred without mercy in the houses forced by the military from which firing had issued. But some traits of generosity also occurred which redeemed the honour of human nature in those fearful scenes.*

47. The insurrection which broke out with such violence at Lyons, on occasion of the trial of the chiefs of the combination, was but a part of the general movement over all France, at the head of which was Lafayette and the chiefs of the *Haute Vente* at Paris, and which was incomparably more formidable in its character, and widespread in its ramifications, than that which had overturned Charles X. Lafayette intended to have put himself at the head of the revolt at Lyons, and was only prevented by ill health from doing so; but he sent his delegates to direct the movement.† It was by the orders of the central authority at Paris that the strike at Lyons was terminated on 22d February, and the insurrection postponed till the trial of the leaders began. They wished to throw the Government off its guard, and to gain time to complete their preparations. When it did break out, however, orders were sent generally to follow it up as quickly as possible; and then appeared how widespread was the spirit of revolt in France, how complete in its organisations, how unlimited the authority of its chiefs. Between the 9th and the

12th of April insurrectionary movements broke out at Marseilles, Perpignan, Vienne, Auxerre, Poitiers, Chalons, Louisville, Grenoble, Arbois, and St Etienne. Government, however, had information of what was approaching: the authorities were everywhere on their guard, and the immense military forces at their disposal enabled them to crush the movement without much difficulty. The only places where it was at all serious were at Louisville and St Etienne. In the first of these a plot had been formed by the subaltern officers in three regiments to engage them in the revolt, which was only prevented from succeeding by the vigilance of the superior officers and the steadiness of the majority of the men. In the last, appearances were at first very serious, for the whole national guard joined the insurgents, and in the outset they gained entire possession of the town. But the arrival of regular troops from the neighbouring towns, who were rapidly drawn together, enabled the prefect to regain his lost ground; the insurgent national guards were driven into the chief square, surrounded, and disarmed.

48. The Republicans in Paris were not slow in responding to the signal of insurrection thrown out by their brethren at Lyons. Though deprived of part of their physical strength, and much of their moral influence, by the suppression of the revolt on the 5th and 6th June 1832, they were yet in sufficient force in the capital to occasion serious uneasiness to the Government. As usual in such cases, the most exaggerated accounts were spread by both parties, as soon as the insurrection began at Lyons, of the state of affairs; the Government journals representing the revolt as entirely put down on the very first day, the Republican as everywhere triumphant, spreading over all parts of France, and having established the insurgents in a durable manner in the second city of the empire.* The evident anxiety,

* "Il y eut des points où, retenues prisonnières par les troupes qui bivouaquaient dans les rues, des femmes d'insurgés furent traitées non-seulement avec égard, mais avec générosité, et partagèrent le pain du soldat. Un insoumis venait de tirer à bout portant sur un officier; il le manque, se découvre la poitrine, et dit, 'A ton tour.' Alors par une admirable inspiration de générosité, 'Je n'ai pas coutume de tirer de si près sur un homme sans défense,' répond l'officier; 'va-t'en.'"—L. BLANC, iv. 278, 279.

† "J'éprouve un vif regret de ne pouvoir m'associer en personne aux dangers d'une aussi courageuse et honorable entreprise; mais je donnerai à ces Messieurs (MM. Armand Carrel et Cavaignac) des lettres qui leur seront utiles, et je les autorise à se présenter comme mes lieutenants."—M. DE LAFAYETTE aux Chefs des Mutuellistes à Lyon, March 28, 1834; L. BLANC, iv. 269.

* "La victoire du peuple se confirme. Les Lyonnais sont maîtres de la ville; ils y ont proclamé un gouvernement provisoire, et la

however, of the authorities, and the sinister rumours which, in spite of every precaution, began to spread on the second day, as to what the telegraph had really communicated, diffused general consternation, and occasioned such excitement in the central parts of the city as rendered it evident that a revolt was at hand. On the evening of the 13th it broke out. With such vigour were the operations of the insurgents conducted, that in less than an hour after the signal had been given by Captain Kersovie, on the part of the chiefs of the *Haute Vente*, for a general rising, the Republicans were in arms at the Porte St Denis, in the Place de Bastille, in the Quartier des Halles, in the Faubourg St Jacques; while formidable barricades were constructed in the Rues Beaubourg, Geoffroy-l'Angevin, Aubry le Boucher, Auxours, Maubuée, Transnonain, and Grenier-St-Lazare, and placards inviting the people to instant insurrection were put up in all the densely-peopled parts of the city.*

49. Apprised by the intelligence

République. Sur toutes les routes de Lyon, les communications sont interrompues. Le peuple a pris les armes à Chalons, à Roanne; il s'est rendu maître des autorités, les populations des environs de Lyon ont manifesté la plus vive sympathie; mais le plus grand secours est arrivé de St Etienne, d'où sont partis dix mille ouvriers armés. A Dijon le peuple s'est emparé de toutes les dépêches ministérielles, il est maître de la ville. Sur toute la ligne de Paris à Lyon l'insurrection est flagrante. Le 52^{ème} régiment qui est en garnison à Belfort s'est insurgé, et a proclamé la République."—*Tribune*, April 13, 1834.

"A quatre heures, mercredi (le 9) l'action était finie. Quelques coups de fusil retentirent çà et là dans les petites rues du centre de la ville. Les troupes étaient au repos."—*Moniteur*, April 12, 1834.

* "Elle est enfin rompue, cette longue chaîne des tyrannies humiliantes, de perfidies infâmes, de trahisons criminelles! Nos frères de Lyon nous ont appris combien est éphémère la force brutale des tyrans contre le patriotisme Républicain. Ce que les Mutuellistes ont commencé avec tant de succès les vainqueurs de Juillet, hésiteront-ils à l'achever? Laisseraient-ils échapper une si belle occasion de reconquérir la liberté chérie, pour laquelle le sang Français a tant de fois coulé? Citoyens! tant de généreux sacrifices ne seront pas infructueux par une lâcheté indigne. 'Aux armes!' 'Aux armes!'"—*CAPEFIGUE, Histoire de Louis Philippe*, vii. 403, 404.

communicated from Lyons by the telegraph of the real state of things there, and of what they might expect in the capital, the Government were fully on their guard, and their measures were taken with prudence and vigour. There was none of the want of preparation, squeamishness, and indecision, which had ruined Charles X. The forces at its disposal were immense. The regular troops in the city amounted to forty thousand men, with fifty-six guns; and to these might be added thirty thousand national guards from the capital and the *banlieue*. The first thing done was to seize the printer's presses of the *Tribune*, and issue a warrant for the arrest of M. Marrast, its editor, who was obliged to fly. Soon the *général* beat in all the streets of Paris; the national guards, who had now become sensible of the danger, and for the most part joined the Government, were seen repairing to their rallying-points; and a little after eleven at night, the dense columns of the regular soldiers approached the barricaded district which surrounded the old Cloister of St Méri, destined a second time to become the theatre of a mortal civil conflict. M. Thiers was on horseback in the rear of the column which approached from the Rue Geoffroy-l'Angevin; its captain was soon killed, and M. de Varselles, Auditor of the Council of State, fell mortally wounded by his side: the Minister then retired, sensible that his proper place was not that of a captain of grenadiers. At the same time a column attacked the Rue Beaubourg, which was the centre of the insurrection; but it was received with so vigorous a fire that it recoiled; and it being now past midnight, the military contented themselves with encircling the barricaded district with strong bodies of troops in all directions, and postponed the final attack till the following morning.

50. It took place, accordingly, early next day, and experienced less resistance than might have been anticipated, from the known determination and strong position of the insurgents. The plan of attack was arranged at the

headquarters of Generals Bugeaud and Rumigny during the night, and it was executed at daybreak. Four strong columns began their march simultaneously from the four points of the Bastille, the Porte St Martin, the Hôtel de Ville, and the Marché des Innocens. These columns were to converge towards the centre of the city, force all the barricades which might obstruct their passage, occupy all the cross streets they passed with troops, and then drive back the insurrection into the narrow space between the Rue Transnonain and the Rue Montmorency, where, by a converging assault, it might be finally crushed. These orders were vigorously executed. General Bugeaud's column effected a junction with that under General Lascours, which had come up from the Porte St Martin, in the street of the same name, and both united made an attack on the barricade in the Rue Transnonain, which was the centre of the insurrection. The orders of the officers were, "to force open and search every house from whence shots issued." These orders were executed with a rigour and cruelty which makes humanity shudder. Some shots had been seen to issue from the house, No. 12, at the corner of the Rue Montmorency, in the Rue Transnonain, and orders were given to force it open, and despatch the insurgents within. The soldiers broke the door open by blows of hatchets, and, rushing in as into the breach of a town taken by assault, in a state of frenzy, put every living soul within the walls to death. Sixteen unhappy beings, for the most part unarmed—old men, women, and children—were massacred! It recalled the worst days of the first Revolution. The resistance elsewhere was soon overcome, and this frightful massacre had not even the excuse of danger or necessity, for the forces of the insurgents were small, and wholly overmatched. By noon the firing had everywhere ceased, the barricades were all levelled, and the insurrection was entirely subdued.

51. It was generally supposed, that after this decisive victory over the Republicans at Paris, Lyons, and St Etienne, the Government would have

brought forward some rigorous measure of repression, which, in the first tumult of alarm, the Chamber might pass. They contented themselves with a law merely against the possessors, without authority, of arms and munitions of war, the necessity of which was so obvious that it passed with scarce any opposition. At the same time the Chamber of Peers was, by a royal ordinance, erected into a court of high commission, for the trial of the persons implicated in the late disorders; and ulterior measures were adjourned till the public mind might be prepared for them, by the revelations which might be expected at the trials, as to the extent and objects of the conspiracy. In the mean time, however, advantage was taken of the general alarm to ask supplementary votes of credit, to the amount of 36,000,000 francs (£1,400,000), from the Chambers, in order to raise the effective force of the army to 360,000 men and 65,000 horses. The Chambers cut down the sums demanded to one-half, but enough was left to bring up the military establishment to that enormous amount, which was the more remarkable, as all danger of foreign war was at an end, and it was to be arrayed only against domestic enemies.

52. As if she never could be weary of showering upon Louis Philippe her favours, Fortune at this period delivered him by death from not the least determined and formidable of his enemies. On the 20th May, M. de Lafayette breathed his last in his seventy-sixth year. He expired, serene and calm, of an affection of the chest. He received a magnificent funeral from the gratitude of his countrymen: but the passions were burnt out, illusions had vanished; and though there was a great assemblage, no revolt, as at the funeral of Lamarque, followed his obsequies. It took place on the 22d, and the pall was borne by Generals Fabvier and Ostrowski, the American chargé-d'affaires, an elector of Meaux, M. Odillon Barrot, and M. Eusèbe Salveste. The pallbearers were thus selected to represent the various nations of the globe and interests in society, to which, during his long life, he had become endeared.

53. Lafayette was one of the men whose character presented such strange contradictions that it could have arisen only during the shock of a revolution. Descended of an old and noble family, enjoying high rank, and having mingled from his earliest years in the very first society, he was entirely aristocratic, both in his inmost feelings and manners. He had none of the *morgue aristocratique* in his heart, but all the polish of the highest breeding in his manner. These mental qualities, had he been cast in an ordinary time, would probably have rendered him a mere ordinary character, and he would have lived respected, beloved, but unknown. But in addition to these, he was strongly tinctured with one quality which, in man or woman, never exists without deeply affecting the destiny, and in his case brought him forth on the stormy theatre of revolution. He was inordinately vain, and this disposition rather increased than diminished with the advance of years. In troubled times, when the great majority of men are on the popular side, this desire can only be gratified in its full extent by embracing their principles and forwarding their views. They will give the meed of their applause, in the first instance at least, on no other condition. This was the secret of Lafayette's democratic principles, as it is of most other men of a similar excitable temperament, whose lot is cast in troubled times.

54. He was personally brave, meant well, and was actuated by a sincere desire for the establishment of order with freedom. Hence more than once he boldly stood forth to check the excesses of the Revolution, and he was in consequence obliged to fly France, and owed his life to his fortunate confinement for several years in an Austrian dungeon, which saved him from the fury of his countrymen. But his thirst for popularity never failed to bring him back to the feet of the popular idol, and involved him, in the latter years of his life, in many contradictory acts and discreditable connections. He was the enemy of Napoleon, and yet at the head of all the conspiracies formed during the Restoration to overturn

the Government of the Bourbons; he was mainly instrumental in placing Louis Philippe on the throne, and yet his life, from that event, was a continual intrigue to effect his dethronement. The Government was perfectly aware of this, and possessed ample proof of his treasonable practices; but they did not venture to bring him to trial. Like O'Connell, he was too powerful to be punished. After the manner of all fanatics, whether in religion or politics, he was insensible to the lessons of experience, and deaf to the voice of reason. The "hero of the two worlds" was as devout an optimist and believer in human perfectibility, and the virtue and wisdom of the working classes, in the close of life, when fifty years of trial and suffering had demonstrated the futility of these ideas, as when in its commencement the American Revolution ushered in the deceitful dawn. Yet, strange to say, while sacrificing consistency and endangering his life in the worship of the idol of popular sovereignty, he preserved to the last his aristocratic habits and inclinations: his manners under the Citizen King were still those of the *vieux régime*; he married all his daughters to men of old family; and by his testament he directed his body to be interred in the cemetery of Picpus, on the Mont Valerien, amidst armorial bearings, and at the back of a convent of nuns, as in the days of feudal pride.

55. Napoleon said in one of his letters to his brother Joseph, "Caress literary men and philosophers, but do not take them into your councils: consider them as you do coquettes,—amuse yourself with them, but don't marry them." Another man of great genius, who first rose into political eminence at this period, afforded a striking confirmation of this remark. LAMARTINE has already been considered in his permanent and immortal character, as a great historian and poet; but he was also a statesman and politician; and for a brief period he stood forth with prominent effect in the revolution which closed the reign of Louis Philippe, and the causes of which were already in full activity. Not less vain

and ambitious of popularity than Lafayette, as implicit a believer in human perfectibility and the virtue and intelligence of the humbler classes, he was possessed of incomparably more genius, and rested his opinions on a more durable basis. He referred constantly to the injunctions of charity and the spirit of universal benevolence, which are to be found in every page of the Gospel; and it would undoubtedly be well for mankind if these injunctions and that spirit were generally embraced in the world. But he entirely forgot, as the amiable fanatics of his description generally do, that the *corruption of human nature* is the corner-stone of the whole system of Christianity; that if we are told to love our neighbour as ourselves, we are not less constantly told that "the heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked;" and, therefore, that while the precepts of our Saviour undoubtedly point to an extension of charity and beneficence to a degree never yet practised among men, they give no countenance to the idea that the human race can ever with safety be intrusted with powers wider than have heretofore been found practicable in the world.

56. But although his political opinions are all tinged with this amiable but fatal illusion, and accordingly his political career, when they came to be put in practice, was very soon terminated in blood; yet he made a great step in political science, and deserves the lasting thanks of humanity for having achieved it. He detached democracy in France, at least for a time, from its most dangerous ally, TERROR. He had, like Robespierre, visions of the islands of the blessed, but they were not like his, arising out of a sea of blood. He constantly inculcated the love of mankind not only in the ultimate ends which the legislature had in view, but also in the means by which it was to be obtained. He did not say that evil was justifiable if good might come of it. Simple as this step appears, and entirely as it is conformable to the best precepts, both of religion and morality, it required no ordinary man to take it, and no com-

mon courage to avow it, in public. Accordingly, when Lamartine, in March 1848, refused to put on the red cap, the emblem of blood, in front of the Hôtel de Ville, he did so at the immediate hazard of his own life, and to the certain eventual destruction of his influence. The first instinct of the multitude, when they gain possession of power, whether in social or political conflicts, invariably is to secure and increase it by terror; their earliest weapons are too often the dagger and the torch. It is this disposition, natural and intelligible in the circumstances in which they are placed, which always renders their sway so calamitous, and causes it to be terminated, after a brief period of suffering, in joyfully-hailed despotism. Probably this disposition is so strongly founded in human nature, that to the end of the world it will never be entirely obliterated. But whoever takes the initiative in opposing it, is a friend to mankind; and whoever hazards his own life in the resistance, deserves the eternal gratitude of the species, for it is thus only that the fabric of durable freedom is to be erected.

57. Lamartine's legislative views and talents, as an orator, were deeply tinged by the romantic and ardent temper of his mind. He was in the highest degree eloquent. Several of his speeches in the Chamber of Deputies and at public meetings, since published in his collected works, are models of the most moving and persuasive style of oratory. He did not discard facts or practical views, but he viewed them all with a poetic eye, and through the bright illumination of a Claude Lorraine atmosphere. It is this which renders his speeches so influential and attractive, alike when listened to or read; the mind is carried away, as by the sound of delicious music, by the brilliancy of his ideas, the mellifluous flow of his language. They were all, however, prepared; their extraordinary beauty proves this. No man can compose such sentences extempore. He was not, therefore, and never could be, a practised debater; and his turn of mind was too imaginative and poetical

to admit of his taking an interest in, or making himself master of, the dry details of ordinary business. He became active only when the feelings were roused, and then he was often great. This turn of mind disqualified him from being a man of business or practical statesman, though it rendered him only the more attractive on a few occasions; and accordingly his career in power was soon brought to a termination, and he has since been distinguished almost entirely by his works of literature and imagination. His chief defect was an inordinate vanity—the too common reproach of literary men, especially in France, but which in his case was so strong a passion as often to obliterate his judgment.

58. The Government conceived with reason that the present would be a favourable time for dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, as the failure of the Duchess de Berri in La Vendée had demonstrated the weakness of the Legitimists, and the insurrections in Paris and Lyons had struck universal consternation into the bourgeoisie and holders of property. The Chamber was dissolved on the 25th May, the day after its prorogation, by royal ordinance, and the new one appointed to meet on the 20th August. The elections, for the most part, came on towards the end of June, and the majority generally obtained for Government exceeded their most sanguine expectations. The Legitimists usually abstained from voting from conscientious scruples as to taking the oaths required of electors; and the consequence was, that they did not obtain more than fifteen in the entire Chamber. The Republicans were almost everywhere defeated. According to the calculations in the *Moniteur*, seventy of those in the former Chamber were thrown out, and twelve voluntarily retired from the contest. The consequence was, that the *Juste Milieu*, as it was called, which supported the Government, obtained a great majority—no less than three hundred and twenty votes out of four hundred and sixty. The Opposition, Royalists and

Republicans, was only ninety, and the intermediate party fifty. The result, when matters came to the test, though not quite so favourable to Government, still showed that they had gained a decisive majority over their opponents. On the divisions for the presidency of the Chamber, the usual trial of strength of parliamentary parties in France, M. Dupin, the Ministerial candidate, had 247 votes; M. Lafitte, the Opposition, 33; M. Royer-Collard, 24; M. Odillon Barrot, 3! It was evident that the *Juste Milieu* had coalesced with the Ministerialists. The Republican and Legitimist oppositions were all but extinct in the popular part of the Legislature.

59. We have now arrived at an important epoch in the modern history of France, and one eminently deserving of attention by all who consider politics as the subject of thought and reflection, not the mere amusement of a passing hour. Just four years had elapsed since the Government of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon had been overturned by a nearly unanimous effort of the nation, and the declared will of the people substituted for the balanced authority of legitimate descent and popular influence. A throne had been established, surrounded by republican institutions; the ruling dynasty changed; the Citizen King invested with the crown; the old family sent into exile, and the whole objects of the insurrection gained. What had been the result? Had public felicity increased, the sources of discontent been removed, the wages of labour raised, the public burdens diminished, the foundations of liberty strengthened and enlarged? So far from it, in every one of these respects the condition of the nation had been changed for the worse, the influence of the popular party lessened; and none now proclaimed this so loudly as the Liberals who had brought about the change.

60. The public burdens had, on an average of years, been increased fully a third; the army and all its concomitant expenses doubled. Such had

become the penury of the working classes, especially in the great towns, the centres of revolution, that they had been driven by sheer suffering into two desperate revolts both at Paris and Lyons, which had only been suppressed after a lamentable effusion of blood and fearful exasperation on both sides. The complaints of the press, so far from having ceased, had augmented tenfold; the Citizen King had become the object of far greater vituperation than Charles X. had ever been; the Government was engaged in an incessant warfare in the courts of law with the Republicans; and peace was only preserved in the capital by the presence of forty thousand soldiers, and as many national guards and armed patrols, in every street. Several thousand Republicans, chiefly in the great towns, were languishing in prison, without either the prospect of being brought to trial, or the means of forcing it on. When the Bastille was stormed in 1789, there were only eight prisoners in it! The qualification of voters had been lowered, and 180,000 electors substituted for 90,000 in the electoral colleges; but that had only made matters worse for the Liberal party. The lowered suffrage had opened the doors wider to corruption; the increased expenditure of Government had immensely extended its influence; and the first effect of doubling the number of electors had been to double the adherents of Ministers in the Chamber, and halve the strength of Opposition. A fixed Opposition of 221 deputies, elected by a constituency of 90,000, had overturned Charles X.; a fixed Ministerial majority of 247, elected by 180,000, seemed to give permanent sway to Louis Philippe.

61. The Republicans exclaim that these results have ensued because their Revolution was stifled in its birth—because an astute faction took advantage of their courage, reaped the fruits of their victory, and then, for their own selfish purposes, established a worse tyranny in the realm than that from which they had been delivered. This doctrine sounds well, and for the next twenty years it blinded a large

portion of the world to the real cause of the failure of the Revolution of July in France. It was believed that it had failed because it had been defeated, whereas it failed because it had conquered. Never was revolution so quickly decided; never was a new government installed in power so completely in accordance with the general voice; never was one more cordially supported, when in possession of it, by the moral and physical strength of the party which had proved victorious in the strife. It doubled the number of electors, and intrusted the suffrage to 180,000 electors—nearly as many as were qualified to exercise it in a country where not one in ten in the entire population could read; and they returned a Chamber with a majority of four to one in favour of the Government. It raised the army to above 300,000 combatants, and it on nearly every occasion remained faithful to its oaths when the hour of trial arrived. It put arms into the hands of a million of national guards, who elected their own officers, and the majority of them supported the Crown. This is decisive. When so large a part of the population capable of bearing arms is in this manner organised in armed bands, under officers of their own class or selection, it is in vain to assert that the government they support is not that which, upon the whole, is consistent with the national voice, how obnoxious soever it may be to certain fractions of it.

62. In truth, a very little consideration must be sufficient to show, not only that the Revolution of July failed because it proved victorious, but *how* it was that this anomalous result came to pass. Like most other revolutions, it was a class movement, and, like all similar convulsions, it terminated in *elevating a class to supreme power*. This at once and invariably proves fatal to public liberty. When one class has succeeded in beating down all others in civil strife, it never fails to make use of its victory to advance its own peculiar interests at the expense of the rest of the community. Real

freedom can never be attained but by the balancing of one class against another: the victory of any one, if decisive, at once destroys it. The Revolution of July was made by the bourgeoisie, with the aid of the armed prolétaires of Paris; the Citizen King was their consul. The joint victory did not establish freedom; it established the despotism of the shopkeepers. But they proved more unfeeling and ruder masters than their predecessors had been; while at the same time, being supported by a much larger and more influential body in the State, they were not so easily shaken off. Marshal Soult and his cuirassiers proved very different antagonists from Prince Polignac and his priests.

63. Simultaneously with this, the condition of the working classes was infinitely deteriorated by the termination of purchases and the shock to credit consequent on any successful popular convulsion: their sufferings were increased, while their complaints were disregarded, and their means of resistance destroyed. The capitalists and manufacturers, who had made the Revolution, turned a deaf ear to the complaints of the silk-weavers of Lyons, whose wages had been reduced to a third of their former amount by

its effects: they answered their petitions by assurances they were prosperous—stifled their rebellion by grape-shot. The masters and traders, whose interest was to buy cheap and sell dear, were insensible to all complaints as to the ruinous fall in the wages of labour, and decline in the price of its produce. The operatives, wellnigh maddened by suffering, readily embraced the doctrines of the Socialists, who proclaimed a community of goods and women as the ultimate destiny of society. Such extreme principles drove all the holders of property over to the other side, and filled the ranks of the national guards, wherever it was composed of others than prolétaires, with sturdy and zealous defenders of order. Hence the profound animosity which got up between the different classes of society, and the commencement of a division in the State, which, fifteen years later, overturned the Government of the Citizen King, and established the brief reign of “Liberté, Egalité, et Fraternité” in its stead. We shall see anon whether this new Revolution proved more remedial in its consequences than its predecessor, and whether the *class government of labour* was found to be more tolerable in its effects than that of capital had been.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.



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